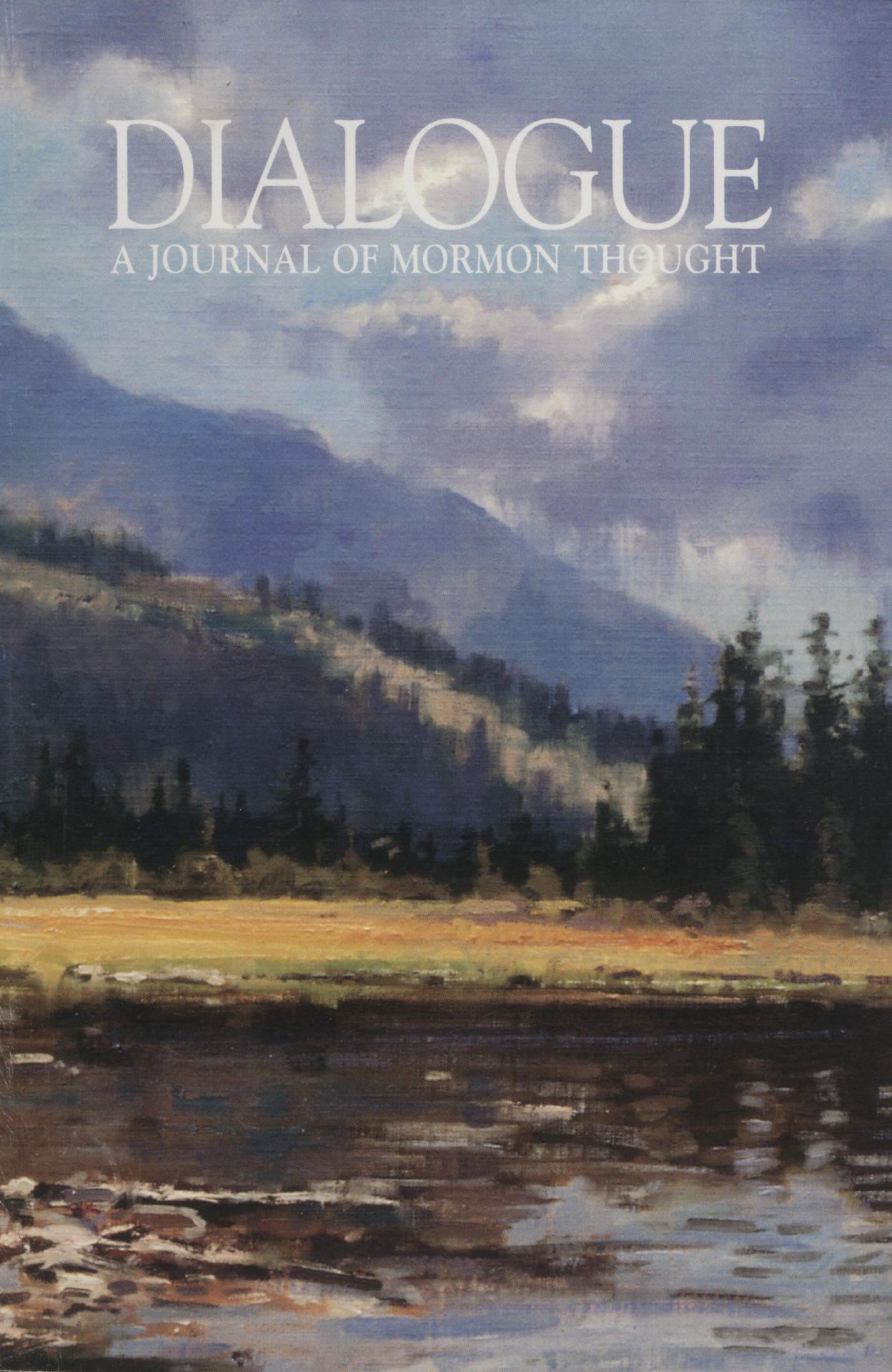
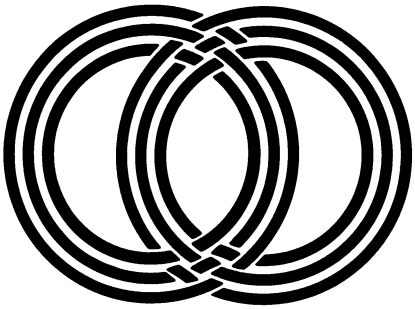
DIALOGUE

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. 3, FALL 1997

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FORTHCOMING IN

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought

WINTER 1997

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by Tessa Meyer Santiago

"The Last Battle:
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"Tying Flowers into Knots,"
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Was He or Wasn't He?

The winter 1996 issue set the old blood racing, well, for an old sailor as best it can race. George L. Mitton made a good case in his letter to the editor against D. Michael Quinn in defense of Evan Stephens, or, more correctly, in defense of Mitton's own family's honor, prestige, standing in the church, and sexual "normality."

Mitton's long letter was almost word perfect for a recent heart-rending public defence of a New South Wales (Australia) Supreme Court judge who had been named in the NSW parliament by Mrs. Franka Arena MLC in relation to the ongoing royal commission into the NSW police.

Arena was publicly vilified across Australia for asking, under parliamentary privilege, if the judge had been interviewed *in private* by his fellow NSW Supreme Court judge heading the royal commission. No suggestion was made by Arena that the judge was homosexual or was involved in pedophilia.

The judge denied all, said that the justice system would "look after" him, and a plethora of Mitton-like articles and letters to the media flooded our colony.

The judge was photographed, front page, in color, holding his beautiful, beatific grandchildren, and we all sucked in our breath at Arena's, like Quinn's, audacity. But some weeks later, as we prepared the stake for Arena's public burning, the royal commission *finally* served a subpoena on the judge.

He was interviewed (radio and print) shortly thereafter and sounded confident and not at all stressed, saying he would be vindicated. But four hours later he killed himself by car exhaust in his carport, leaving a letter for his wife and family.

Whatever the judge thought his beloved justice system was going to do, it didn't save him, and one is reminded of the imposed suicide of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel in 1944—i.e., take your own life, go quietly, and your wife and kids will be looked after, otherwise ...

Weeks later we were regaled with the truth about this pillar of the establishment. He was the subject of a long-standing police file, had been arrested twice for homosexual acts in public lavatories on major Sydney railway stations, but as soon as his judicial standing was made known, the charges were dropped. His secret lifestyle came unstuck a few years back when he put the hard word on a male barrister in the public lavatory of one of Sydney's busiest railway stations. The lawyer recognized the judge and, understandably, complained to the NSW attorney general. The judge was quietly retired, living on his full salary without having to work. That enabled him to frequent public lavatories more frequently.

Thus was Mrs. Arena vindicated, and all the laudatory, self-righteous panegyrics in behalf of the judge shown to be nonsense. The judge was quickly cremated and the matter closed up tighter than a clam.

I was present in a high priest's group in 1984 when a general authority told those assembled, only a handful of men, that homosexuality was the second worst problem in the church ... gossip being the worst ... and that two general authorities were permanently assigned to the task of trying to do something about it in the church.

In the August-September 1995 is-

sue of *Sunstone* we were given a tearful 12-page article by "Oliver Alden," a thirty-three-year-old priesthood holder who was, we were told, highly regarded, was "spiritual," and had received personal revelation twice, including in the Salt Lake temple, that it was okay for him to marry a man. "Oliver's" "marvelous" young (married) bishop, *Sunstone,* and all those associated with this young man, waiting for "Mr. Right" to come along so the two of them can get into bed together, obviously approve of this young man's inspiration. No one, but no one, suggested that it might just be evil spirits (Belial) whispering to this man.

The Apocryphal New Testament tells us that practicing homosexuals will be condemned to a massive pool full of sewage, and it's not difficult to see why, when Correy and Holmes found from their 1980 study, where homosexual men kept a diary, that on average an active homosexual had per year fellated 106 different men; swallowed 50 seminal discharges; experienced 72 penile penetrations of the rectum; and ingested the fecal matter of 23 different men (L. Correy and K. K. Holmes, "Sexual Transmission of Hepatitis A in Homosexual Men," *New England Journal of Medicine,* 1980, 435-38).

As an old (aging) sailor, not exactly bereft of experience with men in the world, I would, on the balance of probabilities, accept the thrust of Quinn's essay on Mr. Music.

By the way, since the Mormon church loves tradition and folklore, pray let me close by telling you that in the good old days, when men were men and women were glad of it, any sailor suspected of being homosexual would, in the morning on arising, find a patch of canvass containing a little heap of sand on the mess table where he usually ate his meals. That was the warning. If homosexual activity continued, then the miscreant was thrown overboard to feed the sharks. In the Mormon church they get long articles of praise published about them and personal revelation in the Salt Lake temple.

Laurence F. Hoins
Nowra, New South Wales,
Australia

A Tantalizing but Unproven Conjecture

I feel remiss in not writing sooner concerning Dr. Lance S. Owens's "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah" in the fall 1994 issue. Among other things, Dr. Owens suggested that Joseph learned Kabbalah from Alexander Neibaur, that Neibaur probably possessed a Hebrew library with Kabbalistic manuscripts, and that his Kabbalah is reflected in the King Follett discourse. While these are interesting suppositions, I do not believe that Dr. Owens's data and analysis prove them.

Much of Dr. Owens's argument rests on an article on Jewish doctrines of resurrection written by Neibaur for the *Times and Seasons* (June 1843). Dr. Owens claims that Neibaur "discusses for the most part ... the Kabbalistic concept of *gilgul,* the transmigration and rebirth of souls." While the article cites the *Zohar* and mentions some rabbis identifiable as Kabbalists, it is in no way Kabbalistic. *Zohar (sohar)* is cited for the non-Kabbalistic doctrine that those who die and are buried in Israel will be resurrected forty years

before those who die outside of the land. The *gilgul* mentioned by Neibaur is the Talmudic *gilgul* (*Kethuboth* 111a) where the dead roll underground to be resurrected in Israel *not* the Kabbalistic transmigration of souls. If anything, the article avoids Kabbalistic doctrines. Certainly, no knowledge of Kabbalah can be imputed to Neibaur on the basis of the article.

The question of Neibaur's library and Hebrew skills and the above-mentioned *gilgul* issue were dealt with in my response to Dr. Owens's paper at a recent Sunstone Symposium. They have also been discussed in detail by William J. Hamblin in *FARMS Review of Books* 8/2 (1996). Suffice it to say, little evidence exists on Neibaur's Hebrew education before his matriculation at the University of Berlin at age seventeen. I know of no data supporting a Hebrew library in Nauvoo. Such a library would have been an oddity which someone should have mentioned. I do not believe either that great Hebrew skills or a library can be inferred from an English article which seems to be drawn from some encyclopedic source.

With regard to Neibaur's influence on Joseph Smith, Neibaur arrived in Nauvoo in 1841. This allowed little time to influence the *Book of Abraham,* published in 1842. This comports with the *Book of Abraham*'s reliance on the *Seixas Grammar* from which Joseph learned Hebrew in 1835-36. (See my "Professor Seixas, the Hebrew Bible, and the Book of Abraham," *Sunstone,* Mar.-Apr. 1981, 141-43.)

An indisputable influence of Neibaur on Joseph Smith is seen in Joseph's use of German, learned from Neibaur, in the King Follett discourse. As to Joseph's Kabbalistic interpretation of the first words of Genesis in that discourse, matters are much less clear. Joseph's reading of Elokim as the object of the verb create is not exactly *Zoharic.* It was, however, common among Christian Kabbalists (see Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar* [Albany, NY: SUNY, 1993], 139-61). Neibaur's article contains no information on such a reading. It could arise from any number of sources or may have been developed by Joseph Smith himself. He was certainly knowledgeable enough to so do. The sources for Joseph's readings of Genesis and for Neibaur's article remain to be discovered. I suggested to Dr. Owens that an English translation of Manassah ben Israel's *Nishmath Chaim* might have been a source for Neibaur (see Hamblin, 322-25). That, however, was mere speculation. Dr. Owens raised many questions, but his research, in my view, failed to answer them. It is my hope that scholars will do the research and produce the *facts* that will answer Dr. Owens's questions. Until this happens, "Joseph Smith and Kabbalah" should be viewed as a tantalizing but unproven conjecture.

Michael T. Walton
Salt Lake City, Utah

Questions Can Be Answered

I enjoyed reading the winter 1996 issue. I am grateful for Levi S. Peterson's biography of Lavina Fielding Anderson. I think she is a wonderful example!

"W. H. Chamberlin and the Quest for a Mormon Theology," by James M. McLachlan, was very interesting to

me. I am grateful to find another testimony of Adam and Eve being the parents of the human family on earth and in heaven. Today we are accused of apostasy if we say we believe this theology.

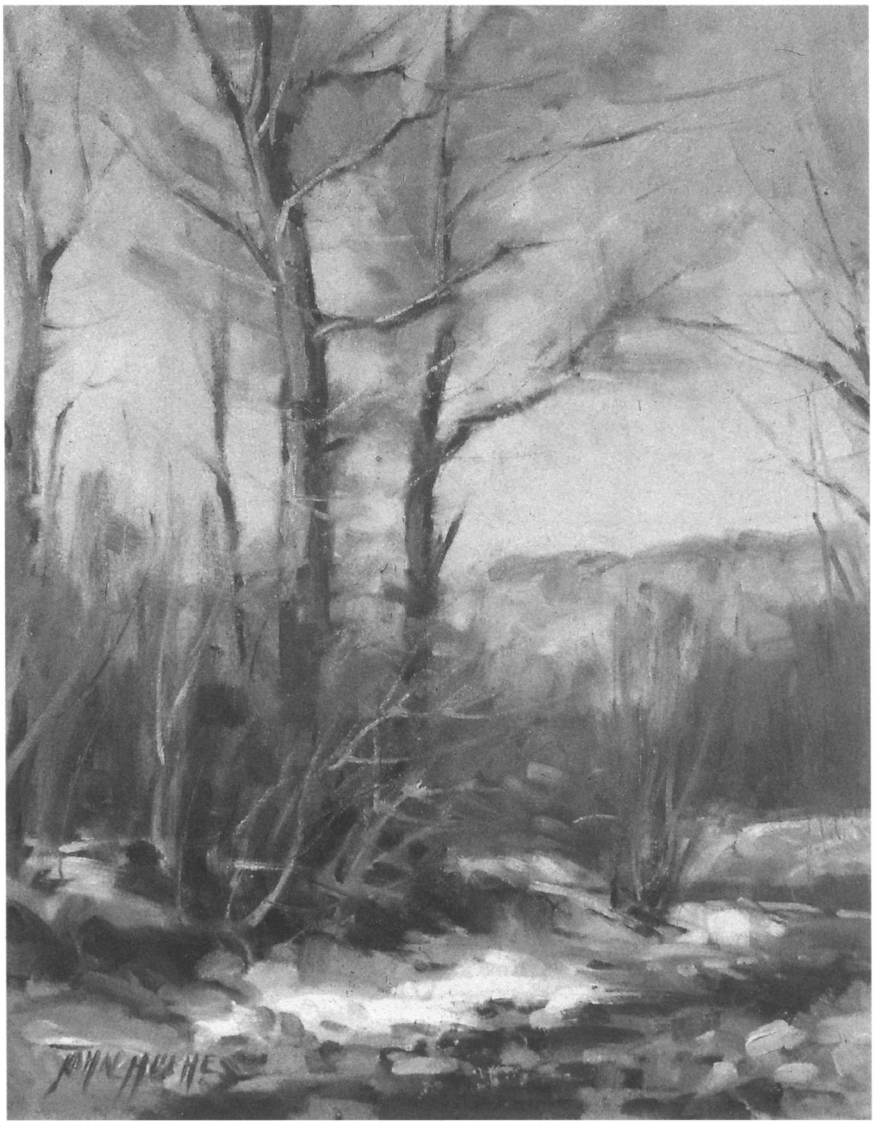
In the roundtable discussion on "Scripture, History, and Faith," I was grateful to find a stimulating set of questions and answers. "The statement that Mormonism is committed to a fairly fundamentalist vision, and yet it strongly urges education, honesty, and freedom of inquiry. These two poles are in conflict. Add to this a few fundamentalists at the top of a rigidly authoritarian ecclesiastical pyramid, and we have a modern Mormon bomb waiting to go off. The recent excommunications and the firings at BYU may be only the first rumblings of a major disruption in Mormonism." We do need a change!

Henry Grady Weaver in *The Mainspring of Human Progress* tells us: "The collectivists, ancient and modern, contend that human society should be set up like the beehive. The plain fact of the matter is that human beings, with their hopes and aspirations and the faculty for reasoning, are very different from bees" (38). "War is caused by a false notion of human energy, based on the ancient superstition that men and women should be reduced to the status of the beehive" (262).

I love freedom of conscience and freedom of speech. I believe that Elohim is the divine spirit, the governing power in the Kingdom of God. I believe that Jehovah is the Only Begotten Son, by choice and ordination, now in the flesh (not the only one sired by God). I believe that Adam, who was Michael and is now the Ancient of Days, with Eve as his companion, is our Father and Mother God. In the Godhead we have a representative of the government in Elohim, a representative of the church in Jehovah as our Redeemer, and a representative of the Home in Adam and Eve.

I have gained this testimony through study of the scriptures and by faith in prayer that questions can be answered.

Rhoda Thurston
Hyde Park, Utah


JOHN HUGHES

Max Weber and Lowell Bennion: Towards an Understanding of Hierarchy and Authority[1]

Laurie Newman DiPadova

LOWELL L. BENNION WAS WIDELY KNOWN among Latter-day Saints for his Christlike life and humanitarianism, as well as for his teaching and authorship of numerous church books and manuals.[2] As a devoted member of the LDS church who regarded intellectual pursuits highly, he was admired by many as a person who successfully combined the qualities of faith and reason—values considered by some to be in opposition. Less known is the fact that Bennion's first published book was on pioneering German sociologist Max Weber and constitutes a remarkable contribution to Weberian scholarship. This essay explores the unique relationship

1. I am indebted to Michael Allen, Lowell L. Bennion, Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Ralph Brower, Curt Conklin, Armand Mauss, and Sterling M. McMurrin for their helpful suggestions with regards to the ideas expressed in this essay. I am also grateful to Mary Bradford for providing many of the particulars of Lowell Bennion's life. In addition, I am grateful to my husband, Hugh Stocks, for his keen ideas, editing skills, and eager willingness to assist. I do, however, take full responsibility for the content of this work. Portions of this essay are drawn from L. N. DiPadova and R. S. Brower, "A Piece of Lost History: Max Weber and Lowell L. Bennion," *American Sociologist* 23 (1992), 3:37-56, and L. N. DiPadova, "Towards a Weberian Management Theory: Lessons from Lowell L. Bennion's Neglected Masterwork," *Journal of Management History* 2 (1996), 1:59-74.

2. See Bradford, *Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian* (Salt Lake City: Dialogue Foundation, 1995).

between Mormonism and Weber's compelling ideas[3] as represented by Bennion's early rendering of Weber. By doing so, it points to the influence of Weber's thinking regarding authority on Bennion's understanding of the institutional hierarchical dynamics of the LDS church.

Bennion's Ph.D. dissertation, *Max Weber's Methodology*,[4] is the first book-length sociological work in the English language about Weber. Published in Paris in 1933, only 100 copies were printed. It received little notice even though it was the only systematic treatment in English of the broad body of Weber's important work. Bennion's direct and readable style integrated themes from disparate Weberian writings, and it constituted the best rendering and summation of Weber from Weber's own perspective.

Bennion was a deeply religious person as well as a sociologist immersed in Weber's thought. He applied his understanding of Weber to life within the LDS church. While Weber was a self-described agnostic and did not consider himself to be a religious person, his writings provided an engaging synergy with Bennion's thinking about Mormonism and his involvement with the church as a bureaucratic organization.

Bennion's work has only recently re-emerged. In 1992 a chapter[5] appeared in the *Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, the first published attention to his work since 1933, and an article about his contribution to Weberian scholarship appeared in *The American Sociologist*.[6] An enlargement of Weberian management theory, based on Bennion's interpretation,[7] is found in the *Journal of Management History*. It focuses on Weber's views of authoritative rule, power in human relationships, and his concern for obedience—issues which certainly have meaning for the LDS church.

This essay examines Bennion's interpretation of Weber's explication of power and obedience within the context of bureaucracy and hierarchy

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3. While Weber did not make a separate study of Mormonism per se, several prominent scholars, including Roger D. Launius and Lowell L. Bennion, have applied Weber's ideas to aspects of Mormonism. Launius rendered an outstanding Weberian analysis of the charismatic leadership of Joseph Smith III. See Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

4. Lowell L. Bennion, *Max Weber's Methodology* (Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1933).

5. Lowell L. Bennion, "The Business Ethic of the World Religions and the Spirit of Capitalism," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 6 (1992), 1:39-73. This article from Bennion's dissertation presents what is regarded as a unique contribution to Weber scholarship even today. He applied Weber's "Calvinism-Capitalism" thesis to the development of Mormonism. This analysis corroborated the Weberian thesis at a time when it was under attack (compare H. M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and His School* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933]).

6. See DiPadova and Brower, "A Piece of Lost History."

7. See DiPadova, "Towards a Weberian Management Theory."

of authority. It also looks at the juxtaposition of Weber and Bennion in a more personal way—at how the LDS church brought Lowell Bennion to Max Weber, and how Bennion brought Weber's ideas back to the church. I begin by looking at Max Weber and noting the significance of his work. Then I turn to the seminal work by Bennion on Weber's thought, and conclude with the relevance of Weber's thinking for the LDS church today as demonstrated by the life of Lowell Bennion.

Weber and His Ideas

Max Weber is widely regarded as one of the most profound thinkers of modern times. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Weber was a commanding intellectual presence in Europe. Today his contributions continue to be cited by scholars in many fields from jurisprudence to economics, sociology to religion, political science to business, organizational studies to industrial psychology. Weber is so pervasive that most college students, enrolled in an introductory course in any of these fields, are likely to be exposed to some of his concepts. Weber was a prolific writer and scholar; his ideas ranged from describing bureaucracy, to charismatic leadership, to exploring the religious roots of modern capitalism in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Less known is the fact that Weber emphasized understanding the actions of individuals within the context of organizations and society, rather than understanding organizations or societies per se.

The hierarchy of authority is fundamental to Weber's conceptualization of bureaucracy as the most efficient organizational form. Bureaucracy and hierarchy provide a particular context for social action and interaction. The hierarchical dynamics which give rise to these concerns are important for understanding life in organizations. For decades scholars have applied Weber's ideas to organizational and bureaucratic life in the public and private sectors. One might also surmise that Weber's ideas may be applied successfully to ecclesiastical institutions in general and to the dynamics of the bureaucracy of the LDS church in particular.

The church, as a complex, somewhat decentralized organization with a definite hierarchy of authority, readily lends itself to Weberian analysis. Obviously the managerial organization of the church as a corporation located primarily in the church office building in Salt Lake City is reminiscent of large private firms. In addition, the ecclesiastical organization of the church—stakes, wards, branches, missions, etc., and their relationships to centralized church authorities—contains many facets which echo Weber's descriptions of bureaucracy, including the emphasis on authority. In fact, the Mormon priesthood itself is considered to be the authority to act in the name of God; any assumption of such authority outside

"proper channels" (i.e., the hierarchical chain-of-command) is regarded as invalid.[8] Each church position is accompanied by a particular range of responsibility. Much emphasis in the church is given to supporting and sustaining the priesthood (that is, those who hold it) and to the principle of obedience to authority (that is, "following the Brethren").

The idea that the church is based in power—priesthood power—is not new to Mormons; priesthood power is considered fundamental to the universe, as well as to the organization of the church. However, as we will see, Bennion points out that Weber asserts that all religious—and political—groups are based in power. The organizational dynamics of the LDS church, therefore, provide a rich arena for considering some of Weber's compelling ideas regarding power, authority, and obedience.

The Academic Context of Bennion's Book

Lowell Bennion pursued doctoral studies in Europe from 1930-33. Beginning with a summer session at the University of Erlangen, Germany,[9] he continued at the University of Vienna,[10] regarded at the time as the premier intellectual center of Europe, and perhaps the world. It was in Professor Erich Voegelin's sociology of religion seminar that Bennion

8. Women, of course, have no authority in the LDS church. This is not to say that LDS women do not have power in the church. Power, however, is different from authority. There are many ways in which women exercise power in the church—a topic which merits more attention than this footnote allows. I wish to acknowledge here that both Sterling McMurrin and Armand Mauss expressed concerns regarding my point that women have no authority in the LDS church. Sterling's concern was directed at women having authority in the Relief Society, and reflects perhaps his knowledge of notable women in the church and of the Relief Society before the correlation of church programs. When the Relief Society had its own buildings, for instance, published its own magazine, and raised its own funds, members of that organization experienced a measure of autonomy that is without parallel today. Sterling's concern also reflected his high regard for the abilities and competence of women. Armand Mauss pointed out that Relief Society presidents have delegated authority, which is consistent with Weber's conceptualization of authority. I agree that, in theory, delegated authority is certainly consistent with the role of the Relief Society president. In practice, however, bishops delegate tasks to Relief Society presidents, and I am not sure of the extent to which the women perceive themselves as receiving authority. Additionally, it is not uncommon even for Relief Society presidents to be supervised, taught, advised, and instructed by a variety of men in the ward/stake who presume to do so solely on the basis that they hold the priesthood and the women do not. My observation that women have no authority in the church is also based on the fact that, as many general authorities point out, the only recognized authority in the church is priesthood authority, which automatically exempts women.

9. In the "Academic Career" sketch in his dissertation, Bennion notes that he received a "certificate for successful participation in Professor Moeller's seminar in political economy."

10. Bennion also attended "lectures and discussions" at Geneva in August and September 1931 at meetings of the League of Nations.

first encountered Weber's thought.[11] Voegelin, a legal/political philosopher, was a Weberian scholar and had been a student of Alfred Weber, Max's brother.[12] In a 1992 interview Bennion recalled how Weber had immediately captured his interest. He felt that Max Weber had the most creative mind he had ever encountered. Weber's "distinction between the nature of empirical reality and values" immediately seized Bennion's attention because, he said, "It makes for clearer thinking if you separate factual propositions from value judgments. Weber did that consistently."[13]

The rise of pro-Nazi sentiment in Austria created an increasingly oppressive milieu for American students as well as for intellectuals in general. Many professors at the University of Vienna had to flee Austria for the United States and other countries before the end of the decade; Voegelin was among them. Bennion also left Austria, completing his dissertation at the University of Strasbourg under Maurice Halbwachs who, as Bennion recalls,[14] then chaired the sociology department. Bennion had contacted him in advance, making arrangements to complete the dissertation under his guidance. Bennion remembers Halbwachs as "a nice person, kind, cooperative, and gracious in every way."[15]

Bennion's relationship with Halbwachs, who had studied with Henri Bergson and Emile Durkheim, raises the question of what interconnections existed between German and French sociology. Few scholars have emphasized connections between these schools in this period; however, Bennion's dissertation cited two journal articles that Halbwachs had written about Weber and his work.[16] Halbwachs strongly encouraged his student to write the dissertation in English—Bennion would have pre-

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11. In the "Academic Career" sketch, Bennion says of his Vienna studies that he received "certificates for active participation" in Verdross's seminar in legal philosophy and Voegelin's seminar in sociology. Bennion remembers Voegelin as a brilliant young scholar. Personal conversation, 12 July 1992.

12. See Eric Voegelin, *Autobiographical Reflections*, ed. E. Sandoz (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), and Marianne Weber, *Max Weber: A Biography*, trans. and ed. Harry Zohn (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1988).

13. Personal conversation, 4 Aug. 1992.

14. Ibid.

15. An interesting aside here: Bennion remembers that Halbwachs was interested in studying how parental ages might influence the sex of children. Halbwachs theorized that if the husband was considerably older than the wife, the chances increased that male children would be conceived. He wanted Bennion to explore this possibility using records of Mormon polygamous families.

16. See Maurice Halbwachs, "Les Origines Puritaines du Capitalisme Moderne," *Revue d'Historie et Philosophie Religieuses*, Mar/Apr. 1925, and "Economistes et Historiens: Max Weber, un Homme, une Oeuvre," *Annales d'Historie Economique et Sociale* 1 (1929). Regrettably, it is beyond the scope of this essay to examine the French influence on Bennion's rendering of Weber.

ferred to write in German, as he knew the language and could have avoided the difficulties of translating some of Weber's concepts into English. Bennion believed that Halbwachs anticipated that a dissertation in English would spread Weber's ideas to a larger English-speaking audience.[17]

In December 1933, at age twenty-five, Bennion was awarded the degree of Docteur D'Universite de Strasbourg, *avec mention honorable* (with honorable mention). Although he successfully defended the dissertation, Bennion recalls that some members of his committee "had problems with Weber" and challenged him on some points—but not on his interpretation of Weber.[18] It was common practice at that time to publish University of Strasbourg dissertations; of the 100 copies of *Max Weber's Methodology* printed, only a few were distributed to select libraries in the United States.[19]

Some American sociologists soon became aware of Bennion's work. *Max Weber's Methodology* is referenced by Howard Becker and Harry E. Barnes in their (1938; 1961) *Social Thought: From Lore to Science, Vol. II.*[20] Talcott Parsons (1949, 26) referred to Bennion's and his own work as "the most comprehensive secondary accounts in English" for Weber's sociology of religion. In a 1935 letter Becker outlined for Bennion his sugges-

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17. Personal conversation, 10 July 1992. As an aside, Bennion explains that he studied in German, wrote the dissertation in English, and defended it in French.

18. Personal conversation, 6 Aug. 1992.

19. Library copies have been located in the following American institutions: University of Utah, University of Wisconsin at Madison, University of California at Berkeley, the Johns Hopkins University, University of Arizona, and Yale University. Recently a copy was found at Harvard University (I am indebted to James Evans for this find). International locations include: University of Alberta, University of Barcelona, University of Helsinki, and Lunds and Uppsala universities in Sweden. I welcome information about other copies. Library copies could not be found in Austria or Germany. For political, economic, and social reasons which reflect the turmoil of the time, a book about Max Weber—especially one written in English and published in France—would not have been procured in the 1930s in those countries. For this information I am indebted to Professor John Rohrbaugh and to the library personnel of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Austria. Copies were also located in the personal libraries of Leonard Arrington and Sterling M. McMurrin; the latter copy is now in the possession of Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Bennion's biographer.

20. A Becker and Barnes's endnote (lvi) described sources for discussion of Weber's methodology. They identified Theodore Abel's *Systematic Sociology in Germany* (1929) as one of the best brief discussions to be found in English. They added that "Weber himself gave no single connected exposition; his methodological analyses are scattered here and there in writings called forth by special occasions." Alexander von Schelting was described as the outstanding secondary source for Weber's methodology, but "a trifle prolix and involved; absolutely essential for the specialist in systematic sociology, it offers serious difficulties to the uninitiated." They referred to Parsons (1937) as "also a bit difficult, but has the advantage of being in English and being relatively brief," and Bennion as "an excellent elementary presentation. Unfortunately, this is a doctoral dissertation, University of Strasbourg, and only a few copies are to be found in the United States."

tions for an essay on Weber.[21] This letter reveals Becker's regard for Weber as well as his respect for Bennion's knowledge of Weber. Bennion never wrote the essay Becker requested. Even though there is evidence that more sociologists were aware of the Bennion work,[22] it was the book's fate to be lost to American sociology for nearly sixty years.

Due to the vast scholarly attention given to Weber's writings during this century, much of what Bennion included in his interpretation may not be regarded today as uniquely contributing to our understanding of Weber's thought. However, when his dissertation was published in 1933, Bennion's interpretation was not only original, but momentous. Indeed this synthesis of Weber's thinking was a remarkable accomplishment for a young American scholar.

The Significance of *Max Weber's Methodology*

Max Weber's Methodology was written only thirteen years after Weber's death and was influenced by scholars who were contemporaries of Weber. Although he was introduced to Weber's work by Voegelin at the University of Vienna, Bennion wrote the dissertation under Halbwachs—a disciple of Durkheim—at the University of Strasbourg in France.

In the early 1930s Weber was known to American scholars only through the limited translations of economist Frank Knight and sociologist Talcott Parsons.[23] Bennion's work was based on his own translation of the German originals, except for Parsons's translation of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Bennion's text provided an English-language audience with a dynamic understanding of Weber's thought. He analyzed Weber's historical sociology of religion, economics, and politics. He demonstrated a perceptive understanding of Weber's political economy. He gained command of material written in a foreign language as

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21. This and other Bennion correspondence courtesy of Mary Lythgoe Bradford.

22. In a 1937 letter Bennion invited Kimball Young, then at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, to review *Max Weber's Methodology;* in that correspondence Bennion mentioned that Alexander von Schelting and Howard Becker had corresponded with him about it. (Professor Young was a grandson of the Mormon leader Brigham Young and is also known for his 1954 sociological treatment of Mormon polygamy entitled, *Isn't One Wife Enough?)* Louis Wirth, in another letter written in February 1938, when he was associate editor of *The American Journal of Sociology,* indicated that the editors had become aware of the dissertation and wished to review it for the journal. He asked Bennion for a copy, or for information regarding where a copy could be obtained. No review of *Max Weber's Methodology* ever appeared in the *AJS*, or in any other major English language academic journal, and it cannot be confirmed that Wirth ever received a copy of the work.

23. Frank Knight (1927) had translated the collected student notes from Weber's final lectures, *General Economic History,* and Talcott Parsons (1930) had translated *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* both from Allen and Unwin, London.

well as in a "formidable and forbidding" style,[24] aggregated ideas from diverse theoretical and substantive themes, and derived from these the essence of Weber's approach to sociology.[25]

To fully appreciate Bennion's seminal work, one must be aware of a significant conflict in interpretation that surfaced decades after the publication of his dissertation. Weber's thinking, of course, has rightfully enjoyed considerable scholarly attention during this century, sparking differing interpretations of some of his ideas. Only one of these conflicts in the field of sociology is mentioned here. The issue concerns the extent to which Weber viewed power as important in his analyses and interpretations.

Talcott Parsons is widely credited with importing Weber to the United States, and with making him a major figure in American social thought. For decades after Parsons introduced Weber's work in 1937, the Parsonian view of Weber dominated American sociology. Parsons, a structural-functionalist, tended to interpret Weber's ideas in a rather benign sense, focusing on coordination over conflict and on stability over dynamic change.[26] Parsons argued for the similarities in Weber, Durkheim, and others, and considered this convergence to constitute a major revolution in social theory. His view of Weber was openly challenged by sociologists Jere Cohen, Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, and Whitney Pope in a significant work, published in the *American Sociological Review* in 1975.[27] They believed that Parsons's understanding of Weber in American sociology was distorted by Parsons's misinterpretation of the German originals, and they argued for an interpretation of Weber reflecting the centrality of power.

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24. For an informative discussion of the difficulties in Weber's writing style, see H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, ed. and trans., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958; originally published in 1946), v-vii.

25. Bennion's dissertation draws extensively on the following Weber originals: the social science methodology essays from 1903 to 1913, collected as *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Wissenschaftslehre*; Parsons's (1930) translation, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*; the 1915-19 religious-sociological essays on Confucianism and Taoism, Hinduism and Buddhism, and ancient Judaism, collected as *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssoziologie*; and the voluminous essays on sociology and sociological methodology, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, originally written between 1909-20. Bennion draws only minimally from the collected political writings, *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, and no references are made to either the early economic essays, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, or student-collected notes from Weber's final economic history lectures, published as *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Absence of this latter source is interesting, since Frank Knight's (1927) English translation, *General Economic History*, was then available.

26. See Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1949; originally published in 1937).

27. See Jere Cohen, Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, and Whitney Pope, "De-Parsonalizing Weber: A Critique of Parsons' Interpretation of Weber's Sociology," *American Sociological Review* 40 (1975), 2:229-41.

In the meantime other scholars saw more elements of conflict and domination in Weber's ideas than had Parsons. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills's translations and writings,[28] beginning in the 1940s, reflect this alternative view, as does the seminal work by Reinhold Bendix,[29] published in 1960. Lowell Bennion's account anticipated the insights of Parsons's critics. Contemporary sociologists, recently becoming aware of Bennion's work for the first time, observe that Bennion had, indeed, interpreted Weber correctly.[30] Had Bennion's interpretations received wider currency when they were first published, perhaps Parsons's ideas would not have dominated sociology and related fields so thoroughly.

Bennion's Interpretation of Weber[31]

Bennion's work focused on three areas of Weber's writings: historical methodology, sociology of religion, and sociological methodology. Bennion set the stage for Weber's depth and range of ideas by noting the preliminary distinctions among German sociology ("highly philosophical"), American sociology ("more interested in social problems and institutions"), and French sociology ("combines philosophical orientation with positive research") (5). He portrayed Weber as actively engaged in the "problems and movements of his time" and agreed with "Ernst Troeltsch, who probably knew him best, [that] Max Weber was at heart a statesman" (7). This suggests that Weber's rigorous attention to the problem of objectivity and value neutrality for the social scientist had deep personal roots. For clarity in understanding the vast array of Weber's writings, Bennion divided them into the following five groups:

1. Weber's earliest writings dealing chiefly with economic history and economic problems.
2. His articles on historical methodology which he commenced in 1903, most notably his essays published as *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Wissenschaftslehre.*
3. His religious-sociological writings, published in three volumes entitled *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssoziologie.* Bennion notes here that these works represent Weber's "ambitious but unfinished attempt to treat the business ethic of all important religious movements" (9).
4. His sociology proper and application of his methodology in historical social reality.

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28. See Gerth and Mills.

29. See Reinhold Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960).

30. Personal conversations with sociologist Richard H. Hall at the State University of New York at Albany, and with Weberian scholars Robert Jackall of Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and Arthur Vidich at The New School for Social Research in New York City.

31. Unattributed page references are to *Max Weber's Methodology.*

5. This group contains two volumes: *Gesammelte Politische Schriften,* a collection of lectures and essays on political questions, and *Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* comprised of his last lectures in Munich reconstructed by notes of his students (10).

While the entire dissertation is rich in scope and ideas, I focus our attention here on the problem of obedience, authoritative rule, and power in relationships. I begin with the section of *Max Weber's Methodology* which deals with Weber's sociology of religion.

In his discussion Bennion examines Weber's now well-known thesis connecting Protestant asceticism and modern capitalism. He shows how Weber compared Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and the Baptist Sects for their varied acceptance of a worldly calling and practical rational conduct. Here we see that Weber's concern is to understand individuals, not groups or institutions. The individual is clearly the unit of analysis for Weber, and his focus on individual action and meaning, as his unit of analysis, is unambiguous.

> Weber's sociology aims to understand the meaningful social conduct of individuals. ... It is the core of his sociological work and the point of departure for all of his research ... the acts of individuals and groups of individuals, and the explanations of these acts, are Weber's major interest, not geographical conditions nor the factors of production (58).

Weber's concepts of types of authority appear in the discussion of his sociology of religion. Here the emphasis on power relations in human conduct is plainly articulated. Weber even categorized political states according to type of "authoritative rule." Note the convincing focus on individual conduct and obedience as the defining characteristic of types of government and political states:

> To understand social and economic organizations one must comprehend human conduct because the former are but sequential organizations (*Ablaeufe*) of the latter. For example, Weber classifies states, not according to their form of government, monarchical, democratic, plutocratic, etc., but according to the type of conduct which makes a given state with a definite type of government possible. In Weber's political writings he maintains that the state is founded on power, on the rule of man over man. To understand the state one must comprehend the basis upon which this rule and power are founded. Weber gives three possible types: (1) the state founded on tradition, such as the patrimonial state; (2) the state founded on "charisma" exemplified by the priests and prophets; (3) the state founded on legality, i.e. the democratic state. In the last analysis such power, i.e. the power which demands obedience, is based on human conduct and disposition which in turn may be influenced by any number of forces from economic, religious, or magical sources (58-59).

Bennion explains that religions can best be understood

> in their full development as a type of authoritative group (*herrschaftsverband*). They represent authoritative associations which enjoy a monopoly of authority supported by the ability to give or withhold salvation (*heilsguter*). All religious and political groups are based in the last analysis on authority or power. They may best be understood by ascertaining the legitimate foundation of this power, or the means by which the authority is maintained (87).

The types of power Weber recognized are the now familiar: (a) charismatic authority ("the external or internal rule of man over man made possible by the faith of the ruled in this supernatural power of the leader"); (b) traditional authority ("the traditionalistic rule of man over man is based on the faith in that which has always been"); and (c) rational-legal authority ("based on impersonal rules and norms. Its typical representative is the bureaucratic rule made possible by the victory of the formal juridic rationalism of the Occident") (88).

Later in the book Bennion reaffirms that the individual is the unit or level of analysis. "It is amply clear that the individual and his social conduct are the crux of Weber's interpretative sociology" (157). Two fundamental themes of Weber's sociology are indisputable: the process of rationalization "as a guide in interpreting social relations ... (regardless) whether one studies his sociology of religion, sociology of economic activity or political relations" (158); and an "emphasis on authoritative rule (*herrschaft*)" (159). Regarding this second fundamental characteristic of Weber's sociology, Bennion notes that:

> Social relations are maintained by the rule of man over man regardless of the basis upon which this relationship originates or is perpetuated. In Weber's sociology of religion, just as much as in his sociology of the state or city, he seeks to uncover the nature and basis of this authoritative rule. Thus his religious writings deal primarily not with doctrines and institutions but with the struggle for power between prophet and priest, between them and secular authorities or between them and laymen. His sociology is an attempt to establish a theory of authoritative rule (159).

It is certain that Weber sees rational-legal authoritative rule as central to all organizations, including those in the private sector, public sector, ecclesiastical institutions, and not-for-profit organizations:

> For Weber, the development of modern forms of human associations, whether they be in the form of a church, state or economic enterprise, has been identical with the continuous increase of bureaucratic administration. The Roman Catholic Church, the government of the United States of America, and modern capitalistic enterprises illustrate Weber's point. The bureau-

> cratic system is the nucleus of the modern state and modern capitalism, although the two have different origins. Every administration or rule of the masses is sure to be bureaucratic. Even a socialistic state would have to be bureaucratic to maintain order and a standard of living (161).

One of Weber's essential characteristics of the rational, or legal, type of authoritative rule is that the relationship of individuals to authority is formal and impersonal. This is not the case with traditional and charismatic types of authoritative rule.

> Some of the essential characteristics of this legal type are the following: (1) new laws or norms may be issued from time to time and demand obedience from all those within the sphere of jurisdiction; (2) the ruler is also bound by the norms which he executes; (3) the ruled are not subjects of the ruler but are his colleagues, fellow-members or fellow-citizens in a society, church or state and they do not obey him but obey the laws or norms; (4) in the execution of law the administrator is restricted in his application of compulsion by a constitution, rules, etc.; (5) the execution of norms under legal rule calls for a rational ordered manner of administration, a *bureaucracy* (160-61).

In contrast with rational-legal authority, the traditional type of authoritative rule has "legitimacy ... based on belief in the sanctity of orders and powers of rulers by virtue of their having always existed" (161). Relations between ruler and ruled "are personal ones based on piety towards the ruler ... [the ruled] give their allegiance not to impersonal norms but to the ruler himself" (162). According to Weber, there are several types of traditional authoritative rule, including gerontocracies, patriarchies, patrimonies and sultanates, and feudalism (162).

The final type of authoritative rule discussed is charismatic, described as "the *ausseralltaegliche* quality of a person which demands obedience" (163). This quality is innate, cannot be acquired, and may be real or imaginary; "it is only essential that the ruled believe in it and order their conduct accordingly" (163). The relationship between ruler and ruled is personal, and charismatic rule is revolutionary by nature. "The more charismatic the rule, the more antagonistic it is to economic activity" (164). Types of charismatic authority include "inheritable charisma," believed to be in the blood (as in the clan or in lineage), and charisma attached to the office held by an individual. One problem associated with charismatic rule is succession of leadership; the other problem, which Bennion states in a footnote, was Hitler's problem at the time (1933): "Men who win great following by sheer dint of their leadership (a type of charisma) find it necessary, once they have power, to satisfy the material interests of their followers. Their success in political spheres depends largely on their ability to do this" (164).

This section of Bennion's discussion concludes by reinforcing the

fundamental quality of power in Weber's analyses, noting that "Weber's types of authoritative rule illustrate ... his approach to social relations" (164). Bennion also maintained that these particular types of authoritative rule are not meant by Weber to be all-inclusive.

Bennion builds a convincing case for the interpretation that the age-old question "of the rule of man over man," of authoritative rule, is fundamental to Weber's thinking. Why people obey is the central problem found in Weber's writings on religion and politics, as well as bureaucracy. Clearly Weber's ideas of bureaucracy, hierarchy, and power have implications for any authoritarian ecclesiastical institution, and thus for the LDS church.

Issues for Any Authoritarian Institution and for the LDS Church

Although the scope of Bennion's work on Weber did not address bureaucracy directly, the centrality of power in human relationships was clearly established. Drawing from Bennion's rendering of Weber as well as Weber's ideas relating to organizations, we see that three major related ideas are important for authoritarian institutions: first, the structural context of hierarchy of authority in bureaucratic structure; second, the centrality of power in human relationships; and, third, the question of authoritative rule, or "Why do people obey?"

It is evident that Weber identifies power as fundamental to human conduct, and the question of the "rule of man over man" is pivotal to Weber's analyses. In addition, Weber's conceptualization of power is the basis of bureaucratic organization and hierarchy of authority. Important concerns are raised regarding the relationship of individuals to organizations: types of power inherent in organizations, how power is expressed and how it is resisted, safeguards instituted against the illegal and unacceptable wielding of power, and the consequences of the perception of power. These are just some of the compelling questions for the LDS church—indeed, for all organizations—that can be informed by early Weberian insights.

Weber's ideas thus form the basis for understanding hierarchical relationship dynamics in organizations. A few of these power dynamics are considered here: first, hierarchy "subordinates" some people and "superiorates" or elevates others; second, hierarchy prompts approval-seeking behaviors; and, third, hierarchy can foster unquestioned obedience.

The first hierarchical dynamic is the fact that, from the perspective of the individual, hierarchical structures "subordinate" some people and "superiorate" others in terms of social position as well as social status, or perceived social worth. As one ascends the organizational hierarchy,

one's social status increases. Secular organizations reinforce this perception by granting vast differences in institutional rewards between those at lower levels and those at higher levels. One need only look at office space and furniture, parking spaces, as well as salary levels to see these differences.

Within the LDS church these differences are apparent and even magnified because of priesthood power being the authority to act in God's name. Those higher in the hierarchy have greater authority and power than those lower in the hierarchy. The implication that the Brethren are closer to God than anyone else on the earth is not uncommon. General authorities who visit local congregations are spoken of with reverence and awe.[32]

The second hierarchical relationship dynamic is approval-seeking. The "superioration," or elevation, of individuals according to organizational strata may prompt approval-seeking behavior on the part of subordinates. This view is certainly current with modern managers, who observe that there is no such thing as "non-evaluative interpersonal interaction" with someone above them in the hierarchy. Even trips to the water fountain, when one encounters the boss, carry the weight of judgment.

One of the many consequences of this dynamic of hierarchical relationships is that "subordinates" may have incentive to engage in behaviors which they think will meet the approval of those at higher levels. Direct orders are not necessary—only the impression that an action will fulfill the desire of those at higher levels.

While everyday instances of this sort of behavior abound, perhaps one of the most dramatic well-known examples is taken from history: the murder of Archbishop Thomas à Becket in 1170 by four subordinates of King Henry II. The king's knights apparently were inspired to take action by a comment from the king in which he indicated his wish to be rid of this upstart priest.[33] No direct command was given—nor was one needed. And that is the point.

This dynamic is readily seen in corporations and other secular organizations and is particularly fostered in the LDS church. Approval is very important in church callings. Members do not fill out job applications and apply for positions; no skill requirements are explicit; there is no pro-

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32. I note that this dynamic has an even more pervasive impact on women, who are excluded from having authority by their gender. Gender issues and patriarchal hierarchy is a rich and sometimes painful area of consideration; while important, these issues are beyond the scope of this essay.

33. This historical event is portrayed in T. S. Eliot's 1935 play, *Murder in the Cathedral.*

fessional development for career tracks within the church.[34] Instead, the recipient of a calling has to have met the approval of the priesthood leaders who issue the callings. This situation is ripe for the development of approval-seeking behaviors for those who seek to ascend the hierarchy.

Perhaps recent painful events in the church may be considered from this perspective. The disciplinary sanctioning of LDS scholars and writers, while portrayed as local actions, may be the result of approval-seeking behaviors on the parts of local priesthood leaders. It is possible, for instance, that while the First Presidency may not wish for such severe sanctions on some of these members, the local leaders believe that by leveling the sanctions, they are merely following the wishes of the First Presidency. Once accomplished, it is very difficult for the First Presidency to dismiss the actions of local leaders.

Further, some of the actions of the predominantly LDS Utah state legislature may be considered in light of approval-seeking. During the 1996 session, legislative leaders held a "secret meeting"[35] regarding gay clubs in high schools. According to news reports, legislative leaders distributed anti-homosexual materials to legislators and attempted to swear them to secrecy regarding the meeting. While there is no evidence that the general authorities of the church sought to influence members of the legislature in this regard,[36] it is entirely plausible that the legislators' vehement stands against homosexuality reflected the previously-expressed views of church leaders.

The third hierarchical relationship dynamic is unquestioned obedience to orders from those in higher positions. Weber's question of "Why do people obey?" is immensely important for people in organizations. Corporations and public agencies alike abound with examples of people obeying orders with which they do not agree. To some extent this is appropriate; indeed, it is a part of the manager's job to obey what the boss deems necessary. However, at times real moral dilemmas are encountered.[37]

Scholars consider this issue in various contexts, usually prompted by

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34. Even so, examination of the backgrounds of many of the general authorities reveals what may be considered implicit career tracks.

35. This meeting violated Utah's Open and Public Meetings Act. The ACLU brought the case to court, and a judgment against the Utah State Senate was issued by Third District judge J. Dennis Frederick on 19 February 1997.

36. This according to Senator Scott Howell (D), Utah State Senate Minority Leader, who maintains that the general authorities do not directly influence legislators in any way. Howell, a legislator of fine reputation, has discussed with the Brethren their concerns regarding the predominance of the Republican party in Utah, according to published reports.

37. For a seminal presentation of moral dilemmas of managers in organizations, from a Weberian/sociological perspective, see Robert Jackall, *Moral Mazes: The World of Corporate Managers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

compelling events. For example, the world has been horrified by the Holocaust and by the attempts of the Third Reich to implement the Final Solution to "the Jewish problem." One defense offered by Third Reich officers on trial for war crimes was that they were merely obeying orders. Particularly striking in this regard is the much-publicized trial of Adolph Eichmann, indicted and tried in 1961 in Jerusalem for a variety of crimes towards six million Jews and others. Before his trial Eichmann was subjected to several psychiatric examinations and found to be entirely normal, with no psychological indications of pathology; he openly professed that he held nothing against Jews. Eichmann pleaded, "Not guilty, in the sense of the indictment," claiming that Hitler's will was law in the Third Reich and he was thus engaged in lawful behavior. His defense further argued that he was only obeying the orders of his superiors.[38] Hannah Arendt's observation was that indeed Eichmann could have been shipping vegetables throughout Europe instead of Jews to their deaths. She also posed the frightening possibility that any vegetable shipper could have become an Eichmann. Eichmann, of course, was found guilty of the majority of crimes and was sentenced to death.

In the early 1960s the experiments of Dr. Stanley Milgram at Yale University were designed to explore further the very question raised by the behavior of officers of the Third Reich: Why do people obey? These experiments are well known, his results chilling: 68 percent of subjects continued to obey orders, believing they were administering perhaps lethal electrical shocks to another human being.[39] The Eichmann defense and the Milgram experiments echo Weber's central concern for the nature of obedience in human action, an issue which is arguably central to management and leadership in any organization.

The issue of obedience to authority is of particular importance to Latter-day Saints as the Brethren stress obedience so fully. Discussions of what members should do if asked by "someone in authority" to do something possibly morally wrong are not uncommon. I recall my time as a graduate student in Lowell Bennion's Sociology of Religion class at the University of Utah when he asked LDS students the question: If the prophet told you to do something you knew was morally wrong, would you do it? As a recent convert to the church from the Southern Baptist denomination, I was astounded and dismayed to hear the resounding arguments from students affirming their willingness to obey in these circumstances, arguing that they would not be responsible for any wrongdoing.

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38. For several compelling accounts of the Eichmann trial, see Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: The Viking Press, 1963); and Peter Papadatos, *The Eichmann Trial* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964).

39. See Stanley Milgram, "Behavioral Study of Obedience," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67:371-78.

It is important to recognize that Weber's conceptualizations were not provoked by horrific wartime activities nor by ambitious scientific experiments—instead, Weber's disquietude was aroused by an understanding of social life and human interaction. Weber's insights into bureaucracy and hierarchy of authority effectively bring the strong concerns for obedience into virtually every organization—and into every ward and branch of the LDS church. His thinking informs our consideration of fundamental conflicts between an individual's moral sense and orders, real or perceived, from those at higher levels.[40]

Basically, Weber's writings help us to see that organizations, bureaucracies, hierarchies, and so forth provide situations and positions in which individuals find themselves, often with severe constraints. Weber, in fact, expressed deep concerns about managers in hierarchical positions. Recognizing the compelling nature of organizational situations for individuals, he wrote that the manager in a hierarchical position "cannot squirm out of the apparatus in which he is harnessed ... he is chained to his activity by his entire material and ideal existence ... he is only a single cog in an ever-moving mechanism."[41] Weber "deplored" this type of person as a "petty creature, lacking in heroism, human spontaneity, and inventiveness."[42] It is clear from Weber that each situation involves power dynamics. In this context managers and subordinates work and relate to one another.

Weber recognized that organizations and hierarchies are not moral or immoral in and of themselves—they just are. Individuals occupying positions therein are in very restraining situations, and when people respond to the expectations imposed by the hierarchy, they are, in fact, behaving rather predictably. While not justifying individual behavior in organizations which can be described as immoral—or what Mormons would term as "unrighteous dominion"—it is clear that Weber understood such behavior. And so did Lowell Bennion.

Armed with this penetrating understanding of situations for individuals in organizations, Lowell Bennion could defy orders "from above" while continuing to love and support the church. Bennion, like Weber, was capable of understanding the situations of individuals who were not able to stand up to an institution for their beliefs. He understood well that people whose moral sense fails them in organizations are often in considerable pain as a result. The fact is Bennion—like Weber—understood the situations of individuals in organizations often better than did the individuals themselves.

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40. For a classic depiction of the inevitable conflict between bureaucratic organization and adult moral development, see Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

41. See Gerth and Mills, 228.

42. Ibid., 50.

Weber's Thinking in Bennion's Life

Unknown to young Bennion when he was writing his dissertation, the time would come when he would have his own struggles with the dynamics of the LDS church and draw strength and understanding from Weber's insights. It was the church that took him to Germany and allowed him to be introduced to Weber; it was work in the church that drew him away from a promising academic career advancing Weber among American sociologists; and it was while he was asked to stop working for the church as director of the University of Utah Institute of Religion that he met his greatest challenge in understanding the church.[43]

Clearly, Bennion's religious background played a central role in his relationship with Weber's ideas. The fact that Bennion applied Weber to Mormonism in his dissertation is but one example. More interesting, however, is the paradoxical role of Bennion's religious commitment, which took him to Germany, enabling him to learn German and to become introduced to Weber's theories. It was this same commitment that encouraged his career track to the church education system—away from advancing Weber through university teaching and research.

Born in 1908 to a prominent Utah family, Bennion was always a devout Mormon. His studies in Europe commenced after he served a mission in Germany for the church. In keeping with the requirements of the mission, he mastered the German language. He also read, in the original German, writers such as Kant, Goethe, and Schiller, as well as the classic works in world religions. By the time his mission was completed, he was fluent in German and immersed in the intellectual richness of German thought.

After his mission, Lowell's wife, Merle, joined him in Europe where he commenced his Ph.D. work. When they returned to the U.S. in 1934, Bennion wanted to teach at a university, but jobs were scarce during those Depression years. When he was asked to assist in developing his church's education system, he agreed, intending to remain in this position only a few years. He directed institutes of religion adjacent to university campuses, responding to the intellectual and spiritual needs of college students.

Bennion had wanted to pursue his interest in sociology and Weber. As he indicated in a 1937 letter to sociologist Kimball Young: "Utah sociologists, as far as I know them, are too engrossed in other fields to give Max Weber more than passing notice." At that time American sociologists had a limited understanding of Weber's work. Despite having the attention of eminent American sociologists like Becker, Young, Wirth, and

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43. For a thorough discussion of this time in Bennion's life, see Bradford, *Lowell L. Bennion.*

Parsons, Bennion—with characteristic humility—later reflected that he did not consider himself to be properly schooled in contemporary American sociology; he had returned from Europe with a command of German and French sociology—but not American sociology.[44]

While working in the church educational system, Bennion designed and taught courses that helped students wrestle with issues regarding tensions posed by institutionalized religion and hierarchical dynamics, as well as with other intellectual and spiritual concerns. He knew how bureaucracies and hierarchies work. He wrote extensively,[45] helping Mormons cherish the beauty of their religion as they experienced the constraints of church bureaucracy. Many of his books were used as lesson manuals in the church. He became known as a champion of compassion, tolerance, and service, consistently defending the individual against authoritarianism. He was a liberal who differed with some church leaders on important issues, notably the denying priesthood to males of African descent.

Finally, in the early 1960s these differences led to his resignation from church employment. This was a very painful time for Bennion, his family, and his students. In dealing with his personal and intellectual tensions with the church, Bennion, by his own admission, found wisdom in Weber's perspective—especially Weber's separation of value judgments from factual propositions. "I realized that often what the Church presents as factual propositions are actually value judgments. This distinction has helped me a great deal."[46] After his resignation, he continued to serve the church in many lay leadership positions, including bishop. His faith in the Mormon gospel never wavered, nor did his devotion to the church. His life and teachings demonstrated the ability to love the church beyond any struggles he had with it.

Bennion went on to pursue another career. He joined the administration of the University of Utah as Associate Dean of Students and was given a faculty appointment in sociology. For a decade he taught the sociology of religion, sociology of knowledge, and a seminar on Max Weber.

Weber's writings had addressed issues inherent in tensions between individual autonomy and organizational control. Concepts of authority, bureaucracy, hierarchy, and leadership pivot on this tension. For decades in church education, Bennion had devoted his life to helping students deal with these organizational issues as they relate to the church. He did the same at the University of Utah. In the key concepts which undergird much of Bennion's thinking on these issues, one recognizes echoes of Weberian thinking and understanding.

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44. Personal conversation, 5 Aug. 1992.

45. Bennion wrote fifteen books from 1933-90, twenty manuals for LDS church classes from 1934-72, and countless articles and speeches.

46. Personal conversation, 5 Aug. 1992.

The first concept is that bureaucratic organization is a necessary part of modern culture. Bennion recognized with Weber that Western culture and civilization is distinctive in its rationality ("reckonability") and elimination of magic and superstition from the world. Several indications of this are: modern industrial capitalism ("cold, calculating, reckoning way in which people go about making a profit"),[47] experimental science ("verifiability, idea of cause-effect"), legal-rational government ("in contrast to traditional and charismatic government, legal-rational government is based on laws accepted by the people, impersonal to a great extent, contractual in nature"), and bureaucracy ("a form of administration in government, business, education, and science"). Bureaucracy, then, was an inevitable development in modern culture, and the bureaucratic elements in religion were a part of modern industrial civilization.

Second, Bennion was aware that without an organization, religion in any form could not exist. A religion may begin with a charismatic[48] leader, but is only able to survive through institutionalization.[49] The charismatic leader inspires people to follow, which is difficult to maintain over time. "In religion, it exists only at moments of origination in its full-blown quality."[50] Furthermore, leaders die. "Once the charismatic leader is gone, institutionalization sets in."[51] Again, from sociology of religion class notes: "Religion begins as a very personal experience, filled with religious and ethical insights. Then the leaders begin to share these with other people, develop a discipleship, and a ritual, etc. The experience becomes institutionalized."[52] As Bennion would point out in class, even those who reject institutionalized religion and embrace the scriptures are indebted to religious organizations—without them, the scriptures would not exist, and, in fact, Holy Writ is an expression and product of institutionalized religion.

Third, Bennion, like Weber, wrestled with the issue of "authoritative rule." Bennion distinguished between personal authority and impersonal authority. Impersonal authority is possible in a legal-rational system and in bureaucracy. In his 1988 work, *Do Justly and Love Mercy,* Bennion's

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47. These and other unattributed quotes in this paragraph are taken from my course notes of Lowell Bennion's Sociology 190 course, Sociology of Religion, 31 Oct. 1968, University of Utah.

48. Charismatic leadership is a Weberian concept, presented in class as one of three types of leadership or authoritative rule.

49. The idea of the survival of religion possible only through institutionalization was also articulated by sociologist Thomas O'Dea. O'Dea also pointed out that while religion needs institutionalization in order to survive, religion also suffers from the dilemmas necessarily fostered by institutionalization.

50. Class notes of 8 Oct. 1968.

51. Class notes of 15 Oct. 1968.

52. Class notes of 8 Oct. 1968.

ideas echo his rendition of Weber. Bennion pointed out that some form of government is necessary over all groups of people—otherwise there is anarchy, which is destructive—and that "Government takes on many forms, all of which can be reduced to personal or impersonal rule" (69). He discusses why personal rule is undesirable—one reason is that few people can be trusted with power. Bennion proceeds to advocate impersonal rule "or government by law, for it avoids the pitfalls of personal rule" (71-72). Bennion continues here to discuss authority in the church, which can be "exercised in a personal or impersonal spirit" (72). The organization of the church, however, is precisely what makes impersonal rule possible. While there are imperfections associated with impersonal rule, Bennion preferred this to the alternative. Thus Bennion understood that authority in organizations was inevitable, even desirable.

Finally, Bennion helped students understand that there is a distinction between the church and the gospel. The gospel is ultimate truth which is grasped only in part by individuals. The church is a human organization which expresses and perpetuates the known aspects of the gospel. It is the means to the end, not the end in and of itself. "Men do not exist for the sake of the Church. The Church is an instrument, a means of bringing to pass the welfare and salvation of men."[53] Bennion's clarity here is apparent in his 1955 Sunday school manual, *Introduction to the Gospel*:

> The Church teaches theology, but is itself not to be confused with theology. Likewise, the Church promotes the religious life, but is itself not religion. We study theology and practice religion in and through the Church, but it is helpful if we distinguish the Church from both of these ... The Church is a social institution. Social institutions, such as the family, the government, a fraternity or lodge, a business corporation or a school, have three very essential characteristics: People, Purpose, and Organization. ... Churches vary in the type and extent of their organizational structure, but they must have some (205-206).

The bureaucracy of the church is subjected to the same dynamics which characterize any organization and which should not be confused with the beauty of religion.

These four points do not exhaust the ways in which Bennion drew on Weber. They are, however, central to understanding Bennion's view of the role of organization in religion. Combined with Bennion's philosophical and epistemological awareness of the limitations inherent in different ways of knowing,[54] these ideas inspired by Weber provided rich re-

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53. Lowell Bennion, *Introduction to the Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1955), 208.

54. See especially his 1959 work, *Religion and the Pursuit of Truth*, published in Salt Lake City by Deseret Book Company.

sources for Bennion in his own personal and intellectual struggle to accept the good in religious institutions despite all their foibles.

After about a decade, Bennion left the university to pursue another career: the alleviation of human suffering. He assumed the position of executive director of the Salt Lake Area Community Services Council. In an address before the Utah Sociological Society in 1982, at the age of seventy-four, he summarized his activities as head of that nonprofit social agency:

> We now operate a food bank, do chore services for the elderly and handicapped, make function-fashionable clothing for the handicapped, train quadriplegics in independent living, recruit thousands of volunteers, maintain an information and referral center, and enable senior citizens to obtain dentures and eyeglasses at greatly reduced cost.[55]

His efforts inspired the development of the Lowell L. Bennion Community Service Center at the University of Utah, which organizes several thousand students to engage in service activities throughout the world. He received dozens of honors bestowed by national organizations as well as by the Utah legislature. In his advanced years he continued to carry food to those in need, personally ministering to the elderly, the lonely, and the afflicted.

Bennion's career as a sociologist began in the social context of Mormonism and the Mormon church. His sociology was not merely an abstract body of knowledge; it was a methodology for making sense of the real "troubles" of one's life, coming to terms with one's values, and understanding one's role vis-à-vis the church and other "objective" situations of group conduct. It was a way to help Mormons appreciate and relate to their church as an ecclesiastical bureaucracy, while embracing dearly-held religious truths.

Conclusion

Lowell Bennion's 1933 interpretation of Weber, supported by later Weberian scholars, places power in human relationships as critical to Weber's thought. While Weber's concepts of bureaucracy and hierarchy of authority are well known, his views regarding power relations among individuals in hierarchical bureaucracies have not been widely acknowledged. Adding the element of Weber's power conceptualizations to his components of bureaucracy brings dynamism and richness to considerations of bureaucracy.

In 1933 Bennion presented Weber in a clear and comprehensive fash-

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55. Lowell Bennion, "My Odyssey with Sociology," in *The Best of Lowell L. Bennion: Selected Writings: 1928-1988*, ed. Eugene England (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1988), 50.

ion. A wider familiarity with Bennion could have made it possible for American scholars to understand Weber's concerns regarding power and obedience in organizations. We can be reasonably sure, as well, that Bennion would have been a prominent and defining figure in the field of sociology.[56]

As we have seen, Bennion tested Weber's ideas emotionally as well as intellectually. Four decades after the publication of his dissertation, Weberian scholars affirmed the correctness of Bennion's interpretation, giving us a glimpse of the prominence in the field of sociology that was sacrificed by Bennion's devotion to the LDS church. Even more important, Bennion's ability to gracefully meet painful conflict with the church—and remain devoted to it—also demonstrated the usefulness of Weber's thinking for those who experience difficulty with organizations.

With his seminal concepts of authority, bureaucracy, hierarchy, and leadership, Weber had elucidated compelling issues inherent in tensions between individual autonomy and organizational control. These issues addressed one of Bennion's central concerns: How does a person reconcile obedience to authority with individual integrity? How does an individual take responsibility for one's actions while being committed to an authoritarian organization, the leaders of which lay claim to receiving revelation and expect to be obeyed? In past years he was pressed specifically on some questions, such as: How can you stay in the church while it denies the priesthood to blacks? Or how can you still give allegiance to the church after it has treated you so shabbily? In a revealing metaphor Bennion would respond that membership in the church is like a marriage: one may have disagreements with one's spouse but one does not obtain a divorce. In much the same way, Latter-day Saints may have disagreements with the church, but they do not necessarily leave it.[57] Notice here the expectation that members will have disagreements with the church. While this metaphor may break down in important ways, when coupled with his penetrating understanding of the role of organizations in religion, it served him well.

Bennion drew from Weber a profound comprehension of the inherent characteristics of organizations, complete with their amoral aspects and diminution of individuals. Armed with this understanding, Bennion's

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56. While this assertion is purely speculative, some scholars—namely Arthur Vidich, Robert Jackall, Richard Hall, the late Thomas O'Dea (see Bradford, *Lowell L. Bennion*, 227), as well as Sterling McMurrin—have expressed this view.

57. In the late 1960s, during my days as his graduate student and teaching assistant, Bennion and I had many candid conversations. I had recently converted to the LDS church and was anxious to learn all I could from this wise and gentle man. In that spirit, at times I would press him on these issues, and he reminded me of that metaphor on more than one occasion.

life and thought provides a model for "remaining married" to the church. For Latter-day Saints who have abiding faith in the gospel and who struggle with the tensions and organizational/individual issues here discussed, this model may include understanding the following: (1) the role of bureaucratic organizations in modern civilization; (2) the need for religion to have an organization in order to survive; (3) the inevitability of issues of authority which characterize any human group; and (4) the differences between the church as an organization—filled with imperfect people—and the gospel of Jesus Christ.

This important knowledge may not be sufficient for many of us who struggle. There is yet another component to the model which may be drawn from Bennion's life: the gospel itself. It seems that his very nature inherently rejected any pretense of perfection and embraced all occasions for compassion, acceptance, and forgiveness. Perhaps the necessary piece of the model, then, is his insistence on living Christlike attributes regardless of what other individuals may do or even what the church may do. All of these elements converged in his life and nurtured the ability to be generous and patient with a necessarily imperfect church, while remaining devoted and faithful to the principles of the Savior and to the organization which perpetuates his teachings.

Templum: A Place Thought of as Holy

Stanton Harris Hall

I. *The coming*

Inside this precise granite
the immensity of the walk comes home

A line of shallow prairie depressions
spawning bunch grass and tiny femurs
amphora of sage
        greasewood and alkali
azimuth set on western horizons and refuge

II. *A question of boundaries*

Tucked under the gingham, molasses, and salt
came the questions
        brooding questions
couched in red stars and millennia
erythrocytes and red-green algae

Has this same metal in my veins
once girded handcart wheels
galvanized rubric on the walls of Egyptian tombs
        carried His breath

Is this universe of living
        at one in the Glacier Lily
        and slime mold
mine

III. *In gathering*

Here in this unknowing
        move the believers
hoping for a fix on the heavens

A humming unison of revealed hope
skirting the parallel terrors of
living and dying
Courting assurances in veils
        pleated linen
and oil of olive

Frightened wings all akimbo
fluttering against the smoked glass

IV. *Giving to the world a place*

Sometimes I dream
        of taking the soul in hand
and twisting
        like lime or sassafras
release the dry corona-white spirit
from the body's moist darkness

the spirit freed
        the child reunited

A Saint for All Seasons

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

AS STERLING MCMURRIN PUT IT, "Every religion needs a saint, and Lowell Bennion is Mormonism's saint." Why does a church need a saint? People need a flesh and blood example, a person who has attained some measure of holiness. We look for religious heroes, perhaps one of Joseph Campbell's thousand faces, those who represent us by risking themselves and returning to share a treasure that could help us find salvation. These persons are holy not because they have attained perfection, but because they are whole. Lowell's son Ben described his father as one who sought not holiness, but wholeness.

The author of a recent book on saints agrees: "More and more people are beginning to turn towards paradigms of humanity which convey an image of 'wholeness' or 'inner peace.'"[1] She continues: "The need for saints—for a religious individual who can point us toward the correct path for inner and outer survival is growing, and the call for help reverberates throughout the world ... Saints took the first step toward higher realities and assumed the ensuing risks. To reach our own higher potential, we must honor that courage by listening to their stories and allowing ourselves to be inspired by them."[2]

When I began my biography of Lowell, published in 1995 by the Dialogue Foundation as *Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian,* I wanted to tell Lowell's life story partly because I hoped it would reach those in search of saintly examples. But how to write about such a one? As some wag has put it, "Living with a saint can drive you into the arms of the devil." I asked for advice from others who had written biographies.

One church historian warned me against making Lowell into a "plaster saint." He admonished me to identify Lowell's human qualities, his faults and failings, because readers tend to identify with them. So I searched for those who were willing to go on record as disagreeing with him or even disliking him. What a difficult task! People either weren't

1. Manuella Dunn-Mascetti, *Saints: The Chosen Few* (New York: Ballantyne Books, 1994), 9.
2. Ibid., 10.

willing to go on record, or they had forgiven him and forgotten his offense. Lowell had already attained a status that put him almost above criticism. Those who knew him best, however, realized that he thrived on criticism, indeed, often asked for it. (The word *criticism* has unfortunately lost its favorable connotation as welcome judgment of the good, the ability to distinguish between choices, to discriminate.)

Lowell encouraged strong opinions in his classes at the church's institute of religion adjacent to the University of Utah, and he teased out the fledgling critics among us. He often worked with and tried to hire those whose opinions ran counter to his own. This was one way to grow, to exercise the muscles of the brain.

Once when I was a bit hard on something he had written, he thanked me, then inscribed the book with: "To my most esteemed and severe critic." The fact that he was willing to subject his work to callow students like me signaled that here was a man who was secure in himself, secure enough to look beyond himself, to seek improvement even from his students. In fact, he had learned the truth of the old saying: "Teaching is the best way to learn."

The quickest to point out his failings and the quickest to forgive him was his wife, Merle Colton Bennion, who deserves a book-length biography of her own. Merle was also a teacher, counselor, and humanitarian. She worked behind the scenes, helping neighbors and friends, feeding them, caring for their children. Her hairdresser told me that when she told Merle of her plans for a trip to Japan to see her family, Merle had offered to help finance the trip. Marjorie Hinckley, wife of President Gordon B. Hinckley, served as Merle's counselor in their ward Relief Society. "Merle was a real *relief* society president. She cared a lot more about going into a home where there was a need than planning a fancy social or luncheon."[3] Sister Hinckley recalled that Merle had exhibited a sixth sense when it came to knowing when families were in need.

Like other Mormon mothers, Merle felt neglected when Lowell spent so much time with others, but she forgave him. He was exciting to live with: "His mind is always churning," she said. They were high school sweethearts who never looked back once they looked into each other's eyes. As soon as he met her, he said, "I kind of concentrated on this little Merlie. She was a beautiful girl and enraptured me, as it were."[4]

After their wedding in 1928, Lowell left her for a Swiss-German mission for the LDS church, an act that caused intense loneliness and frustration for the new husband and wife. Their separation cemented their loyalty to each other, ending as it did with an idyllic honeymoon in the

3. Quoted in my book on p. 290.
4. Ibid., 25.

black forest of Germany, followed by engrossing studies at three of the finest universities in Europe.

Merle shared in these studies through her services as a typist and consultant, their long walks, and the classes she sometimes attended. Their time in Vienna was cut short when Hitler closed the university, so they finished in Strasbourg where they faced the loss of their first child. When members of the church asked, "Why did God take away Brother Bennion's baby?" they explained that the death was the consequence of an unfortunate accident and could not be blamed on God. Their faith in a merciful god and in the reality of the hereafter sustained them. This period was a seeding in for later years, giving Merle strength to withstand trials to come.

Another historian gave me this advice: Never write about a living person (and it's best if his family is gone too). The history of publishing is replete with horror stories about writers who were stopped from publishing material they had taken years to gather and prepare. I was advised also that an "unauthorized biography" is best, I suppose, because the biographer can feel free to fictionalize to her heart's content.

My book was authorized, however, by Lowell and Merle, with the cooperation of their siblings, other relatives, and of their children. Any risks were greatly diminished by the modesty of my subjects. Both Lowell and Merle had a rare ability to forget themselves in larger causes with almost no need to receive credit for their work. One of Lowell's colleagues and friends, Elizabeth Haglund, put it best: "What kind of a person can care so little about his own needs and yet care so greatly and understand so deeply about how to provide help for others' needs? Lowell is a man of mystery in many ways."[5]

Lowell and Merle were able to see themselves as part of a larger whole. They agreed to point out errors and to express their feelings about anything they read, but they also agreed that the manuscript would be entirely my own responsibility. Family members read the manuscript, offered suggestions, but also agreed that ownership was mine. Lowell asked me to avoid "eulogizing him," in short, to keep from depicting him as a saint.

Lowell's missionary diary, long buried in a stuck drawer, had been lost to him until his daughter retrieved it in 1985. A wonderful depiction of missionary life, it also revealed the sexual longings and love of two young lovers. Though written in the guarded Victorian language of the time, Lowell expressed his love for his young bride and was embarrassed when I quoted from the diary. Merle, however, felt that the diary was the best way to depict their early marriage.

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5. Ibid., 230.

All the Bennion children read the manuscript and voiced their views. I appreciate their correction of faults and I salute them for the gracious way they allowed me to intrude on their privacy. All the Bennions and Coltons I interviewed were open and cooperative, but I suspect none of them really wanted to be written up. Lowell's willingness to trust me with his life gave me confidence, and Merle's obvious pleasure in telling their story buoyed me.

Early on I decided to speak as much as possible in Lowell's own voice and to choose for myself a relatively plain style, much like his. I believed that if I could stick to his own version of himself, I could avoid the worshipful tone of the hagiographer. I based my research outline on the fine oral history interviews Maureen Ursenbach Beecher had conducted for the LDS church historian's office. Lowell's responses to Maureen's insightful questions and his ability to organize in his head gave structure to his life. I could then fill in with interviews, archival research, and family documents. The Bennion sons excavated his institute files from his basement; they and others shared letters and documents. Frances Bennion Morgan, his youngest sister, had kept all the letters Lowell had written her over the years, and his old friend Bill Moran gave me a well-written diary and letters dating from the mid-1930s. I chose other representatives from each phase of his life to speak for themselves and stand in for hundreds of others who could have spoken.

Many of the people I interviewed spent much of the time talking about themselves, not out of egotism, but because Lowell had been a catalyst for them in their life choices. One of the founding students of Lambda Delta Sigma sent me a tape that began, "Most of my accomplishments have been in some way an attempt to repay Lowell." Lowell was a father figure as well as a teacher and counselor.

My own experience is typical. Lowell had a way of seeming to say, as he looked at me like a good parent: "I know you and I will help you magnify your gifts." Since he was firmly centered himself, he strove to create an atmosphere at the institute where the students could develop themselves and serve others at the same time. A spirit of brotherhood/sisterhood made the fraternity he founded and the courses he created a safe place to be.

In his classes Lowell often began by writing on the blackboard: "What is your philosophy of life?"—this at a time when we callow youth could only parrot the sayings of others. He looked into our eyes, and we looked into ourselves. We felt enlarged, recognized.

My son Stephen once described to me his experience at Lowell's Teton Valley Ranch for boys: "You are away from your family with a big group of boys and you thought you would be indistinguishable, but when he'd look you straight in the eye, you knew he cared about you as

an individual. He differentiated among boys. You carried back increased confidence."

Lowell understood that group experience should increase the self-esteem of the individual. He was skilled in group processes, but his target was always the individual. "Don't love me because you want to get to the Celestial Kingdom," he would say. "Love me because it is your nature to love." He taught that love is not a quantity to be doled out to the worthy, but a quality to be cultivated. With that cultivation grew a sense of our place in the universe. He described the two worlds in which we live: the world of reality or the total world of nature with its mysterious laws where the individual often feels "like an infinitesimal bit of nothingness standing on the brink of eternity."

The other world is the subjective one where each of us can carve out a life of his or her own. We can identify the things of worth to us, recognizing our own creativity, our freedoms, our strengths. When we learn to concentrate, not on the overwhelming whole, but on the things that matter most, we realize that the truly free is defined as a person who directs her energies and labor to purposes of her own choosing.

In his book *Religion and the Pursuit of Truth,* Lowell traced the distinctions between *authority* and *authoritarianism.* If any institution becomes an end in itself, where the authority in that institution discounts our ability to rule ourselves, then amen to the authority of that institution. That which we choose to give our allegiance to is what has dominion over us. We decide what that is by thinking, studying, praying, interacting with others, and experiencing life.

Lowell taught that although the faith of a child is beautiful, it may be too fragile to withstand the storms of life. He respected authority but believed that it should always be exercised in humility "with no respect for authoritarianism."[6]

I believe that during his lifetime some misunderstood Lowell's appeal, assuming that he was interested in developing a "following" of those loyal to him instead of to the church. There is no doubt that a Bennionite Branch could be easily organized, but Lowell's intent was to help people make their religion more nearly their own.

In studying the life of this saint, I asked myself the question, Who were Lowell's saints? It was easy to see that his early heroes were his father, his mother, his bishop, and David O. McKay. Later his devotion to his friend and colleague T. Edgar Lyon rivaled these.

Lowell's father, Milton Bennion, the last son of the third wife of pioneer John Bennion, was named after the poet. Milton was an educator who saw his family life as a laboratory for development. He gave his chil-

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6. Ibid., p. 247.

dren I.Q. tests and delighted in their individuality. Just as the child Milton ran away from kindergarten, chased but unpunished by his father, so did Lowell skip kindergarten, with Milton allowing the same freedom. When the young Lowell declared his intention to run away from home, Milton packed his bag. When Lowell was kicked by the family pony, Milton bought a bridle. When Lowell's brother refused to pray when called on, Milton decided he himself had been unfair. When Milton once administered a slap to five-year-old Lowell, the response was, "Hit me again, you big bully!" causing Milton to remark with amusement on yet another example of the "Bennion independent streak."

Reared on four acres of garden and animals, in a family of eight children, Lowell was well-parented. His patient mother was devoted to family, church work, and the arts. In her nineties, when the lights went out and her daughter offered rescue, her response was, "I'll just light a candle and play my guitar." Lowell too learned to face the darkness by lighting candles and listening to music.

He saw his father interact with authorities of church and university and learned that it was possible to develop fully within an institution. The Bennions were loyal to the church while retaining an almost mystic connection to the land. By the time he became director of the Salt Lake institute at the ripe old age of twenty-six, Lowell was ready to adopt the advice of his father's friend, David O. McKay: "Be true to yourself and loyal to the cause." Over the years Lowell worked out his own version of this: "If you have integrity and love, you have all the great virtues." To Lowell, President McKay was an example of a saint who believed in an expanding universe, who believed in progression and in possibility. He seemed to represent one of Lowell's cherished sayings, "The gospel of the church is bigger than any one man's perception of it."

President McKay was a teacher himself, an English major who quoted the poets along with the prophets. When he drove his Cadillac to Lowell's office with a personal invitation to speak at general conference priesthood meeting, Lowell felt that his brand of Mormonism had been accepted.

During the turbulent 1960s, Lowell was released from his position at the institute and President McKay did nothing to retain him. Lowell fell back on another of his well-honed maxims: "I refuse to be defeated twice, once by the circumstance and once by my attitude toward the circumstance." He was not defeated, only disappointed. The reason for his dismissal was not clear at the time, but he accepted the goals of the institution and took McKay's advice: Cross the street to the university. Years later he would accept the wisdom of this choice, justified in his conviction that McKay always had Lowell's best interests in mind.

Although many felt a great loss, Lowell's world expanded into what Gene England calls his "central contribution to Mormonism," his humanitarian prophetic voice.

Lowell's over-arching example was always Jesus Christ. He believed in Christ as a real person who combined in his being all the qualities humans can aspire to. Lowell was a devout Christian, a devout Mormon, while always recognizing and learning from the saints of other religions.

While studying for his Ph.D. degree, Lowell also internalized the works of a secular saint, Max Weber, who had mapped the study of institutions and their bureaucracies. This far-seeing thinker also thought about religion and prophets. He called Buddha an *exemplar* prophet who led by personal example; Isaiah an *emissary* prophet who transmitted messages from God. Lowell added his own assessment: Jesus Christ was both *Exemplar* and *Emissary.*

Lowell chose this great German sociologist as his dissertation subject and one of his saints because "He was the most creative mind I'd yet come across." Weber died thirteen years before Lowell took up his studies in Europe, and Talcott Parsons was just beginning to translate Weber into English at the time.

I approached one of Lowell's former students who was completing her doctorate in sociology: "Was Lowell the first to write a full-length study of Weber in English?" as Eugene England had claimed. Laurie DiPadova, whose essay on Lowell and Max Weber appears in this same issue of *Dialogue,* stoked up her computer, searched the literature, and turned up a title by a long-forgotten British scholar who had not looked at Weber's whole work. Lowell's *Max Weber's Methodology,* published in Paris in 1933, has now been footnoted by almost all the major Weber scholars ever since its publication in an edition of one hundred copies. This led DiPadova into further studies about Weber and Lowell. She concluded that "Bennion's was the first systematic treatment in English of the broad body of Weber's work ... based on his own translations." Though his ideas would not now be considered new, at the time his work was "not only original but momentous." Parsons himself called it the "most comprehensive secondary account in English."

Lowell incorporated Weber into his own thinking, giving shape to his holistic concepts of life and learning. Weber taught Lowell how to tell the difference between value judgments and facts. By studying Weber's concept of the Ideal Type, Lowell found ways to analyze and then to synthesize. His ability to think through and around every aspect of a subject, presenting it in easy-to-understand terms can be enjoyed in his lesson manuals and his books.

Other secular saints in Lowell's life were Albert Schweitzer, with his "reverence for life," and Gandhi, with his "Live simply so that others

may simply live." During his mission Lowell also made the acquaintance of the great German poets Schiller and Goethe, which led to a love of Beethoven and his rendering of Schiller's "Ode to Joy." They all became a lifetime consolation. Lowell memorized Goethe's maxims "Whatever you do or dream you can, begin it," "Boldness has genius, power and magic in it," and "Whatever from you heritage is lent, earn it anew to really possess it."

The scholars, the philosophers, the poets, the composers helped him compose his definition of joy as something much greater than mere entertainment or fun—part sorrow and the deepest delight in all things.

Lowell was happy to be a Latter-day Saint, a title with ambition and hope in it. The only other title he liked, besides father or husband, was "brother." In my day his nickname was "Brother B." He often quoted Micah: "What doth the Lord require of thee than to do Justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God." He achieved a measure of wholeness by balancing the justice/mercy theme in his own life, activated by the phrase "walk with." His ambition was to work alongside his God, not performing, not lagging behind, nor running ahead.

I honored his wishes and left the Saint out of the title, but I can't keep people from thinking of him as a saint, and as a prophet like the Old Testament moral prophets he loved—Amos, Hosea, Micah. He was not a prophet who reads the future or speaks for the church, but one who cries repentance and stands his ground on the individual conscience. His prophetic voice is at its best in such essays as "The Weightier Matters," published by *Sunstone* and republished in Gene England's collection of Lowell's writings. I recommend a re-reading.[7]

Levi Peterson wrote a moving personal essay about his biography of Juanita Brooks called, "My Subject, My Sister." Lowell, my subject, my brother, thank you for sharing your life with me.

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7. Lowell L. Bennion, "The Weightier Matters," in *The Best of Lowell L. Bennion: Selected Writings: 1928-1988*, ed. Eugene England (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1988), 115.

Lily Foot

Anita Tanner

Did I hold the tiny Chinese shoe
or simply gaze at it
encased in museum glass
in the old mining town
where thoughts escape
down corridors?
My eyes lock upon
skeletal drawings
of a normal foot
beside the irreversible arch
defined as beauty—
minute foot bound
at the pain and price of idea.

It's my mother's foot,
club at birth,
diminished by seven surgeries,
necessitating a smaller shoe,
a shorter, smaller leg,
a limp, poor circulation.
Small price to straighten
what nature forgot—
she can walk,
run with halting gait.
The day my child eyes
notice her difference
stands like a relic
encased in glass.

Too recently, it is Shelly
of fifteen years,
knocked senseless
into the abutment of a bridge.
A year after the impact
my daughter and I
walk into her room,
her hands and feet curled
by an invisible binding
that smothers her voice,
fouls her alignment,
and disguises all she is
except her wide clear eyes.

Renegotiating Scylla and Charybdis: Reading and the Distance between New York and Utah

John Bennion

READERS UNPACKED BRIAN EVENSON'S NATIONALLY-PUBLISHED collection of controversial short stories, *Altmann's Tongue,* in diverse (perverse) ways.

Jerry Johnston, a columnist for the Mormon church-owned *Deseret News,* observed, "The word 'macabre' comes to mind. He is a literary version of Stephen King, trading more on psychology and character than gore. Like Poe. Like Raymond Carver writing up the Addams family."[1]

In the same article Leslie Norris, one of Evenson's colleagues in BYU's English department, said, "Brian has created a whole world. ... It is a world where people work very hard, yet everything is purposeless. His great gift is the calmness he puts at the center of that world. I see him as a moral writer. He seems to be saying, 'This is what the world would be like if we didn't know right from wrong.'"[2]

BYU president Rex Lee (now deceased), interviewed for BYU's student newspaper, warned: "If his future work follows the same pattern of extreme sadism, brutality and gross degradation of women characteristic of 'Altmann's Tongue,' such a publication would, in our view, not further his cause as a candidate for continuing faculty status."[3]

Bruce W. Jorgensen, another of Evenson's associates at BYU, wrote, "Here is an alternative formulation. Perhaps the book poses such a ques-

1. Jerry Johnston, "Brother Grimm," *Deseret News,* 25 Sept. 1994, E1.
2. Ibid.
3. Shea Nuttall, "'Altmann's Tongue' author to leave," *Daily Universe,* 11 July 1995, 1.

tion as this to us: ... Can you love a serial killer? If you were God, could you, would you try to save him?"[4]

Susan Howe, a third of Evenson's colleagues, feared: "[A] text is a cultural artifact as well as an aesthetic construct. As a text enters a culture, it may be appropriated by naive readers who share some of the assumptions of the brutal characters and use the text to justify their own brutality."[5] Later she added, "Violence is redundant. To create violence in literature, when there is so much of it in our lives, is not a stretch of imagination. It is a very easy choice, not worthy of the best Mormon Minds writing in the last days of the twentieth century."[6]

Gary Browning, a former BYU dean, wrote, "Evenson is a most effective teacher of the difficulties in judging rightly and righteously."[7]

Finally, the student writer of an anonymous letter complaining to church and university officials about Evenson's work that ultimately precipitated Evenson's departure from BYU felt "like someone who has eaten something poisonous and is in desperate need to get rid of it."[8]

In an interview Brian Evenson said: "When I published *Altmann's Tongue*, I didn't expect anybody in the Mormon culture to read it. ... I guess what happened was an audience was created for the book that I didn't expect. Suddenly, I was confronted with people reading the book in a much different way than I would ever have thought to read it. I would see it as a misreading I guess, but maybe it's valid in its own way or own terms."[9]

I am both a member of BYU's much-beleaguered English department and a writer, and I have little interest in being sucked into the whirlpool of the *Altmann* fray, proclaiming yet another reading which would argue with or reconcile all these others. Instead the question I would like to explore is this: What are the conditions under which a reader closes a text (literally and figuratively), refuses to suspend the narrative any longer in imagination, says, "Enough!" and, naming the book, is finished with further negotiation? The question is important partly because the act of clos-

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4. Bruce Jorgensen, "Swallowing *Altmann's Tongue*: Misreading and the Conduct of Mormon Criticism," 30 Mar. 1995, Brigham Young University Literature and Belief Colloquium, 7, typescript dated 6 Apr. 1995, privately circulated.

5. Susan Howe, "The Moral Imagination," in *Annual of the Association for Mormon Letters*, ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson (Provo, UT: Association for Mormon Letters, 1996), 3.

6. Ibid., 4.

7. Gary Browning, "The Moral/Religious Imagination in Brian Evenson's 'The Father, Unblinking,'" 30 Mar. 1995, Brigham Young University Literature and Belief Colloquium, 6, privately circulated.

8. Quoted in Jorgensen, 2.

9. Brian Evenson, interview by author, 28 July 1995.

ing a text is occasionally linked to the political act of suppressing the author.

Evenson's important book fits in a certain class of Mormon literature—books which attempt to steer between the Scylla of Mormon readers and the Charybdis of New York publishing houses (or is it the other way around?). Evenson and writers such as Maurine Whipple, Richard Scowcroft, Vardis Fisher, Virginia Sorensen, and Orson Scott Card have succeeded with their intended national audience but have been chastised—sometimes devoured—by their Mormon audience, an audience which feels either cheated or violated by the text. I propose that answers, if not reconciliation, between Mormon readers and nationally-oriented Mormon writers can be won by respecting (and disrespecting) both perspectives—a paradoxical double vision.

Like readers of Evenson's work, readers of Maurine Whipple's *The Giant Joshua* responded diversely, with significant implications for the author. Part of the discussion was and still is the book's sexual content, which provided dissonance for many varieties of Mormon readers. One early critic, Mormon apostle John A. Widstoe, wrote that Whipple's "evident straining for the lurid obscures the true spirit of Mormonism, and misleads the reader."[10] This single review, according to Whipple scholar Katherine Ashton, "probably contributed most to the non-acceptance of the book by the Mormon audience."[11] Widstoe's reading conditioned and bound the readings of others, who apparently thought of his review as a proclamation. Whipple was awarded a Houghton-Mifflin Fellowship to write the book, but in a letter to a close friend she refers to "the anguish and disillusionment that *Joshua* has brought me."[12] Widstoe's review referred not only to "lurid" sexuality but to the "true spirit of Mormonism." He implied that the text was inconsistent with the reality of Mormon experience generally.

Yawning before us is the watery pit that swallowed *The Giant Joshua* and other books—that brand of reading and criticism which measures literature by one method only: first, by defining the nearly indefinable—general Mormon experience—and then by judging how well a text correlates to that standard. Some readers judge literature by no other standard, as if their own vision is absolute. Others, many of them careful readers, see dissonance as evidence that the writer doesn't understand Mormonism well. I want both to question and take seriously criticism by disso-

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10. Quoted in Katherine Ashton, "Whatever Happened to Maurine Whipple?" *Sunstone* 14 (1990): 36.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

nance; mine is certainly a schizophrenic position.[13]

One example of a passage which many readers find inconsistent with the true spirit of Mormonism lies at the end of *The Giant Joshua*. The heroine, Clory, is dying. She thinks,

> And now there is no more time. Already the radiance is trembling on the horizon, the flushed light leans down from the west, the Great Smile beckons, and suddenly, with the shock of a thousand exploding light-balls, she recognizes the Great Smile at last. That which she had searched for all her life had been right there in her heart all the time. She, Clorinda MacIntyre, had a testimony![14]

How does a reader signify the problematic phrase "the Great Smile"? Is it testimony, God, or the Holy Ghost leading Clory to recognize what is in her heart? It is certainly not the phrase mainstream Mormons would use to describe any motion of the spirit. As Laurel Ulrich writes, "Whenever things get too bad for her, she turns to a kind of kindergarten mysticism, dwelling on thoughts of 'The unopened Door' and 'The Great Smile' (which has a way of turning into Charlie Brown's 'Great Pumpkin' once the spell of the book is broken)."[15] Another critic, Eugene England, suggests that Whipple's abstractions of spirituality arise out of a novice misreading of Emerson's Oversoul or Transparent Eyeball.[16] He says Whipple uses "resounding abstractions" and "vague and unsatisfactory mental solutions"[17]; that she is guilty of a "destructive confusion"[18] and a "corrupted view of sex and of character."[19] He writes, "On the one hand she creates a marvelously-realized emotional sense of their gritty faith and genuine religious experience, and on the other she indulges in imagining for them humanistic and pantheistic perceptions that are closest to

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13. In his 1991 Association for Mormon Letters presidential address, "Attuning the Authentic Mormon Voice: Stemming the Sophic Tide in LDS Literature," Richard Cracroft suggests that many Mormon authors miss the mark of their mostly faithful audience by constantly writing about Mormons on the outer fringes of orthodoxy. Mormon literature should be mantic, consciously orienting itself toward the divine (see *Sunstone* 16 [July 1993]: 51-57). The next year in the same forum Bruce Jorgensen argued that the Christian reader should be eclectic, welcoming and embracing many kinds of literatures, authors, and characters ("To Tell and Hear Stories: Let the Stranger Say," *Sunstone* 16 [July 1993]: 40-50). Positions were defined and a healthy debate began.

14. Maurine Whipple, *The Giant Joshua* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, Inc., 1976), 633.

15. Laurel Ulrich, "Fictional Sisters," in *Mormon Sisters*, ed. Claudia L. Bushman (Cambridge, MA: Emmeline Press, Ltd., 1976), 254.

16. Eugene England, "Whipple's *The Giant Joshua*: A Literary History of Mormonism's Best Historical Fiction," in *Readings for Mormon Literature* (Provo, UT: the author, 1991), 19.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., 23.

her own. She tries to have it both ways."[20] He suggests that the maudlin and melodramatic in Whipple's writing are evidence of personal anger at Mormonism and lack of testimony. Accordingly, Whipple is without "solid underpinnings in a secure knowledge—in an informed testimony—of Mormon thought."[21]

Whipple's critics may be "right" from some universal perspective (whose might that be?), but I am more interested here in the pattern of their felt dissonance. Ulrich and England both sense that Whipple is not always true to a generalized Mormon self. The problem is important because certainly neither England nor Ulrich is a naive reader who would not give Whipple a fair read.

The problem of dissonance could be resolved for a naive reader by replacing "The Great Smile" with stereotypical Mormon descriptions of testimony such as "a warm feeling," "burning in the bosom," or anything which follows the words "I know ... " when delivered in the context of standing and declaring. But are these formulations any less vague? Testimony—that personal, inner communication between God and each person, facilitated by the Holy Ghost—may be indescribable to someone who has not focussed on the experience; although, as a writer I have faith that words are just as unreliable for describing matters of the spirit as they are for matters of the mind or body. Any worn Mormon phrase will be shorthand for testimony, clear in speech among Mormons, even more jarring to the gentile ear than the phrase, "the Great Smile," which is defined and explored earlier in Whipple's novel.

The problem Whipple faced was how to signify the Mormon conception of testimony for an audience unfamiliar with traditional Mormon labels. Should she ground her images in ideas borrowed from philosophy or other religions to create a bridge for non-Mormon readers? But any such bridge causes dissonance for even well-educated Mormon readers, who sense her rendering of testimony as vagueness, words which miss the mark.

I see another whirling pit in our watery pathway. Many Mormon writers, myself included, yearn for the perfect line, perhaps in the Adamic language, which is so complete that the sign hangs in the air like a ripe, white fruit—so full of meaning that all readers can signify it as testimony, the tail-end of one of God's fleeting thoughts. Such a word would explode all boundaries, establish a new order in language, break trail for a Mormon literature as great as Milton's or Shakespeare's. But of course present language is earth-bound, provisional, and conditional. As Moroni wrote concerning the difference between speech and writing: "when we

20. Ibid., 19.
21. Ibid.

write we behold our weakness, and stumble because of the placing of our words" (Ether 12:25).

The problem is this: Most Mormons want their Mormonism straight and familiar, unadulterated with secular philosophy, and historically they have mistrusted writing adapted to a national audience. The literary conventions such writers use to succeed, I believe, are often precisely what Mormon readers find foreign, vague, and offensive. So what conventions do they use, these Mormon writers aspiring for a gentile audience?

During May 1995 on the Association for Mormon Letters (AML) e-mail list, one participant commented: "What I'd really like to see writers on this list address is the question of audience, particularly how to write about Mormon experience for a secular, mainstream literary audience."[22] I want to read responses to that question backwards, for evidence of what may offend *Mormon* readers. In a 17 May message, Pauline Mortensen, herself a writer of nationally-oriented fiction,[23] describes what turns non-Mormon readers off:

> If one writes with a tacit understanding of truth that excludes most of what the non-Mormon audience views as reality, I think the writer will have problems. In other words, it is the silent spaces in a text which speak the loudest, the assumptions that one writer or another believes to be true which need not be spoken, but yet determine the outcome of the plot. These can be most annoying even within a culture.[24]

All writers rely on shared assumptions, conventions which vary from genre to genre and audience to audience. Mormon writers, in order to succeed with a national literary audience, must abandon certain Mormon conventions, especially the assumption of universal truth. Mortensen continues: "In the end, I guess what I am talking about is narrative technique and closure. While your characters may come to certain conclusions, your text should be more careful about drawing small circles of enclosure in a big world. What matters most is the writer's politics and agenda rather than the setting."[25]

Even within a culture, Mortensen suggests, the assumption is offensive that a writer is privy to all the secrets. Unfortunately, or fortunately, depending on your position, this "insider" feeling is exactly what many if not most Mormon readers want. Related to this expunging of arrogance,

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22. Holly Welker, Association for Mormon Letters List, May 1995.

23. See Pauline Mortensen, *Back Before the World Turned Nasty* (University of Missouri Press, 1989).

24. Pauline Mortensen, Association for Mormon Letters List, 17 May 1995.

25. Ibid.

the national writer of literary fiction must resist a yearning for textual closure, the same textual closure Mormon readers often swaddle themselves in. I'm not opposed to occasional swaddling, reveling in unambiguous truth and reassuring myself that I am privy to at least a share of the secrets, but if I read only texts which comfort, which end with the universe in good order or assume that all truth is already packaged, I risk stasis, stagnation, loss of growth.[26]

Later readers of the AML list considered Walter Kirn's "Whole Other Bodies," another text which succeeds with a national audience but which has been problematic for various Mormon readers—in part because the story's irony is invisible when it is read according to Mormon conventions. On 30 May Mortensen discussed the text's ambiguity:

> The narrator describes his religious conversion as a joyous experiment that failed. I am both convinced by the joyousness of the conversion and the emptiness that follows. And I hover forever between the sincerity and the irony of that joyousness. It is the perfect story because it has no answers. It will keep playing over and over in my head and attempt to resolve itself every time but never will. And people will keep anthologizing it and commenting on it for that same reason.[27]

This text refuses to close, remains continually animated in Mortensen's mind; such openness relies on the nature of the text and her affinity for a text that resists naming. But the convention of many Mormon texts is resistance to ambiguity. Some readers and writers want conversion with only temporary failure, joyousness without emptiness, sincerity without irony. Texts which provide deep religious ambiguity may frustrate such readers. What happens to readers of Kirn's story?

The opening sentence is, "I remember the time of my family's conversion, that couple of months before He saved our souls forever."[28] The language is familiar to any Mormon reader, straightforward; it has been told again and again in Mormon publications. However, through examination of context and close reading, Mortensen discovers irony and ambiguity:

> For me, the first context that gave me clues as to how to read the text was

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26. In "Faithful and Ambiguous Fiction: Can Weyland and Whipple Dance Together in the House of Fiction?" *Association for Mormon Letters Annual*, ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson (Provo, UT: Association for Mormon Letters, 1995), 269-83, I argue that both comfort and risk might be necessary even in fiction for psychological growth—both building faith and tearing down the walls which limit it.

27. Pauline Mortensen, Association for Mormon Letters List, 30 May 1995.

28. Walter Kirn, "Whole Other Bodies," in *My Hard Bargain* (New York: Pocket Books, 1990), 53.

> from the other stories themselves. Kirn teaches us how to read his stuff, as does any author. He uses sophisticated literary devices, non-traditional Mormon-like devices. For instance, in "Whole Other Bodies" he begins with the ending. And in fact he begins with the cliché ending as in "happily ever after" only he says "that couple of months before He changed our souls forever." By beginning with the cliche ending, he calls it into question. It is the question or conflict of the story. Will it be forever? And I say look, this story was not published as essay (if it were, I would read it straight without irony), and it was not published by Signature [Books] or Deseret Book or Bookcraft, so what might be going on here outside of my own Mormon reading ... ? The word "forever" from an outsider's view has got to be a major joke. And in fact, from my experience, forever means a lot of different things. I will be your friend forever. I will love you forever. And so forth. The word "soul" has likewise fallen out of literary and philosophic circles and has only re-emerged recently in the New Age stuff (although in religious literature it has remained current). Kirn's story occurs in this outside context where these words have varied connotations and I take all of these contexts seriously when I read his story.[29]

Mortensen, and assumably Kirn, take a stock line—"He saved our souls forever"—and render it ambiguous. Mortensen says, in her electronic posting, that even factual dissonance is part of the strategy. Kirn uses "poetic/fictional license" on realistic detail to

> cross over to the outsider point of view in order to comment on the Mormon text. In other words, he shares assumptions with the non-Mormon audiences. These are ironic generalizing moments that teach me how to read. If Kirn says Testimony Sunday and Baptize the Dead [phrases which Mike Austin said on the list mark the story as written by an outsider], I sense that he sacrifices detail for the broader generalizing commentary. Such details teach me to read the word "forever" in an ambiguous way.[30]

Again the factors which open the text for her, its complexity, its adaptation and distortion of mainstream Mormon materials and fictional techniques, especially its ambiguity, are exactly what may cause dissonance for even sophisticated Mormon readers, who sense that Kirn has the Mormon universe wrong.[31]

So far I have only considered snippets of text. I would now like to turn to a more extended reading of a story by Darrell Spencer, another

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29. Pauline Mortensen, Association for Mormon Letters List, 5 June 1995.

30. Ibid.

31. What, one might ask, are mainstream Mormon materials and conventions? They are a fluid, ever-transmutating body of techniques borrowed from church talks, our brief Mormon literary tradition, but mostly national popular forms—an amoeba which is not easily identifiable.

Mormon writer and BYU English professor who angles his material toward a national audience. Like Evenson and Kirn, he uses narrative devices to open his text. He accepts dissonance in language, distortion between signified and signifier, as given, as a premise of his fiction. For example, one story in *Our Secret's Out* is entitled "The Glue that Binds Us."[32] By substituting the word "glue" for "ties," Spencer makes the phrase ambiguous. While some ties sustain us, others bind and imprison. The title questions something which readers may have taken for granted. What is the nature of the glue that binds?

The story involves an apparent love triangle. The non-Mormon narrator, Colfisch, is returning to Utah for a visit. He worries that Gloria, his wife and a marginal Mormon, is leaving him for their host, Benjamin Gust, identified in the story as "a priesthood holder."[33] Another character, a friend of Gust's, is Zinnia Smith, also Mormon. Readers of conventional Mormon literature are familiar with stories containing love triangles and people who are estranged from the church; however, in those stories guilt and righteousness are more clearly attributed. Perhaps the non-Mormon other, not the priesthood holder, would be the one endangering the couple.

Colfisch possesses physical anxiety that the glue binding him to Gloria is disintegrating. "We're in our fifties, and we've left billing and cooing behind. Love isn't the question. What matters is liking. Liking counts. Love can't save you. What goes wrong is wives come to dislike husbands, and husbands come to dislike wives."[34] Love and like may not bind. Bodies no longer bind. "No one's arguing I'm pretty at fifty-five."[35] Colfisch reverses love and like in terms of what conventional wisdom would say is most important. In addition, he does not consider sin and redemption as causal forces; and Spencer refuses to illuminate the church principles which could prevent disintegration of a marriage. A Mormon reader used to those elements might feel that the text is ephemeral, that Colfisch and his creator both misunderstand the most important causes of unhappiness. The narrator's voice and attitudes permeate the story, creating dissonance for readers trained only in reading conventional Mormon texts.

Colfisch blames his disintegrating body for the loss of like and love, but he also blames the gods. "In a fit, some spoilsport goaty god has come down hard on me."[36] The conventional Mormon text (is there really

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32. Darrell Spencer, *Our Secret's Out* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 134-51.

33. Ibid., 150.

34. Ibid., 135.

35. Ibid., 138.

36. Ibid., 134.

such a text?) generally marks clearly as a sinner anyone who blames God for his condition.

The following anecdote, early in the story, demonstrates how Spencer further undercuts conventional readings by blaming the gods for the unreliability of language. He uses a traditional verbal signal to mark the beginning of an anecdote—"So a few days ago ... "[37] He frames the story inside his story with references to the gods, who like the Navaho trickster coyote, are in the mood to interfere. The anecdote was told first to Colfisch by his wife, and then by Colfisch to the reader, explaining why he thinks some "god has come down hard on" him. The anecdote contains two familiar acts: (1) being accosted by someone on the street, and (2) giving facts to a journalist, who gets them wrong. Spencer writes,

> Yahweh, overfed and world-weary, grows testy, calls in a few minor gods so his words will be heard, and says, "Let's break the rules, like pots."
>
> So, a few days ago, on a Monday, a man comes up to Gloria on a downtown Salt Lake City street and hands her eleven one-hundred-dollar bills. The story makes the *Tribune*, only the reporter bungles the facts. He says one thousand dollars. It was *eleven* hundred, *eleven* one-hundred-dollar bills. The man did not say, as the paper says he did, "God wants you to have this." He said, "Greetings from your Heavenly Father and your Heavenly Mother, who want you to have this money in order that you shall never want again." If you'd heard him, Gloria claims, you would not have forgotten the exact words.
>
> When she sat me down to tell me what happened, she said, "The young man said, 'Greetings.' Greetings, like he was from another planet." He said Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother, not god. "How did they get it wrong?" she said, and she studied me like I had something up my sleeve. Her look was hard enough to make me wonder if I was part of some plot.
>
> Like I say, the gods interfere. Sure, we invite them. We wear hair shirts, smudge ash across our foreheads. We cry, *For pity! For pity!* and sing, *De Profundus*. We file our grievances.[38]

The passage violates two premises central to Mormonism: God is a discrete figure, unambiguous, and truth is the same, yesterday, today, and forever, also unambiguous. Spencer refers to god variously—first as "some spoilsport goaty god," "Yahweh," and "Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother," and as "the gods." Spencer's audience is primarily non-Mormon (*Our Secret's Out* was published by the University of Missouri Press), an audience that can take this mild ambiguity in stride. But because he does not refer to the Mormon god as a Mormon would, his references would discomfit Mormons who believe that there exists one

37. Ibid., 135.
38. Ibid., 135-36.

signification for God, and they know it.

The anecdote also shows that messages fall apart; truth is ambiguous. The journalist mixes up or reinvents most of what happened to Gloria. Like the parlor game "gossip," the message is transformed in the telling. But was there ever a time when accident or hoax did not enter into the event? Is Gloria's account, or Colfisch's, or Spencer's, for that matter, any more reliable? "True" accounts are drawn into question. The idea that truth itself could be doubted would cause tremendous dissonance for my imagined reader of conventional Mormon texts.

The act of being accosted on the street is also rendered ambiguous. Instead of asking for charity, or some political or religious influence, this man *gives* charity. He proclaims himself as a messenger from Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother, but he says "Greetings" as if he is a visitor from another planet. Was Gloria visited by one of the Three Nephites? Again the sign is ambiguous. Messages go awry and signification is unreliable.

Colfisch attributes this unreliability not only to the gods, as if deity has intervened between signifier and signified, but also to the location, as if only in Salt Lake City would a man accost a rich woman and give her money, a gift from Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother. So how do we interpret the anecdote? Who is playing a hoax—Colfisch or Gloria? The man on the street? Spencer? The Gods? Some readers will shut this text because of its many ambiguities.

I am going to skip to the end of the story, where Gloria describes an experience using common and conventional acts—parking in a car, praying together, sleeping together, and lightening up. The scene is made ambiguous partly because Gloria shifts between Gust's Mormon and Colfisch's non-Mormon perspectives[39]:

> Gloria says, "Last night, when Gust brought me home, he asked me to sit in the car for a minute." [Act of ambiguous intimacy] She sips a Coke I got her.
>
> I think, *Necking?* [Act of sexual intimacy]
>
> She says, "He asked me to pray with him." [Act of religious intimacy]
>
> "To pray with him?"
>
> "He and Zinnia are sleeping together," she says. [Act of casual sexual intimacy]
>
> I can see Zinnia's bronze hair on a pillow and her fingers putting quote marks around *sleeping together.* Her husband is a Mormon bishop. [Act of marking serious significance]

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39. In marking culturally significant acts, I am borrowing from Roland Barthes, who in *S/Z,* an analysis of Balzac's story "Sarrasine," breaks the text into leximes and uses free association to identify possible connotative elements. See Roland Barthes, *S/Z,* trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974).

I say, "He wanted to pray about screwing around?" [Act of ambiguous intimacy]

"Well," she says, "it's bad. I tried to lighten it up. I said, 'I don't pray. I wring my hands.'" [Act of releasing seriousness]

"How?" I say. "On your knees?"

"Just sitting in the car."

"Did you?"

"He did."

"He prayed in front of you?" [Act of pretentious religious intimacy]

"It was no big thing," she says. [Act of releasing seriousness][40]

This short conversation renders conventional signals ambiguous. Colfisch and Spencer's intended readers have trouble with the mixture of sexual and religious intimacy. He is perplexed by Gust's acts. What are Gust's motives as he arranges a prayerful *tête à tête* to confess his sexual malfeasance? Then Colfisch imagines Zinnia putting quote marks around *sleeping together,* marking a casual act with complex cultural significance. The two men mark the experience with variant and opposing forms of moral seriousness. Gloria gives them both a way of dealing with ambiguity—distance and humor. Many Mormon writers would write the ambiguity out of this scene. A priesthood holder, while dating one man's wife, wants to pray with her about his adultery with another woman, wife to a bishop. In that story sin would be clearly marked. Readers and writers of traditional Mormon fiction probably read Spencer's play and humor as dissonance. To such writers and their readers the story is polluted by non-Mormon laxness toward sin. Despite the fact that this kind of moral ambiguity happens daily all across Utah, Mormon readers often feel that writers must make judgments, delineate sin clearly. Attempting to render all signifiers in a unitary manner would transform this into a text which would hardly disturb. It is not merely sexual content but ambiguous signification which offends, and it is not just Mormons who are offended by ambiguity. The situation makes a twisted sense to Gloria, Zinnia, and Gust, but it simply bewilders Colfisch. One's perspective determines the extent and the nature of the ambiguity.

Toward the end of the story Colfisch is anxious to leave the confusion he names Utah:

By five we're headed west, Gloria driving, me letting Salt Lake City leak from my bones. Gloria wrote Gust a note and stuck it to the front door. It said, Eleven hundred dollars burning a hole in my purse. Wendover calling us. See you next time and think about coming to San Diego.

She says to me, "Zinnia's a mess."

I say, "What'd you tell her?"

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40. Spencer, *Our Secret's Out,* 148-49.

"To run off with Gust."

"Will she?"

Gloria looks at me in the dark car and says, "You don't know what it is to be a Mormon."

"Do you?"

She says, "You don't think you can be a god."

"And you do?"

"Mormons do."

"Mormons can be God."

"A god. And Gust thinks so. He's a priesthood holder."[41]

Colfisch does not understand Zinnia's dilemma. If she loves Gust and that relationship is stronger than the one with her husband the bishop, she might run off with Gust. Gloria explains that both believe they can become gods; Colfisch is only further confused, further determined to escape. He shuts the story down because it contains an intolerable level of ambiguity. Like Colfisch, would students at BYU feel an overload of a different nature of moral ambiguity and decide that this sacrilegious story does not represent the Mormon perspective accurately? They might reduce the story to the literal denotation on the page, missing the play with language.

The final scene is the one which I believe would most disturb the traditional Mormon reader:

> We're past the lake, and the Salt Flats stretch out in the grey morning light like a linen table cloth. One more nudge from one more malcontented god and I can see myself hotfooting it across the flats to the blue mountains at the edge of the earth. Up ahead, the monument the sculptor built, the one Gust told us about, rises out of the whiteness. The morning sun has turned it pink, and no matter how delicate you want to be you have to admit it looks like a giant's dick poking into the earth. It's got balls.
>
> Wendover is less than twenty miles away, and we're flying when we pass the monument. Now I count seven huge balls on top. They're numbered and striped.
>
> Gloria says, "Somebody ought to lasso that and pull it down."
>
> There is probably twice as much of it in the ground as there is showing.
>
> Just before we top a small rise, I turn around and see the Salt Flats spread out endlessly. I see the sculptor in his hometown in Finland or Sweden, wherever it is. He's drinking old-world beer from an ornate stein and resting his elbows on a wooden table, telling anyone who will listen how he went to the U S of A and put the entire state of Utah on.[42]

Colfisch's way of dealing with the confusion is to imagine an insult,

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41. Ibid., 150.
42. Ibid., 150-51.

as clear as an upraised finger, directed toward Utah. Even though Colfisch is finished with Utah, Spencer continues the play with language and conventions of reading. Like the entire state of Utah, the reader has been put on. The ending does not tie up meaning nicely, the ending is in some ways an escape from meaning. The ambiguity, the play with meaning, and the irreverent, even obscene, sexual content would cause a reader of conventional Mormon texts to feel uneasy. However, I think it is a mistake to think the character's ambivalence and Spencer's are one and the same. This symbol, the obscene joke, at the end of the story orders meaning for Colfisch. "*This* is what the state of Utah deserves for putting me on," he might think. He shuts down response to the multivarious story he has just experienced. He identifies Utah, names it and its odd inhabitants. Colfisch moves from a complex response to his experience to a simple one.

For similar motives to Colfisch's, I believe, my imagined traditional Mormon reader disconnects from some nationally-oriented texts because of unfamiliar conventions, disorienting ambiguity, and ideological differences. Such a reader, like Colfisch, leaves off playing and wrestling with the narrative.

In *S/Z* Roland Barthes, one of the godfathers of Mortensen's method of reading texts, discusses two kinds of relationships between reader and text, the readerly and the writerly. Colfisch and readers of print narratives respond differently when embroiled in the story than they do when conditions keep them from enlivening the story or when they remove themselves from further anguished or pleasurable play. In such a relation the text is simply received—a lifeless consumption of text by reader. Barthes writes, "Our evaluation [of a text] can be linked only to a practice, and this practice is that of writing. ... [What] is within the practice of the writer and what has left it: which texts would I consent to write (to rewrite), to desire, to put forth as a force in this world of mine?"[43] He describes a kind of reading where the text is reimagined, remains animated, open, interactive—as if the reader is writing. Barthes continues, "Why is the writerly our value? Because the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text. Our literature is characterized by the pitiless divorce which the literary institution maintains between the producer of the text and its user, between its owner and its customer, between its author and its reader."[44] I suggest that not only the divorce between author and reader forces a text to become readerly; the conventional apparatus and ideology are also involved. In the readerly relation to the text, the reader

43. Barthes, *S/Z*, 4.
44. Ibid.

> is thereby plunged into a kind of idleness—he is intransitive; he is, in short, *serious*: instead of functioning himself, instead of gaining access to the magic of the signifier, to the pleasure of writing, he is left with no more than the poor freedom either to accept or reject the text: reading is nothing more than a *referendum*. Opposite the writerly text, then, is its countervalue, its negative, reactive value: what can be read, but not written: the readerly.[45]

So what might make a text readerly? Ambiguity might for some readers. Presence of excessive sexuality, irreverence, the grotesque, violence, inaccurate doctrine, incompatible politics might cause a reader to feel excessive dissonance with the known Mormon universe, causing him or her to disengage with text. Authority might, faith in what someone else has said about a text as happened with Whipple and apparently Evenson. In these cases the language of the text binds the reader with seriousness, renders him or her incapable of creative and flexible play with the text.

Barthes clarifies the conditions under which a reader disengages from a text or never engages playfully with it in the first place. The writerly text is:

> a perpetual present, upon which no *consequent* language (which would inevitably make it past) can be super-imposed; the writerly text is *ourselves writing*, before the infinite play of the world (the world as function) is traversed, intersected, stopped, plasticized by some singular system (Ideology, Genus, Criticism) which reduces the plurality of entrances, the opening of networks, the infinity of languages.[46]

The moment of the closing of a text involves a writerly text becoming readerly in the presence of a unitary system; the reader is bound by the words and rendered unable to achieve distance or play. I imagine myself as the student writer of the anonymous letter, who said that Evenson's stories made her feel as if she had ingested poison. As I grapple with Evenson's stories, I am bombarded by violent acts, so many that I can no longer read the sentences as satire, metaphor, or other literary device, but only as repetitive, repulsive violence—the poisonous spew of a depraved writer. Worse, this writer is not some foreigner who knows nothing about goodness—he is Mormon. As this reader, I judge Evenson's words against the standard of Mormonism. Or I am Widstoe reading Whipple's text. The characters are trapped and bound by sexuality, doubt, conflict. "These are not the good people I know, not my good ancestors." I can no longer imagine Clory and the others as alive, deserving of interest and

45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 5.

compassion. Once again they become the page-bound devices of a writer; and the reader is trapped in the literal. The play of the text is dead to me. As Ulrich put it, the spell is broken.[47]

Perched on the mast, I feel the hot breath of Scylla (or is it vertigo?). Have I blundered into the final and most hazardous assumption that Mormonism is a monolithic system which prompts readers to close down? Is the Gospel of Christ unitary and singular?

Before embarking on this essay, before being buried in the swells and diverted by the currents of the material, I knew clearly what I wanted to say. I believed that readers used to what Pauline Mortensen calls "traditional Mormon-like" conventions simply miss Evenson's, Kirn's, or Spencer's irony—apparent to what I thought was an elite group of sophisticated readers. I assumed that such readers, trained to see writing as literal truth and with an antipathy for anything postmodern, were incapable of the writerly relation. Simply pointing out the wonderful irony and ambiguity to naive readers would cause them to appreciate complex literature, I thought. I assumed that a text is inherently readerly or writerly, and not, as Barthes clearly says, that it has something to do with the relation between reader and text. Very clear. Unfortunately I find myself culpable. Just as Barthes privileges a certain kind of relation to a text, I have privileged a certain kind of ambiguous, secular text. Reading traditional Mormon literature, I find myself rejecting the text for any number of reasons—singularity, conservative politics, lack of the kind of ambiguity I relish, lack of sexuality. How is my response qualitatively different from the reader I set out to teach? Both of us shut down the text. As my friend and colleague Daniel Muhlestein wrote in the margin of an early draft of this paper, any binary is open to reversal.

Writing this essay, I have realized that the boundaries between what is readerly and writerly are fuzzy. When a Jack Weyland or Shirley Sealy text comes alive to a reader used to that convention, who can say that the only relation is the readerly one? Such a reader may believe, because of lack of training in communication theory, that all texts are simply received, but in practice, when a text comes alive, it is acted upon, becoming writerly. When I sat in my dorm room as a freshman, and the language of the Book of Mormon suddenly became luminous, was that an open or a closed reading? I would have thought that revelation should be pure denotation, but during that experience and others like it, the word was amplified. Occasionally I feel that same luminosity reading the *Ensign* and reading Walter Kirn, Darrell Spencer, Levi Peterson, Maurine Whipple, and Virginia Sorensen.

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47. Ulrich, "Fictional Sisters," 254.

Also, lack of training is not the only cause of a readerly relation to a text. Many careful Mormon readers, some who have spent their lives reading the scriptures and other books closely, are disturbed by nationally-oriented, ambiguous fiction, not just because they miss the point. Their method of reading is not qualitatively different from Mortensen's or mine. The reader who weeps at the faithful and true stories in the *Ensign* (I confess I am one of those readers) decodes context and convention, certainly different conventions from those found in stories by Mortensen, Kirn, and Spencer. Are such readers really incapable of enlivening a text, suspending it in imagination in a writerly manner? Is my own reading always writerly? Should it be? What are the relations between the readerly and writerly when I read a commandment in the scripture or make a covenant in the temple? To what extent do I play with the meaning in those words? The neat distinctions with which I began this project are not so tidy.

None of this would matter much if the question were merely one of picking up a book or laying it aside or of academic quibbling (so bitter, as Henry Kissinger once said, precisely because so little is at stake). However, many readers, whatever their conventional orientation, feel that the issue is deeper than the level of technique. The nature of language, God, and the universe is on the line. Or, in the case of Brian Evenson and others, the future of their careers at BYU.

In my soul I feel our dilemma to be a false one. The gospel of Christ is *both* restrictive meaning and infinite play. "In the beginning was the word," writes St. John. As Mormons we have tremendous faith in the potency of the word of God. Christ embodies his gospel but bodies it forth in the scripture, the literal word of God. We believe this and we are inclined to read scripture as referendum, unitary truth. In all writing which is pure enough to be moderated by the Holy Ghost, we assume, signifier and signified are miraculously one. The authority of the text is unarguable. This belief, as I have described it, is at once our only salvation and the greatest hazard of all. There must needs be opposition even in the Word—the opposition between authority and agency, the central opposition of our religion. No matter how much we may reside in the presence of the Holy Ghost, even if the scriptures could be a perfect readerly text, we still come to them conditionally, with incomplete faith and divided mind. Neither can they become completely a writerly text, where commandments, covenants, and moral truth are merely shifting sand. Relating to the scriptures as either kind of extreme text actually impedes our growth, keeps us from progressing grace to grace. We cannot afford to allow the scriptures to become merely received, easily named, but neither can we allow them to become only writerly, forever open, only play,

never the true message of God. Certainly the gospel can become dead to anyone, merely received, a unitary system. But as suggested above, any system can become monolithic, even the ideology of postmodernism.

In reading scriptural and secular texts, we may legitimately use both readerly and writerly impulses, both denotative intent, the building of meaning as described in Alma 32, and connotative play, which Barthes's defines as follows: "Connotation is the way into the polysemy of the classic text, to that limited plural of the text. ... Definitionally, it is a determination, a relation, an anaphora, a feature which has the power to relate itself to anterior, ulterior, or exterior mentions, to other sites of the text (or of another text): we must in no way restrain this relating."[48] Connotation releases the double meaning, "corrupts the purity of communication," "is a deliberate 'static,'" "a counter communication."[49] But the readerly, denotative, singular, and unambiguous meaning may also be necessary. In fact, neither an absolutely readerly nor an absolutely writerly reading is possible—each contains and defines itself by contrast to the other.

Continuing revelation requires a flexible relationship, sometimes open, sometimes narrowly restricted, to at least the text of God's mind, and perhaps to earthly texts as well. For these reasons I will read every text, especially the scriptures, by wavering between the readerly and writerly, between knowledge and faith, between reverence for authority and reliance on agency and autonomy.

So what is the model? My friend and colleague, Jesse Crisler, gave me one as he read an early draft of this paper. He described in the margin the gospel doctrine and priesthood classes he has attended where "the ambiguities, the double, triple, and more meanings of a word or passage, the historical and modern contexts ... have been thoroughly explored, but not definitely delimited." He goes on to say, "I've also seen truth in the scriptures, but that commandment also implies an understanding that the truths we find are more likely to be personal than unitary—'for in them ye *think* ye have eternal life'—I don't think Mormons have become South African Calvinists" (emphasis Crisler's). I imagine such a class where testimony is borne but discussion is unfinished—both the readerly and the writerly, the closed and the open are possible. Those who follow an ideology so closely that they insist on a certain way of reading or a certain kind of text may be prone to shutting down, excusing themselves from the carnival of words.

So after all this I am left, not with any orderly logical structure, but with the belief that any system may become monolithic for any individual, the gospel or the most elaborate academic theory included. Even ex-

48. Barthes, *S/Z*, 8.
49. Ibid., 9.

cellent readers may shut down play with a text of experimental literary fiction, the scriptures, or popular Mormon fiction. We might read texts and judge each other after the manner of Slearny in Dickens's *Hard Times*—he sees with both the fixed eye of philosophy and the roving eye of fancy.

This might make us a people reluctant to prematurely close any kind of text and condemn the writer. As Gary Browning said in the review I quoted earlier,

> I believe the most important message to be drawn from "The Father, Unblinking" is, given the sparse and contradictory knowledge we have of anyone but ourselves, and, perhaps, even of ourselves, and the ambiguities in so much of what we experience, rendering judgment, especially of another, is most perilous. Too much is imperfectly known: motivations, intentions, desires of the heart, generic predispositions, environment, experience, culture, and much more.[50]

Quick to listen and slow to condemn, we might become as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves.

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50. Browning, "The Moral/Religious Imagination," 6.

C. Thomas Asplund: Quiet Pilgrim

Marni Asplund-Campbell

I AM NOT AN HISTORIAN. But my limited exposure to the discipline tells me that writing history involves arriving at definitions of "eras," "cultures," and "movements." In my work in literary theory, I have been trained to be skeptical of definitions; the defining process is invariably predicated upon a subject/object relationship. There is a danger of tyranny since that which defines wields subjective power over that which is defined. I am compelled to carefully clarify my criteria for authority in the interpretive process.

With literature, this is relatively manageable. My subjects and objects—the texts, textualities, readers, writers, language itself, even as they spontaneously construct and deconstruct—are still comfortably complete, intact, and distant. I can play with my subjectivity, appear to surrender it, without threatening my own identity.[1] In history, and particularly in the history I am undertaking here, the question of authority is more daunting, as subject and object become myself (the historian) and a fluid collection of seemingly random spatio-temporal events. I literally feel like an "author" as I attempt to create a meaning from these events, words, and stories, and arrive at an image of a person and his relationship to an era in a contemporary institution in which I now invest considerable personal energy and identity. So I will attempt to define the nature of my interaction with my "object," my father, C. Thomas Asplund.

First is a fundamental shifting of the experience of my life, in which I was object to my parents' creative, subjective influence. As his parishioner, I learned to view my father also as the powerful author of much of my spiritual and religious identity. And as a writer, I am aware that half

1. I am aware that I am making highly questionable distinctions here. Of course, there is history in literature, and the very language with which literature and its criticisms are expressed certainly contains and creates identity.

of my language is received from the source I now scrutinize. I must question my own authoritative ability to read and interpret the object that has so much to do with my own voice. He expressed this complex of relationships much more eloquently than I can, in the opening lines of his "historical" poem, "The Heart of My Father":

> Who knows what an electronic microscope might do to the great
> gulf fixed between faith and knowledge? I suppose that one day
> some
> chemical mechanic under the flickering death of fluorescent tubes
> will find deep within the coiling chemistry of my island body a germ
> of that narrow dirt road
> which ran through summer's miasma of sweet
> clover between a beaten windbreak of dusty
> cottonwoods and an irrigation ditch
> where once
> my father ran down tripping ruts of clay

In one of his personal journal entries he seems to anticipate my scrutiny, as he offers an apology for the awkward motions of the chronicling of his own life:

> I felt unexpectedly old today—defensive and beside the point. Actually that's the way people feel when they are very young. But I felt tired and unfit and it started to snow. Anyway, the demands were there. Not demands for me—which can be kind of flattering. But the demands that I justify my existence. Maybe that's why I am writing. To justify my existence. It had better be good writing (16 Mar. 1982).

Given the impossibility of achieving rational objectivity in relation to this history, I suggest that my work take the form of a palimpsest, a new text written over an ancient one—once a necessity in a time of scarce writing materials. Historians read these texts with mixed feelings. The new text is worthwhile, but there is always the question of the unknown value of that which was lost. The erasure of my father's life makes my task now possible, not for a paucity of writing materials, but for the reality that we can never be so whole, or so heroic, as we are in our elegies. But I cannot measure the value of whatever text I achieve against the lost light of my father's life.

Rachel Blau DuPlessis suggests a metaphorical relationship in the concrete image of the palimpsest that articulates a relationship between absent and present texts, allows them to become some new thing, valuable in itself for the blurring of lost and present language, and allows me to proceed comfortably and, I believe, fruitfully in my act of definition.

She writes:

> Palimpsest indicates the desire to manifest, by some verbal or textual gesture, the sense of presence, simultaneity, multiple pressures of one moment, yet at the same time the disjunct, the absolutely parallel and different, the obverse sensations of consciousness in reality.[2]

This essay does not adhere to the academic restrictions I've learned, for it is full of desire and empathy, hopefully not stumbling blocks, but tools essential to creating a history which is neither encomium (my temptation as a daughter) nor formal analysis (my prerogative as an academic) but a blending of the two, expressing the "multiple pressures of one moment."

I have chosen specifically to present Asplund most frequently in his own words. But they are words I have chosen and edited. And his own language is often contrived in poetry, and even occasionally in prose, to achieve a desired effect. Mary-Alice Thompson, describing his writing, suggests that his language represents "the people about whom he writes, religious pioneers."[3] Asplund himself wrote to Bob Rees, an early editor of *Dialogue* who had criticized his blending of "purple poetry" with the "plain and prosaic," that "It is not unintentional. I've always felt it as part of a culture which can talk about the Celestial Kingdom and the two-year's supply in the same breath; or perhaps more rightly, with the same breathlessness ... I like to think that in Christian doctrine and Mormon culture, there is a life-love and spirit of generosity which makes sentimentality easy." His words themselves contain historical meaning.

The aim of my inquiry is ultimately to assess the nature of Asplund's leadership in the LDS church in Kingston, Ontario. Undisputedly he assisted in leading the congregation through a period of tremendous growth. When he arrived to join the law faculty at Queen's University in 1968, the congregation, which had struggled through the first few decades of the twentieth century,[4] had purchased a small meeting house at 362 Alfred Street. Tom was called to be a counselor to branch president

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2. Rachel Blau DuPlessis, "While These Letters Were A-Reading: An Essay on Beverly Dahlen's *A Reading*," in *The Pink Guitar: Writings as Feminist Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 111.

3. Mary-Alice Thompson, "Tom Asplund's Poem and Children's Story: An Appreciation," *Queen's Law Journal* 17 (Summer 1992): 269.

4. In 1944 a Relief Society was organized in Kingston in the home of M. Leora Todd under the direction of the mission president. Delcie Nobes, a member of the congregation, writes, "We held Sunday School, Sacrament Meetings, and Relief Society meetings [at Sister Todd's home]. She played the piano, the missionaries administered the sacrament, and depending on who was there, they would lead the singing. Ofttimes there would only be four of us present, but sometimes we would have as many as ten or twelve" ("Kingston Ward History," 2, privately circulated).

Hawley Revell on 8 September 1968, and the congregation had about fifty members.[5] Tom then served as branch president from 14 September 1969 to 1972, during which time the branch steadily grew. He served as counselor to the bishop from 1978 to 1980, then as bishop from 1980 to 1981, by which time the ward had built a meetinghouse and enjoyed steady substantial attendance.

In some ways Asplund was a "good" leader; his congregation grew in numbers and stability. He inspired loyalty and love in many of the members of the church in Kingston. But he never achieved that most crucial distinction—upward mobility in the ranks of leadership. Despite his experience and apparent devotion, he was never, except for a brief stint as a stake high council member, promoted. He notes only briefly in his journal a sense of disappointment in his lack of official recognition:

> I railed against my isolation in the Church, with its frustration and loneliness ... Yesterday was stake conference. On a black day that's always good for reminding me of my inadequacies. The only way of escaping the universal inadequacies is to be the one to enumerate them. So I go to be reminded of my inadequacies, and to have that reinforced by the fact that I'm too inadequate even to be one who gets to talk about them (undated entry).

According to Klaus Hansen, who served with him in a branch presidency, Asplund was neither by "temperament" nor "inclination" the kind of person to take charge. He was also, according to Hansen, religiously "skeptical," though "able to counter this skepticism through a religious commitment that was carefully reasoned out."[6] He was reluctant to adhere to regulations regarding the reporting of statistics,[7] distrustful of central authority,[8] and, most poignantly, according to Roy A. Prete, Kingston Ward historian, "never felt reassured about his own salvation."[9] Yet, as he assumed leadership of the ward in 1980 at a time when there was tremendous animosity among several leaders, he was a "conciliator," one who saw the ward as a family and successfully managed to "heal the wounds" in the congregation.[10]

How do I define a leader who was both successful and unsuccessful but who lacked so many of the qualities we associate with effective leadership—ambition, firm authority, stirring vision? Hugh Nibley writes that "true" leadership demands "a passion for equality. We think of great generals from David and Alexander on down, sharing their beans or

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5. Ibid., 8.
6. Letter to Marni Campbell, 9 Dec. 1994.
7. Ibid.; Carma Prete, interview, Dec. 1994.
8. Roy A. Prete, interview, Dec. 1994; Asplund journal notes, in my possession.
9. Roy A. and Carma Prete, interview, Dec. 1994.
10. Ibid.

maza with their men, calling them by their first names, marching along with them in the heat, sleeping on the ground, and being first over the wall."[11] He contrasts the "leader" with the "manager," for whom

> the idea of equality is repugnant and indeed counter-productive. Where promotion, perks, privilege, and power are the name of the game, awe and reverence for rank is everything, the inspiration and motivation of all good men. Where would management be without the inflexible paper processing, dress standards, attention to proper social, political, and religious affiliation, vigilant watch over habits and attitudes, etc., that gratify the stock-holders and satisfy Security?[12]

In Nibley's terms, Asplund was a leader, not a manager.

Asplund's focus was on demystifying his role as figurehead and eschewing the temptation to wield power. Roy Prete relates how at one ward council meeting the absent bishop's controversial decision to produce a Christmas nativity pageant was criticized. Asplund, first counselor to the bishop, presided and, when he was asked if the council should vote on the issue, reminded the group that "we had district conference here, we voted to sustain our leaders, and that's all the vote we need." When members of the ward complained about private piano lessons being taught on the church piano, he remarked that perhaps the ward would get a few organists out of the arrangement. Joan Hansen writes of Asplund's propensity for story-telling, specifically his use of the fable of "stone soup" to gently remind members of their responsibility to serve in whatever way they could rather than chastise them.[13]

Asplund was not by nature a rebel, but he was acutely aware of the power struggles that taint organizations, and even more acutely aware of the day-to-day needs of members of the church who were threatened by the power struggles. In his own journal he describes his ambivalence toward and frustration with the lack of attention from central church leadership:

> I have often wondered if in framing various church programs, consideration is given to small branches which have problems of finding an adequate number of willing, capable workers ... with the shortage of executive experience, the burden of initiating and advancing the programs can fall heavily on a bishop or branch president who is already burdened with a formidable work load in fulfilling his direct administrative reporting and meeting responsibilities ... There is a degree of guilt and frustration encountered in fail-

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11. Hugh Nibley, "Leaders to Managers: The Fatal Shift," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Winter 1983): 12-21.

12. Ibid.

13. Letter to Marni Campbell, 9 Dec. 1994.

ing to carry out and succeed in programs. No priority can be established, since all programs are introduced under the ultimate priority. This applies both to Branch Presidents who don't have the time to bear the full program, or inexperienced executives who struggle with numerous difficulties which the programs could hardly be expected to anticipate ...

I am concerned with the sense of isolation which can permeate many of the outlying areas of the Church. It is manifest in many small ways. The most obvious is the difficulty encountered in receiving supplies and cleaning things through central administration ... I am aware that it might seem more important to provide for a ward of 400 in a central urban area, than a small outlying branch of 100. The question is, which one has the fewest inner resources to rely on when there is a breakdown of communication, supply, or administration.

In my branch, for example, we can rely on a yearly visit by the district president and the intermittent visits by district councilmen, as our only tangible connection with the rest of the Church. Otherwise, we must drive 70-80 miles to attend district meetings, usually under adverse weather conditions. Add to that the difficulty of accounting for small children and branch members who don't have cars. The situation can become somewhat ominous. It would be mitigated if the meetings provided greater resources with which to deal with direct problems (undated entry).

In a more personal journal entry he describes his own one-on-one struggle with the prerogatives of both administrating and ministering in the midst of a cold bureaucratic climate:

There was a phone call the other night. A typical phone call. The tentative voice—describing some slender connection—aunt, years ago, Bishop so-and-so. An attempt to make a connection with the Church that will validate or identify. It is inevitably a strained and distant relationship. Then a quick description of a temporary set back—circumstances beyond control. Then the clincher, "Can you help?" Money. Repayment. I engage in an embarrassed evasion. "I'll have to check on things. I don't know. Things are scarce. I'll let you know." A second call. "Have you found out?" Not yet, I say. And a third call and a fourth. It would be so nice to contemplate, to categorize, find a principle, find a concept. But the problem is much simpler. Am I going to help? Can I judge the sincerity of the need? Do I have the authority to use church funds ... Finally I drop Pat at choir practice and drive to Loblaw's. "She has only two diapers and no milk. My husband won't be paid till Thursday." My aunt in Toronto is a member. Bishop Wilmot? do you know him? City welfare can't help. I buy diapers, milk, bread, apple juice, fruit. $13-14 worth and drive to the Welcome Traveller Motel. Knock on the door. "Are you so-and-so? I have some groceries for you. Drop and run. Why is it all so hard? A little charity. An answer to a scream of need. There's no book or law review article in it. There's not even much satisfaction of heart in such stifled charity. Is there a natural law that says I should help someone who needs? Should I make inquiry about need—be skeptical, or should I be kind

and generous? I mean, when you pose it as an issue it all seems so easy and obvious. Why is it so hard to manage? (undated entry)

Ultimately his "leadership style" evolved naturally from his sense of the church's role as being, in the words of Roy Prete, "responsible for socializing and integrating people" and the gospel as comprised of "processes" rather than "goals." Asplund describes this in another journal entry:

> At a point in time at least at a point in the organization of our intelligences a critical point was reached where certain things were necessary to advance their effective life. So God asked for someone to take the responsibility for directing the step. Satan's plan was not accepted because it was a lie and a delusion. It would lead to a frozen world of outer darkness—not because of punishment but because it would fail to be integrative and creative. It would fail because it would fail to join the subject of the process into responsibility, will, faith and priesthood ... the critical point with Christ's plan was to bring us into the process but by a system which would accept our will and faith and responsibility. Beyond the war in heaven and our acceptance as individuals of Christ's plan, it was necessary that the absolute initiation of the creative process had to be accepted and willed by humans. So Adam, by partaking of the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil, released God from his responsibility alone, and joined in that responsibility.
>
> Of existence Descartes said, I think, therefore I am. Jehovah said, I am, and I favor Jehovah. I am, therefore I think. I love, I suffer. In that big womb of an oven Descartes didn't get the full view. Maybe that's what he really meant—I suffer, therefore I am. Not having Jehovah's confidence, I think that is the conclusion I would reach in a warm protective shell with my belly full ... it's easy to be simple in a womb. Outside I no longer "am" without food and comfort, without love and beauty. Perhaps that is the reason for the torment—I think because I'm sitting in the warm womb of civilization with my belly full. In here with only my thoughts it's easy to limit the issues. My dialectic of life might be short, brother. But my apology is likely to be very long (Feb. 1967).

This concern with process, and for the well-being of the communities in which he lived and worked, extended to his professional life. In an issue of the Queen University's law journal dedicated to Tom Asplund, his colleagues find him kind but slightly inept—paralleling his church experience. Associates and students alike describe him as distracted, producing impatience in students who were anxious to achieve "jobs on Bay Street, which would certainly lead to lucrative salaries and early partnerships."[14] Shortly before his death, he was invited by Dean John Whyte, in

14. Heino Lilles, "A Plea for More Human Values in Our Justice System," *Queen's Law Journal* 17 (Summer 1992): 328.

a memo, to accept an offer for early retirement—an offer to which Asplund responded angrily. He describes his distaste for the competition which always seemed to prevail in institutions:

> Somewhere amongst those raging, desperate, irresponsible pangs is the energy that drives. I see it in the eyes of my associates—lovely people all—as long as the lusts are kept in control by feeding them. Beating people is the big thing. Excellence-excel means beating others. Oh, they will tell you that it's just a matter of being the best you can, but excellence means beating others. Winning means being sure that others lose. Ultimate is being one step ahead. The abyss is one step behind. There was the world champion gymnast, smiling prettily, happy, bouncing, feminine (and all that implies) saying through the broad grin, "I just really love to win" and the eyes turn from sparkling to steel glint. And the toothy grin became a grinding grimace. But that's it. The world loves it. The world honors it. The fact that the loser has made the winner is of no consequence (2 Dec. 1985).

His professional colleagues also describe him as someone "determined to make communities strong and just,"[15] "the most empathetic person I have known,"[16] someone who taught that "it is important to remember that the justice system deals with real people, their families, and their futures."[17] Again this duality is paralleled in his church experience. He was well aware of the temptation to engage in competition in his church, yet was reassured by the potential he saw for good in the community: "The thought occurred to me, (I felt as a calming inspiration) that maybe it is the price I pay for the spiritual strength of my children. They seem to have prospered in strength. I pray it is so" (undated journal entry). Ultimately, then, Asplund is a paradoxical figure, committed to a church in which he felt isolated, serving productively as a leader when leadership deeply troubled him. I believe that he explains these paradoxes most profoundly, if not most clearly, in his poetry, which he wrote and published privately. Most of his church and academic colleagues had no idea that Asplund was a published poet until they attended his funeral.

In one prose piece, "We the Saints Salute You," he details the correspondence between Elmer J. Goatesby, hapless branch president in fictional "Purdy's Station," and Bishop Kent Lamb, prosperous bishop in the heart of Zion, former missionary in Purdy's station. Intended to be a piece of humor, it nevertheless betrays his sense of the tremendous lack of understanding the "central" church has for its members in the far reaches. In attempting to recreate the fund-raising "home tour" sug-

15. Quoted in "In Memoriam," *Queen's Law Journal* 17 (Summer 1992): 254.
16. Quoted in ibid., 263.
17. Lilles, 328.

gested by Bishop Lamb in "San Paradiso," the church members in Purdy's Station, who don't have houses, go to a sister's apartment, where they look at the "boiler and the garbage incinerator which are more interesting than you might expect." *Dialogue* rejected the piece because it was perceived as being too critical of rural Saints.

In the poems "Convert Baptism" and "Hymnsong" he portrays the combination of divine and prosaic inherent in the rituals of membership and redemption:

Convert Baptism

As Christ stood stand we now
No muddy Jordan but smooth tile
And white cotton where once a hairy goathide hung
And no dove comes down the slant of brown chapel light
But for a moment witnesses with bent head and fallen hands
Without the world without a word
The congregation stands
Posed on the infinite question

Master is it I?

As Christ stood stand we now
From this grace to grace forward
Pure within this moment
Beyond the water or the word
For as in Adam all men die
Even so in Eve are all men quickened by a common cord

And down we fall in the deaf rush of water
Down in the hole from here to Kolob
Hostages to the running tide of belief
We tumble from Eden and the ecstasy of anticipation
To Gethsemane and the ecstasy of faith

Hymnsong

I have sung these hymns so often
Fragile wisps now frail and broken.
Prayers by word and music we try to soften
Let them hang where gentle hours surround them.

These hymns are traced so lightly I often

Slight them as I worship with my congregation
Confused that to beg eternity such a feeble thing is chosen,
Not scratched in stone as man to man has spoken.

Temples have been piled from generation, stone by stone,
To generation, standing when the sounds and hymns are gone.
Broken walls we pile again to find the wisdom of Solomon
But gone, gone from here is David's harp, and David's song.

And in "Emma Smith Speaks Her Piece" he explores again, with his characteristic faith and doubt, the identity of the founding prophet of the LDS church.

I asked you not to go
But someone got there first
With other words
As they so often do;
So now I speak my piece.

Please, forgive
A wife's proclivity for last words
And fond distrust of those
Who dream
Without sleeping.

Please know
Of all my pains
None is more exquisite than
That inflicted by
This understanding: the only
Reward God gives a true prophet
Is the vision.

In the end nothing was yours,
Not even the mantle.

And please know, too,
That I was less jealous
Of other handmaidens
Than I was of
Other voices.

In two final texts I leave you with the tracings of an erased manu-

script—a palimpsest—which nevertheless signify powerfully the universal concern for identity, even as they remind us that any identity is necessarily fleeting, ultimately reducible to an incomplete definition:

> April 14, 1988: Out at the genealogical library tonight to supervise. It is a rather strange enterprise—people sifting through these shadows and dust clouds of information—casting about little towns and churches and parishes for people long gone, and not especially important when they were here. All fuss and detail which is not my temper in the best of times.
>
> And then I walked down the hall, past the glass doors in the front. And in the door I saw this shadow, bald and graying, hunched like a sad dog, of no distinguished size or aspect. Is this the kind of thing they are looking for. My shock came almost instantly when I realized that the scurrying shadow was my reflection ... I thought about that reflection. Would some person in a couple of generations be in some library trying to find that shadow—to find the tracings in sand that I have left. Maybe this note will tell them more about me than shadows in a microfilm under an official number.

From "Seasonings"

> In the thin part of the afternoon
> When light, like a loved child,
> Is gone too soon and Earth shrinks small
> And cold like the breast of an aging mother,
> I discover myself on the other
> Side—the thin black back
> Of a mercury mirror, too cold
> For quick, too black
> For silver,
> Where once I stood
> Behind a parent's brooding oaken dresser
> Hiding from an afternoon of childhood.
> Hiding from both
> The fact and the reflection.

"Watercress Grows Best in Running Water"

—told me by my father

Dixie Partridge

Days after his death, I felt him
newly jovial alongside me. And weeks later,
when I again dreamed him young,
handing me a pail of watercress,
my mother said wistfully
she'd not yet seen him in dreams.

Until those last months, he lived so much outdoors
that the memories wash like watercolor—
as though light and growing fields, rain and wind
combine in him still, make remembrance
breathable and changing.

The undertow of my life runs one way,
and his ... not really the same,
more land and sky, reflected in ripples.
As we fall asleep on any shore, a lichen silence
covering our mouths and bodies,
the mind is the last to quiet,
as though we can never quite remember
what might save us—that desperate translation
that gives us up to dream.
Behind everything that happens
and every thought, there is that undying current,
and that loss.

One Nation Under *Whose* God? How Religion Was Excluded from the U.S. Political System

Claude J. Burtenshaw

RECENTLY RETURNING FROM TEN YEARS of foreign service in the Middle East, a friend mentioned that he was frequently asked how the United States successfully excludes religion from politics. My friend noted that to Middle Easterners religion is not only inseparable from politics, it is often what politics is about. The absence of religion from politics is, to warring Muslims, Jews, Christians, and others of the Mideast, a unique feature of the American political system. My friend was impressed with their question, even though he found it difficult to answer. My discussion with this friend and others stimulated me, in the following pages, to attempt an answer.

DIFFICULT QUESTION

The question is difficult because it addresses two supreme powers each claiming to control human pursuits. The first pursuit is the need to settle human conflicts coercively. The second is the need to settle conflicts about ultimate truth, heavenly pursuits, and godly authority.

Organization is the essential tool for control in both pursuits. State is the name given to the organization with the supreme coercive, punitive power to control conflicts. Church, or organized religion, is the name given to organizations that claim to control access to the non-human power, i.e. God, and his kingdom, here and hereafter. In spite of the potential conflict between the two supreme claims, there is an easy interdependency between the two institutions, as their supremacies may be closely related in use. For example, when a king or head of state adds legitimacy to his punitive controls with a divine power claim, or when a church leader commands the army, he does so to defend the right and protect the righteous. Conflicts are thus more intense when God authorizes war and directs the effort to punish. Political conflicts often have

sought divine approval. Religion, a claimed source of morality and power, turns an omnipotent God into the punitive state. These combined power relationships are frequently observed in recorded history making the distinction and the separation difficult. Christianity, however, provided a distinction between the two powers and proposed a church-state separation. Jesus established his kingdom independent of the state, although he eventually fell under its control. Christianity, however, retained its separateness until the fourth century A.D. when it became a state church and has continued politically intermingled in most Christian-dominated nations even today.

Religious Separation in the U.S.

Religious separation or exclusion in the political system of the United States, though unique, may not be as apparent to Americans as it is to Middle Easterners. The U.S. Supreme Court's most recent statement of the separation occurred in 1992 and 1995 cases when religious prayers, spoken and sung, were legally prohibited in state high school graduation programs. The court's language in declaring the exclusion in the 1992 case is clear: "Religious belief is irrelevant to every citizen's standing in the political community" (*Lee v. Weissman,* U.S. 112 S.Ct. 2649, L.Ed. 2d. [1992]). We may wonder if our Middle Eastern friends noted the opposition of many Americans to the court's excluding decision. Likewise, inserting "God" in the Pledge of Allegiance may even surprise them. The answer to their question of "how" and "when" regarding this religious exclusion, or separation, may be as interesting to Americans as it is to Middle Easterners.

The question of "how" and "when" may be best answered by reviewing the events in which this unique state-church relationship developed. The question suggests a time, place, and plan. Politics, however, seldom result from a plan, even though there appears an agenda which resembles a plan. Political agendas are set by conflicts from opposing plans. The plans in this instance, however, were made by organized conflict contenders from a place and a time when the state and the church were not separated

Colonial Dissent, Resistance, and Rebellion

The events of the separation were unique. The British colonial settlement of America resulted from economic and religious conflicts of Western Europe. Each settlement of the thirteen British colonies was a varied mixture of economic and religious motivations. Protestant denominations organized from the sixteenth-century Christian Reformation domi-

nated the colonial settlements. Each colony was authorized and controlled by a charter. The thirteen varied charters from 1607 to 1733 with their different religious involvements, plus the distance from Britain, the freedom of the American frontier, and the time lapse up to 1765, brought feelings of independence to colonists. These feelings were significant enough that when the 1765 Parliament Stamp Tax was imposed, an aroused inter-colonial resistance marked the beginning of the U.S. political system. Twenty-eight aroused delegates from nine colonies met in New York City in October 1765 as the Stamp Act Congress to initiate the uniting effort of the future system.

Nine years later, after more parliamentary taxes, controls, and colonial resistance, fifty-six angry delegates from twelve colonies met on 12 October 1774 in Philadelphia at the First Continental Congress. When British soldiers arrived to enforce the controls and more resistance followed, a Second Continental Congress met in May 1775. This congress is remembered as the one that declared the thirteen colonies independent from Britain on 4 July 1776 and waged the Revolutionary War.

Near the end of the war, a confederacy of the thirteen independent states was established with a document called the Articles of Confederation. The articles unanimously adopted by the thirteen states on 1 March 1781 provided for cooperation in a congress that ensured the independent sovereignty of each state. Conflicts soon arose, however, within and between the states and with other nations, creating fears that the Confederate Congress was not powerful enough to control them. These conflicts appeared to some prominent leaders as a threat to the security of the newly won political independence. To these leaders, a totally united states was the only solution. Amending the articles that protected state sovereignty to correct the power deficient government, however, seemed almost impossible to the leaders of the nationalist movement.

A meeting or a convention, separate from congress, seemed a way to circumvent the unamendable system. After the failure of two convention attempts, the Confederate Congress finally convened in Philadelphia on 14 May 1787. The convention's fifty-five delegates meeting during four hot summer months wrote a document titled a "Constitution" and then got it ratified by independent state conventions. With the ratification, the structure of the U.S. political system was complete; its first congress met on 30 April 1789, elected a president, and was ready to make and enforce laws on people. As part of the original system, and significant to the state-church relationship, are the first Ten Amendments (or Bill of Rights) proposed by the first congress in August 1789. With their ratification in 1791, the formal U.S. political system was established. The original arrangement of the system shaped its future development.

Religious Omission

Within the events occurring during the twenty-four years from 1765 to 1789, the essence of "when" and "how" of religious exclusion can be found. The exclusion occurred while the state, the supreme secular power, was being relocated from Britain through the thirteen states to the new national system.

Where was religion, the many American churches, during this period? There is no record of any church or religious involvement with the colonial-parliament conflict, nor is there record of religious concern with the conflict. There was much strife among the competing churches for members, but this was separate from the political conflict. The state church of Britain was not involved nor was it appealed to for help or authority. Each colony had its own churches or religious arrangement, but there was not an inter-colonial church with a single deity which would have been useful and necessary for relocating a state. The fragmented colonial religion had little to offer the conflict over taxes, trade restrictions, and the presence of British soldiers, and was in no position to share in the political rebellion that followed.

In the absence of a single church or deity, and the failure of the appeals to the familiar British traditions, colonists sought elsewhere for a power source—the authority with which to promote their political revolt and by which to justify their disagreement with the British government. The writers of the Declaration of Independence found that power source in a non-religious creator that equally endowed all men with "unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These are the words of a philosopher, not of a God who authorizes churches. The European Enlightenment, shared by many congressional delegates, provided a non-religious power source, useful for justifying a political rebellion. Rather than noting that religion was removed from American political beginnings, it may be more accurate to say that religion was omitted; it was not on the political agenda, neither as an issue of conflict nor as an available power authority. The Revolution had secularized American politics.

U.S. Political System Established

Following the successful revolt, however, something politically quite different was needed to unite and control politically. Unlike the Declaration that justified rebellion, governing required unity and stability, a credible power source from which to justify control. In these peculiar circumstances, religion was more than omitted, it was unavailable. The document the delegates wrote in 1787 at Philadelphia not only established, as their first convention motion, a proposed "supreme legislative,

executive & judiciary" power or authority, it also established a super supreme law, one to control the government the Constitution created. The Constitution declared itself the super law, a built-in secular, political supremacy superseding morality, natural law, and religion. The First Amendment to the Constitution proposed by the First Congress emphasized this religious exclusion from the national government with "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion," and then required religious neutrality among the competing churches by adding "or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." With the constitutional system the nationalist leaders established a non-religious, secular national state. They made no provision for religion or its moral claims in the Constitution and specifically excluded it from future political agendas.

In Article 6 the Constitution's claim of supremacy is most complete. Note the language: "This Constitution ... shall be the supreme law of the land," and then required that "judges in every State to be bound thereby" and that all public officials, national, state, and local, "be bound by oath of affirmation to support this Constitution." It concluded with the secular reminder that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office." The super law status of the Constitution is ensured by distinguishing the congressional law procedure provided in Article 1, requiring a majority vote of Congress and the president's signature, from the Constitutional law amending procedure provided in Article 5. An amendment requires a two-thirds vote of both congressional bodies and a ratification of three-fourths of the states.

Judicial Review

Establishing a secular, religiously neutral, and supreme constitution was the essential feature for beginning to exclude religion from the American political system. That, however, was just the beginning. The Constitution that delegated functions and powers to Congress, the Executive, and the Judiciary was also intended, by the delegation, to limit their powers. According to Amendment 10, powers not delegated to the national government were reserved to the states. How to enforce these constitutional assignments was not specified in the Constitution. Many prominent leaders, however, were not surprised when the Supreme Court assumed the enforcement role. This supervisory court function is known as "Judicial Review." The court assumed this review role when it declared a congressional law unconstitutional in 1803 and voided a state law in 1819. It took the Civil War, however, to settle the supremacy issue with the states. Eventually, judicial review became an accepted and unique feature of constitutional supremacy in the U. S. political system and thereby the source of constitutional law. In its two-hundred-year his-

tory, the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional more than two hundred congressional laws, about forty presidential actions, and over a thousand state laws. This "review" feature created a second political arena to the U.S. political system, a place for settling constitutional conflicts and eventually for responding to alleged religious intrusion.

The First Ten Amendments—the Bill of Rights—approved in 1791 were adopted to appease opponents of the Constitution during the ratifying conventions; it was a States Rights addition. The First Amendment, as noted above, excluded religion from the national Congress and for many years from the Supreme Court's "review." Even though the Fourteenth Amendment, added in 1868, invited the nationalization of the Bill of Rights, it was not until the 1920s that the court began to include the Bill of Rights in its jurisdiction. Not until 1940 did the court review a state law that dealt with a religious conflict. Since then the court has most often used the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to settle allegations of religious intrusion. Many of the conflicts have been within and about religious activities in the states' educational systems. The court has disapproved the use of classrooms and school time for religious teaching. Prayers in classrooms and graduation ceremonies and moments of silence have been defined as religious and therefore excluded. The court has forbidden Bible reading, teaching the Old Testament creation story, and displaying the Ten Commandments and other religious symbols. Some kinds of state financial aid to parochial schools have also been prohibited.

Similar non-educational religious conflicts have been reviewed. The court has approved, however, most public meeting prayers and some public religious displays and slogans, such as "One Nation Under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance and "In God We Trust" on national currency. The court's declaration and protection of the constitutional "Right of Privacy" which has been used to permit human abortion has brought opposition from many church leaders and their members. The religious claim of a "right to life" for the unborn fetus in opposition to the court's abortion decision has not been acceptable for the court's consideration.

These claims of religious intrusion are made in the same court-controlled arena that reviews non-religious constitutional issues. The court's inclusion of the Bill of Rights, without the formal amending process, amends the First Amendment to read "Congress, 'and other lawmakers at State and local levels of government,' shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The court has allowed the Constitution's "Free Exercise" clause to excuse Amish children from a high school attendance law, a Seventh Day Adventist from an unemployment compensation legal payment restriction, and a Jehovah's Witness from a flag salute requirement. It is in this

judicial arena that individuals and minorities are allowed to win. For example, in disallowing a prayer in a New York State school, the court accepted—in its arena—a student's complaint in 1962 that school prayer intruded into the Constitution's protected area. Each of the twenty or so religious cases brought to the court have come from minorities. Losers in law-making arenas initiate judicial procedures by restating their arguments in the judicial arena with added constitutional claims. These constitutional arguments come at the conclusion of the political process where the law impacts individuals, victims of law enforcement, and those neglected or excluded from the political system. An insignificant issue may be used to exclude a religious political intrusion.

Through the court's control of its arena, it (1) sets its agendas from the religious conflicts brought to it, (2) defines religion, (3) interprets the "establishment" and "free exercise" clauses, and (4) excludes religion from the political system, thereby protecting the secular integrity of the Constitution. The judicial arena, secular, legal, and political, is a central feature for the exclusion of religion from the U.S. political system. The court's control is protected from other political forces by (1) difficult constitutional amending procedures, (2) life tenured justices, and (3) the strategic location of the court in law enforcement procedures. The court is in a strategically secure position to ensure the secularity and supremacy of the Constitution.

Constitutionalism

A third feature of the system that excludes religion from politics is the system's ideology. All political systems need an ideology to legitimize the political processes—the making and the enforcing of their laws. As noted above, religion in some form has often provided this legitimizing feature in many nations. For example, the belief in Jehovah and his prophets in the Old Testament was the political ideology for the nation of ancient Israel. Also the various Christian religions provide the semblance of a political creed for many current European nations. For the United States, the secular Constitution which provides ultimate authority also provides the basis for an ideology called constitutionalism. The belief, by the citizens, in the Constitution's supremacy makes it so. The political system's effectiveness depends on the citizens' acceptance of the Constitution's supremacy feature.

The credibility promoting claims of the system was provided by nationalists at the 1787 Philadelphia Convention and in their writings to delegates at the state ratifying conventions. Supremacy, the essential feature of law and its enforcement, proposed in the Constitution, was feared by the delegates. At Philadelphia and in one of the ratifying papers, the

power/fear dilemma was explained and the explanation became the basic principle of the creed. Enabling "the government to control the governed, and in the next place, oblige it to control itself" became the basic element of the nationalists' reasoning. The nationalist designers explained that the self-control features were built into the Constitution's governing arrangement. "The Constitution had adequately partitioned or separated the powers," stated one of the papers, "to keep each division in its assigned place." Constitutionalism, then, is the secular ideology, the belief that explains and justifies the supremacy of the Constitution and provides the hope that the built-in controls will protect the citizens from political abuses (*Federalist Papers,* No. 51).

The arguments for the built-in features that convinced delegates at the conventions that supremacy was needed and controllable became the fundamentals of the political creed for all Americans. These built-in features have become acceptable and recognizable as they are taught, preached, and written about by teachers, politicians, pastors, orators, lecturers, and journalists. These well known fundamentals include popular sovereignty, separation of powers, federalism, checks and balances, equality, four freedoms, and even, though not mentioned, judicial review. The first of the four freedoms, religion, is central in the creed which includes a secular, religiously neutral, and supreme constitution. The popular belief that everybody else's religion should be kept out of politics, a part of constitutionalism, is a control feature for excluding religion from American politics.

Constitutionalism—like the Constitution—is ever-changing. The most dramatic change in the Constitution, since its beginning, may be noted in the status and definition of citizenship. Originally blacks, women, Native Americans, and the poor were excluded from the electorate. Now all of those once excluded have Constitutional access to the political system. Religious issues, likewise, have changed. Religion has changed from a state to a national issue, as also has its meaning, political significance, and the way it may be excluded from politics. School prayers, along with all other public school religious disputes, were only recently accepted onto the court's agenda. Central to the evolving constitutionalism are the decisions and opinions of the justices of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution's ambiguous language and flexible principles. The Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment await interpretation with each new conflict. Regardless of the conflicts, or the court's decisions, constitutionalism accommodates the changes. Americans believe in a changing Constitution.

A unique feature about the changing state/church relationship in the American system is the many ways the two institutions collide. From its moral claims and its attempt to control people's behavior, there are con-

stant conflicts with religion in the market place, with religion in the educational system, and with religion in science. These contact/conflict points are where the secular cultural world does its business. Religion struggles to be a part of it, to influence and control behavior. The responses to the conflicts are significant to accommodations within the system. The secular and the religious contenders respond differently. Because of their commitment to authority, orthodox religious disputants claim absolute principles, while secular contenders are less dogmatic, accepting compromise and tentative resolution. Any conflict may be tinged with religion and morality, however, and may become intense enough to be thrust into a political arena. Secular constitutionalism, in and out of the political arenas, shares in the many conflicts and their resolutions. The finality of the state extends to constitutionalism, questioning the infallible claims of religion. Secular constitutionalism provides continuous involvement in distinguishing and separating the religious from the secular.

The Secular State and the Constitution

As indicated earlier, the Constitution did not create the state, it relocated it. The Constitution did not make the state secular; its secularity is from its supremacy, and its supremacy is from its capacity for final punishment. The U.S. government is authorized by the Constitution to govern, yet the Constitution obtains its implementation and enforcement power from the government. Somewhat circular! The supremacy and the secularity, with constitutional authority, extend to local governments. Most state/church conflicts have developed within the state school system and city and county governments where taxing and punishment are imposed. Because of the imposition of these features, a prayer, spoken or sung, in a public school becomes politicized and secularized. The state's secularizing effects are inescapable. As part of the secularizing effect, a public prayer is noticeably, even religiously, neutralized. The secularity may be noted in the attempt to offer neutral prayers which please neither the faithful nor the non-believer. Public, political prayers thus seemingly lose their religious significance. The insistence on combining religious activities with political events transforms the religious into the secular. Even the court when settling a religious conflict transforms, by its secular supremacy, the religious to the secular. The transformation may not always be apparent to the determined disputants as it occurs during the collision. The inescapable supremacy of the state ensures its secular dominance. This seemingly mysterious change is not unlike that which may be noted in other relationships that involve control. The threat to control seems to be the transforming ingredient. Violence overwhelms restraining principles when control is at stake.

A Supreme Court justice almost noted that mysterious transformation when in 1984 the court allowed a Christian creche to remain in a city Christmas display because it had become commercial. In his dissenting opinion, Justice William Brennan suggests the secularizing transformation with these words:

> [G]overnment cannot be completely prohibited from recognizing in its public actions the religious beliefs and practices of the American people as an aspect of our national history and culture. While I remain uncertain about these questions, I would suggest that such practices as the designation of "In God We Trust" as our national motto, or the references to God contained in the Pledge of Allegiance can best be understood, as a form of "ceremonial deism," protected from the Establishment Clause scrutiny chiefly because they have lost through rote repetition any significant religious content (465 U.S. 668 [1984]).

For the Supreme Court, however, school prayers may not yet be of such symbolic religious insignificance that it will allow transformation where young people are being publicly educated.

Mormonism and the Constitution

Mormonism is not the only religion which threatened the religious Constitutional exclusion feature, but its confrontation is unusual enough to warrant an explanation here. For sixty years the Mormon church collided with the U.S. political system from top to bottom and marked the beginning of the national government's state/church encounter.

The church's experience with the American political system is somewhat historically out of place. When the church was organized, religion was constitutionally, and to the disappointment of the church, a state not a national concern. During its first sixteen years, from 1830 to 1846, the church was often in conflict with other settlers, their churches, and with state governments before the state/church relationship was clarified. The religious freedom included in the states seemed both to protect and reject the church. The church, likewise, was unclear about its political aspirations. It declared a belief in church/state separation, while at the same time appeared to join the two. Finally, after bitter, confusing conflicts, the church was driven from Missouri and Illinois.

In the western territory, Utah, under national government jurisdiction, the church/state relationship was even more unsettled. The church-dominated territorial settlement began, seemingly with national government approval, confusing the relationship. A cloudy fifty-year confrontation followed between the church and the national government. The conflicts were about the church's policies and its political-like controls

over members, non-members, church rebels, and apostates. The conflicts were finally settled by a hostile territorial legislature, an unfriendly U.S. Congress, president, and courts. The Congress and the president used armies, denied statehood, wrote laws against the church's plural marriage doctrine (a church principle), arrested hundreds of church members, denied citizenship to polygamists and women, dissolved corporate legal control, and finally confiscated the central church properties for failure to comply with the anti-polygamy laws. The church's leaders claimed constitutional protection, justifying their disobedience on the religious free exercise clause of the First Amendment. After the court's rejection of numerous constitutional claims and the church's submission to various demands including the abolition of polygamy, Congress admitted the State of Utah with a state constitution that excluded all religion from Utah politics. Mormonism's confrontational threat to the secular Constitutional system ended. The church lost in every arena. All this happened fifty or so years before the nationalization and definition of the "Establishment" and the "Free Exercise" clauses of the First Amendment. Constitutional supremacy and secularity came to Mormonism and Utah long before the other states.

Summary

Let me summarize the "when" and the "how" of why I believe religion was and is excluded from the U.S. political system:

1. Religion was omitted from the first three inter-colonial congresses;
2. Religion was omitted by the political secularization in the Declaration of Independence;
3. Religion, omitted from the Philadelphia Convention, was excluded from the supreme, secular, and religiously neutral Constitution and Bill of Rights;
4. Religion was and is excluded by the Supreme Court in its constitutional arena; and
5. Religion was and is excluded in and by constitutionalism, the U.S. political ideology.

This religious exclusion feature gives meaning and makes possible freedom of religion, a cherished feature of the American political system. However, like the other First Amendment freedoms to speak, to publish, and to organize, religion is involved with individual belief aspirations that unavoidably provoke conflicts. Tolerance, religious and otherwise, is an essential feature in constitutionalism for maintaining non-hostile religious relationships that assist in keeping religious conflicts out of politics.

The religious fragmentation that affected the church/state relationship at the founding of the American political system continues to fragment, which is even more significant to the church/state relationship today. The supreme Constitution with its secular ideology now includes the political aspirations of a varied American religious system. This may be noted in the political patriotism expressed at the diverse American church meetings and celebrations. The secular constitutionalism with its "ceremonial deism" (Justice Brennan's language) must have overwhelmed the U.S. Congress when in 1954 it inserted "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance. This was done by a Congress which had no delegated constitutional authority over religion, and in spite of the forbidding language of the First Amendment. Obviously, Congress could only "insert" a secular "god." Even so, such an insertion should puzzle our Middle Eastern observers, among others, especially if they noted church members' frequent recitation of the Pledge in and out of their churches. We should remind our friends, however, that Americans are so immersed in secular constitutionalism that they hardly noticed the Supreme Court's endorsement of the Congressional insertion into the Pledge or its approval of a religiously neutral "ceremonial" god. By contrast, it is the protected religious gods of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Muslims, and Mormons that provoke conflicts and make it into the judicial arena requiring resolution.

How different, then, is a religious god from a secular one? The distinction may be difficult, as many loyal, religiously faithful Americans believe that it was a supreme, neutral "God" who initially excluded religion from the Constitution and it was the same divine power that later inspired the exemption of personal contributions to churches from political income taxes and exclusion of church holdings from property taxes. Also for them, no doubt, it is the same secular neutral "God" to which Congress's chaplains daily pray and presidents sometime ask at the close of their public address to bless America. It must be this same secular, neutral "God" who gives constitutionalism its religious appearance. This may be the religious-like secularism that disturbs religious leaders. Could a religious God transform the Constitution into a religious document? Or could a supreme constitutional system transform a religious partisan God into a secular, neutral one? Both questions sound strange, but critical. How real, then, is the church/state separation in the American political system?

In spite of the confusion between a religious and a neutral "God" and their separation, there is a meaningful distinction in the United States between the secular and the religious. Most Americans agree with the observations of our Middle Eastern friends about the uniqueness of the American church/state relationship, even though the line separating the

secular from the religious is often unclear. The continuous search for an explanation and a separation, however, seems to be a part of the system, and the resulting confusion may be noted in the opinions of the nine secular Supreme Court justices who seldom agree about the definition of religion and what is constitutionally separated and protected. Gratefully, the justices only claim finality, not infallabilty. The secular human court makes no decisions about universal truth. Even so, the essential feature of religious separation is in the uniquely limiting secular, religiously neutral, supreme Constitution. If there is a secular, neutral, patriotic "God," "He," "She," or "It" must be found somewhere in that political supremacy. This Americans do mysteriously, when they sing Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" or when they conclude the American hymn "My Country 'tis of Thee ... Great God our King." Most importantly, it is within that supreme, secular, religiously neutral Constitution that freedom of religion is made possible.

Birthday Dreaming

Megan Thayne Heath

Sixty-four years ago
my grandmother was shifting in her sleep,
admiring her growing belly with gentle hands,
welcoming the October nightfall
that enclosed her like prayer.

That's how pregnancy is,
ordinary things move on without you
whispers move inside
that teach from another world
where birthday *candles last on*
and grandmothers' hugs fold you inward
so close you are the same

even in the oddest shapes
we're not alone in our turning,
incubating: the perfect wish
that might grow into grandmother's deep set eyes.

Hymn

Marion Bishop

LATELY I CAN'T GET OVER THE FEELING that there is a man in my bed: a big man with thick, wavy hair and a broad, barrel chest that goes up-and-down, up-and-down all night long as his breath slurs in-and-out and he elbows me in the back with his strong arms every time I creep from the corner of the bed where I have learned to sleep ... when I sleep. And I lie there, one o'clock, two o'clock, three o'clock, holding my tongue and holding my breath, afraid to nod off, afraid of what he does to me when he is the one awake and I am the one asleep.

In my childhood I was the big sister: the best baby-sitter. I remember the Saturday nights, the summer afternoons, and the years I spent caring for my younger brothers and sisters. I remember the warmth and love we felt for each other and the quarters and dollar bills my parents paid me for bathing, feeding, reading stories to, and putting these younger siblings to bed. And I remember waiting, lying awake next to the telephone in my parents' big bed, hoping they would come home soon before I got too scared and calm me by slipping a slim, white Bible under my pillow and saying my name over and over and over again:

"Marion Cathryn Bishop."

Marion Cathryn Bishop.

"Who is Aunt Cathryn Bishop?"

marion cathryn bishop

When a tree falls in a forest and no one hears it, does it make a sound?

On Sundays I go to church and sit next to my husband and sing hymns and remember sitting next to my father and learning how to sing following his large index finger across the lines, verse after verse, his arm around me: times when I felt loved. And this Sunday morning my spouse, my father's memory, and I sing: "Gently raise the sacred strain/ for the Sabbath's come again," and then my husband's voice and the other basses and tenors leave and the sopranos lead the altos through "that man may rest/ that man may rest." So we can all join in again. "And return his thanks to God/ for his blessings to the blest." Sigh. Breathe. Lie. "For his blessings to the blest."

I have a friend who accuses me of spending too much time in my head. At lunch or dinner parties, or during my office hours or the previews before a film at our favorite movie theater, she argues that the work that matters most for women happens on the level of the world, not the word. She tells me that time is better spent answering phone calls at rape crisis centers and campaigning for candidates who support women's issues than reflecting on the relationship between men and women and language. I try hard to listen to her, and even harder to hear myself, but I never know what to say, so I just tell her I'll think about it, and then I put down my silverware, my pen, or my popcorn, take off my glasses, and rest my right hand under my chin and up against my mouth.

Sometimes I think of all the men for whom I have changed my body: the men who liked nail polish, the men who preferred long or short or more blonde hair, and, worse, the men who wanted smaller waists, longer legs, bigger breasts; and I think of all the men for whom I have starved, wasting down to a body they could worship because it mirrored their own, sans phallus. And I remember all the anger that eventually led me to eat again and I remember shoveling gallons, containers, Big Macs of food into my mouth to shore up for the next starvation cycle: when the only way to make a man love me was to waste away, was to die slowly, was to be a blonde, beautiful, voiceless, waspy Ethiopian teenage boy with big, round breasts.

And so I have been trying to write a Ph.D. dissertation about women and their diaries and how the act of writing to the self can nurture along the development and growth of a woman's voice. And I am reading my childhood journals and I see how time and time again my identity was defined by whoever the most important man was in my life at that moment and how he read me and I think it is a wonder I survived.

"Brilliant." "Bitch." "Beloved."

And I think it is a miracle that I was able to sing or squirm loudly enough in that bed to keep from being squashed.

I have a colleague whose dissertation is also a feminist study, and she asks me to read a draft, please, keeping in mind, she specifically asks, tone, and to mark in the margins, please, every time I sense a change in tone: she can't sound angry. And so I do this for her, with a blue pen, even, but I don't like being the tone-police, and when we meet later to talk about the draft I tell her a story from my childhood about big Saturday and Sunday morning breakfasts when we would have relatives and friends over in the days before we were taught to feel guilty about fried eggs, bacon, and pancakes with lots of butter and maple syrup. And I tell her how in spite of the fact that there was always plenty of bacon, the parents and aunts and uncles assigned one child to be the sheriff of the bacon and to limit each child to two pieces. And I tell her how although

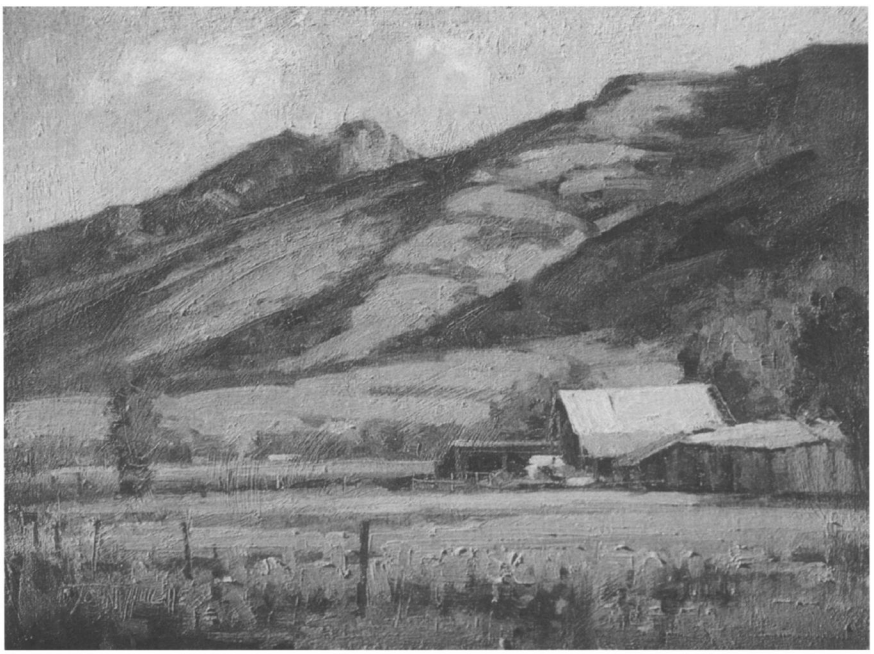
the bacon-sheriff always got the two best pieces, the job came to be despised: it was no fun to police food we all considered so essential—especially since it meant denying our own hunger.

My college roommate was date-raped at the beginning of our senior year. Too ashamed to finish the semester, she withdrew from school and, for nine months after the incident, lived under an assumed name in an Illinois home for unwed mothers. When the man who raped her graduated from college, my roommate gave birth to the nameless baby girl she can only call "my little angel" in the once yearly letters she is allowed to place on file with the agency that handled her daughter's adoption. Now an accomplished attorney, only in recent years has she been able to call this assault "date-rape." Earlier her ecclesiastical leaders named it "sin."

Lately I have this recurring dream that I am smoking, smoking long, white, thin, Virginia Slims cigarettes, and in these dreams I feel guilty, guilty because smoking is against my religion and because I'm trying harder lately to take good care of my health. But I can't stop: I keep reaching again and again into the slim, slick pack and drawing, withdrawing just one, one, and then one more cigarette. I bring each one to my mouth and wrap my two lips around it tight, then draw. Draw. Inhale. Bring the cigarette and its smoke into my body, and I glance around quickly to see if anyone is looking and I feel sensuous and ashamed and my lips feel full and flushed and I think about the black smoke in my lungs and wonder if I will get cancer. And suddenly the cigarette is not a cigarette anymore but a big, fat, smelly cigar. And before I can even taste it, it is filling up my whole mouth and the end of it touches the back of my throat and it is big and brown and round and hard and I want to bite down; I want to bite down and expel it from my mouth and send it back once and for all to where it came from.

When I was a little girl, I used to worry a lot. I had learned to read before I was always able to make meaning of the words: I knew there was a war in Vietnam but didn't understand I couldn't be drafted; I feared the Holocaust but didn't know what it meant to be a Jew; and for a long time I was afraid I would get VD—even though I didn't yet know what sexual intercourse was. I passed sleepless nights then too, struggling to crowd fears from my bed with an army of stuffed animals and a series of hymns I sang over and over and over again in my head.

And lately, because I can't get over the feeling there is a man in my bed, I spend my days looking for words. I read. I write. Like a child who gets hurt playing with her favorite toy, I'm trying to learn what harms—and if it's possible to heal. For years I have kept a personal journal. At risk of more hurt, I'm considering taking it to bed.



Reflections on LDS Disbelief in the Book of Mormon as History

Brigham D. Madsen

DURING THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, not too many members left their faith or were excommunicated for disbelief in the Book of Mormon. In the first somewhat chaotic years, while Joseph Smith experimented with theology and organization, a few of his followers left the infant church over disputes in leadership, deep concern with the practice of polygamy, discouragement in the face of persecution and physical hardship, or other dissatisfactions which normally can occur in any new religion. Archaeology and the other disciplines concerned with the origins of the natives Columbus found in the New World were not well advanced, and accounts of the few discoveries of ancient ruins were not widely circulated or readily available to early Mormons caught up in the struggle to establish their church on the American frontier. The hardships encountered in crossing the plains and establishing Zion in the desert Great Basin, plus the long fight with the United States government over polygamy, left little time for scientific investigations of the historicity of their Book of Mormon.

From the late 1800s into the early twentieth century, the chief defender of the new sacred document was historian Brigham H. Roberts, a member of the Council of Seventy and a vigorous and combative protagonist against anyone who cast doubts about the book's authenticity. In his first years Roberts spent most of his time advancing biblical and scriptural proofs to sustain the veracity of the Book of Mormon, but after the turn of the century he decided to examine the latest scientific archaeological discoveries which might support his thesis. The result was his three-volume work, *New Witnesses for God*, published in 1909, an intensive analysis, in volumes II and III, of scientific evidence which would corroborate the ancient record "translated" by Joseph Smith from gold plates found

in the Hill Cumorah in the state of New York.

In his 1909 publication Roberts concluded that after looking at studies of the latest scientific examinations of ruins in Central and South America, he was convinced that there was no conflict between them and the claims of the Book of Mormon and that much of the archaeological science supported the Joseph Smith account. He cited numerous traditions and myths of Native Americans which were similar to Book of Mormon stories and which tended to prove the correctness of the Mormon scripture. He dismissed rather lightly any accusations that Joseph Smith could have used other works as a basis for a fictional account of the origins of the American Indians and even dismissed Ethan Smith's 1823 edition of *View of the Hebrews*, an error that he was to acknowledge in his later *Studies of the Book of Mormon*.

There were other arguments in support of the Nephite scripture, but he summarized his survey of archaeological findings by assuring readers that future explorations would only add further proof of the historicity of Joseph Smith's work. To average LDS church members in 1909, Roberts's *New Witnesses for God* substantiated their beliefs and further embellished his stature for them as a historian and defender of the Book of Mormon.[1] But only thirteen years later Roberts was to change his mind and that dramatically.

As one evidence of increasing American interest in the latest scientific investigations of ancient New World ruins, a Washington, D.C., investigator of Mormonism in 1921 asked five pointed questions challenging LDS beliefs. B. H. Roberts was asked by church leaders to respond, which he did with a study of 141 typewritten pages entitled "Book of Mormon Difficulties." He was able to satisfy himself about four of the inquiries: the diversity of primitive Indian languages which occurred over a relatively short period of one thousand years; Book of Mormon accounts of steel when the Jews had no knowledge of it in 600 B.C.E.; the Nephite use of "scimeters" years before such weapons were ever mentioned in literature; and the use of silk in America which was unknown at the time of Columbus.[2] The fifth question concerned the use of horses by Book of Mormon peoples, a problem, about which Roberts had written in 1909, that "constitutes one of our most embarrassing difficulties."[3] In 1921 he again acknowledged that "nowhere has the evidence for the existence of the horse in America within historic times been found."[4]

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1. For a fuller account of Roberts's conclusions in his *New Witnesses for God*, see B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, ed. Brigham D. Madsen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 12-18, and B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 2d ed., ed. Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 12-18.

2. Ibid., 63-94, 108-143.

3. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), 17.

4. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 107.

This examination of the most recent studies of Maya and Inca civilizations led Roberts to a troubling review of his work of 1909 and an appeal to the First Presidency and fellow general authorities for an opportunity to present his "Difficulties" paper to them. His wish was granted and over a period of three days, in early 1922, LDS authorities went to school under the tutelage of Roberts. The meetings were quite disappointing to Roberts who had asked "that from the greater learning of the individual members of the Quorum of the Twelve, or from the collective wisdom of all the brethren addressed, or from the inspiration of the Lord as it may be received through the appointed channels of the priesthood of his Church, we might find such a solution of the problems presented."[5]

With the unsatisfactory response from his brethren who seemed little interested in his investigations, Roberts plunged ahead and completed an even more probing analysis of the Nephite scripture which he entitled *Studies of the Book of Mormon*. In this long critique, he made a careful comparison of the parallels between the Book of Mormon and Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*, concluding that Joseph Smith could have used the minister's book as a "ground plan" for the Mormon scripture.[6]

In addition, Roberts examined the historical evidence that Joseph Smith possessed a creative imagination and a highly retentive memory which would have given him the intellectual tools necessary to write an invented work of the magnitude of the Book of Mormon.[7] Then Roberts analyzed the internal evidence that the Book of Mormon was of human origin, and in his most devastating conclusion concerning the accounts of three anti-Christs in Nephite America, he wrote:

> ... they are all of one breed and brand; so nearly alike that one mind is the author of them, and that a young and undeveloped, but piously inclined mind. The evidence I sorrowfully submit, points to Joseph Smith as their creator. It is difficult to believe that they are the products of history, that they come upon the scene separated by long periods of time, and among a race which was the ancestral race of the red man of America.[8]

One can sympathize with Roberts and his sorrow that, after venerating and admiring Joseph Smith for a lifetime, he now had concluded that his hero was less than a prophet. In the introduction to *New Witnesses for God*, Roberts had laid out what he believed the results would be if Joseph Smith were indeed not what he purported to be:

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5. Ibid., 46.
6. Ibid., 151-242.
7. Ibid., 243-50.
8. Ibid., 271.

> While the coming forth of the Book of Mormon is but an incident in God's great work of the last days, ... still the incident of its coming forth and the book are facts of such importance that the whole work of God may be said in a manner to stand or fall with them. That is to say, if the origin of the Book of Mormon could be proved to be other than that set forth by Joseph Smith; if the book itself could be proved to be other than it claims to be, ... then the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and its message and doctrines, which, in some respects, may be said to have arisen out of the Book of Mormon, must fall; for if the book is other than it claims to be; if its origin is other than that ascribed to it by Joseph Smith, then Joseph Smith says that which is untrue; he is a false prophet of false prophets; and all he taught and all his claims to inspiration and divine authority, are not only in vain but wicked; and all that he did as a religious teacher is not only useless, but mischievous beyond human comprehending.[9]

As the premier longtime defender of the Book of Mormon, B. H. Roberts's historical investigations had finally directed him to the above indictment of Joseph Smith and the religion which he had founded. Roberts decided not to submit his *Studies* to his colleagues in the church hierarchy and confined the document to his personal papers until its publication in 1985. If the presiding elders of the LDS church could evince little interest in Roberts's scientific observations about New World civilizations in 1922, it is perhaps understandable that most lay members of the church might also dismiss the discoveries of that period of time.

With the passage of seventy-five years since Roberts's work on the origins of the American Indians, he would have a field day in examining the tremendous outpouring of scientific information now available. His method of over-kill in assembling and dissecting factual data would require several volumes. But to spare the reader, it may be instructive just to study the conclusions drawn by scientists in three summations of present knowledge concerning the origins of native races in the New World. These three books are Brian M. Fagan, *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1987); Ronald C. Carlisle, comp. and ed., *Americans Before Columbus: Ice-Age Origins* (Pittsburgh: Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, 1988); and Tom D. Dillehay and David J. Meltzer, eds., *The First Americans: Search and Research* (Boca Raton, LA: CRC Press, 1991). As author Brian M. Fagan writes, "The literature on the peopling of America is so enormous and highly specialized that even experts have a hard time keeping up with the latest research. This book is based on thousands of different papers, monographs, reviews, and short reports in many languages."

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9. Ibid., 12.

The genesis for much of the studies thus described began with the development of "radiocarbon dating" by Willard Libby in 1949. As is well known, this procedure can be used to determine the age of charcoal, bone, and other organic materials to about 50,000 years ago.[10] With this tool, scientists the world over have made some amazing discoveries about human origins, and that is particularly true of the native races of the Americas.

Much to the disquietude of many well-read and reflective Mormons today, the overwhelming evidence of these finds during the last fifty years casts grave doubts, if not outright disbelief, about the Book of Mormon as history. The Lost Tribes theories of Roberts's time have long since been discarded as, in one researcher's word, relegating "the American Indians to the same miserable status as that enjoyed by many European Jews."[11] To recite some well-known facts, scientists today are firm that Native Americans are related to the people of northeastern Siberia. One physical anthropologist has even found, for example, a "dental connection between the Americas and north China."[12] Two Chinese scholars have concluded that microblades with wedge-shaped cores were "widely distributed over much of northeast Asia and northwest America."[13]

In some investigations which would have intrigued Roberts, one investigator has also determined that there were three separate linguistic groups "that correspond to migrations to the Americas. ... So great are the differences between the three groups that there is little likelihood that they are branches of a single linguistic stock." There is some dispute about this idea, but the fact of the great diversity of Indian languages is readily recognized.[14] In addition to the above discoveries, perhaps it can be anticipated that before long some scholar will examine the DNA of early inhabitants of eastern Siberia and the DNA of early American Indians for confirmation of their relationship. All that would be left would be for an interested Mormon to compare the two findings to the DNA of Israelites who lived about 600 B.C.E.

With Asiatic origins firmly established, archaeologists, geologists, and geographers have similarly determined that a land bridge across the Bering Sea was open to migration at 12,000 to 14,000 years ago and again at 9,000 to 11,000 years ago. Most scholars also agree that the migration

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10. Fagan, *The Great Journey,* 53-54.

11. Ibid., 25.

12. H. E. Wright, "Environmental Conditions for Paleoindian Immigration," in *The First Americans,* 113; J. M. Beaton, "Colonizing Continents: Some Problems from Australia and the Americas," in *The First Americans,* 210; Larry D.Agenbroad, "Clovis People: The Human Factor in the Pleistocene Magafauna Extinction Equation," in *Americans Before Columbus,* 64; Fagan, *The Great Journey,* 94-95, 185.

13. Fagan, *The Great Journey,* 95-96.

14. Ibid., 186.

south from the land bridge was by way of the ice-free Alberta Corridor in west central Canada.[15]

When did the first people make this long journey from eastern Siberia to the plains of North America? Here there is consensus. "The earliest universally accepted cultural entity in the southwest is the Clovis Culture. This fluted point tradition ... was formally named for the prolific site at Blackwater Draw, near Clovis, New Mexico."[16] The same author continues, "The earliest undisputed archaeological sites in the New World south of the glacial ice are between 11,500 and 11,000 years old."[17] And again, "Although there are claims of earlier human presence in the New World, the Clovis Culture appears to be the first widespread archaeologically visible and universally accepted American population."[18] Fagan sums up his colleague's conclusions about these first Americans:

> About 11,500 years ago, the highly distinct Clovis Culture appeared on the Great Plains of North America, a culture documented from dozens of sites where stone artifacts have been found in direct association with the bones of large, extinct Ice Age mammals like the mammoth, mastodon, and extinct bison. Most Clovis sites are radiocarbon-dated to the five centuries after 11,500 years ago. The dating is so precise that twenty-one dates from the Lehner and Murray Springs kill sites in Arizona give a mean reading of 11,000 +/- 200 years ago, a remarkably consistent result by radiocarbon standards.
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> This was a dramatic period in American prehistory. ... At this watershed in America's past we emerge from the shadows into the sunlight, for every scholar, whatever his or her views on the dating of first settlement, agrees that Clovis people flourished over wide areas of North America after 11,500 years ago.[19]

With this widely-accepted evidence of the first peopling of the Americas over eleven thousand years ago, one wonders how LDS church members today reconcile the Book of Mormon narrative of New World settlement by the Nephites around 600 B.C.E. as being the means by which the New World was occupied by the ancestors of the American Indians.

Finally, to end this brief examination of present scientific knowledge

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15. Agenbroad, "Clovis People," 65; Donald K. Grayson, "Perspectives on the Archaeology of the First Americans," in *Americans Before Columbus*, 118-89; Fagan, *The Great Journey*, 127.

16. Agenbroad, "Clovis People," 63.

17. Ibid., 119.

18. Ibid., 72, see also R. E. Taylor, "Frameworks for Dating the Late Pleistocene Peopling of the Americas," in *The First Americans*, 102-12.

19. Fagan, *The Great Journey*, 177.

about the settling of the Americas, just a word about Book of Mormon claims that the Nephites had such domestic animals as horses, asses, oxen, cows, sheep, swine, and goats.[20] While the Old World had the "Big Five" domesticated animals (sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and pigs) as physiologist James M. Diamond explains, "New World attempts at domestication did not begin until a few thousand years after the start of attempts in the Old World and resulted in only four established species of livestock." These were: the llama as a pack animal, the alpaca for its wool, and the guinea pig and turkey kept for food. Diamond continues, "[N]o New World domestic animal was used to pull a plough, a cart or war chariot, to transport a person, or to give milk, and their collective contribution to animal protein for human consumption was much less than that of the Old World domesticates."[21]

With the obvious contradictions of settlement and domestic animals plus many other Book of Mormon problems, it is little wonder that B. H. Roberts could ask of his fellow church leaders even in 1922:

> What shall our answer be then? Shall we boldly acknowledge the difficulties in the case, confess that the evidences and conclusions of the authorities are against us, but notwithstanding all that, we take our position on the Book of Mormon and place its revealed truths against the declarations of men, however learned, and await the vindication of the revealed truth? Is there any other course than this? And yet the difficulties to this position are very grave. Truly we may ask "who will believe our report?" in that case. What will the effect be upon our youth of such a confession of inability to give a more reasonable answer to the questions submitted, and the awaiting of proof for final vindication? Will not the hoped for proof deferred indeed make the heart sick?[22]

Obviously, the Roberts of a half-century of defending the Book of Mormon was sick at heart himself because of his discoveries based on the scholarly developments of his day.

Over seventy years later, loyal but questioning Mormons represent a much larger number of truth-seekers now that there are over nine million Latter-day Saints as compared to a few hundred thousand in the 1920s. The appearance the last few years of a number of independent "study groups" and organizations devoted to examinations of the practices, doctrines, and especially the historical origins of the Mormon church has led to increased awareness of the kind of problems Roberts wrestled with in

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20. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 96-98.

21. Jared M. Diamond, "Why Was Post-Pleistocene Development of Human Societies Slightly More Rapid in the Old World Than in the New World?" in *Americans Before Columbus*, 26-27.

22. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 115.

his day. The B. H. Roberts Society holds forth periodically in an auditorium at the University of Utah. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* and *Sunstone* regularly publish more and more "daring" articles about LDS scriptures and beliefs. Signature Books has published numerous books concerned with the history and origins of the LDS faith.

As an example of the latter, examine just a few of the essays in the recent work, *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, edited by Brent Lee Metcalfe.[23] One author concludes, "Understanding the Book of Mormon as a fictional work of nineteenth-century scripture has real advantages."[24] Another writes, "Some might think that acceptance of the conclusion that Joseph Smith is the author of the Book of Mormon requires rejecting the work as religiously relevant and significant. I append this afterword to make it clear that such a rejection does not follow from this critical judgment. Historical conclusions about a scriptural text, such as who authored it, are *existential* judgments, ... and can and should be separated from judgments about *spiritual* values."[25] B. H. Roberts would have approved of that last statement. A third essayist remarks, "Given the evidence presented in this essay, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the details of events in the Book of Mormon are not literally historical."[26] A fourth contributor declares, "Unfortunately there is no direct evidence to support the historical claims of the Book of Mormon—nothing archaeological, nothing philological."[27] Finally, one writer expounds, "intrinsically woven into the Book of Mormon's fabric are not only remnants of the peculiar dictation sequence but threads of authorship. The composite of those elements explored in this essay point to Smith as the narrator's chief designer."[28] Other books published by Signature Books and also by the University of Illinois Press are concerned with scholarly works on Mormonism, but the Metcalfe volume is sufficient to illustrate that some of them can cast serious questions on the Book of Mormon as history.

The most visible notice of the surge of interest by questioning Mormons about problems faced by their church is the annual Sunstone Sym-

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23. Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993).

24. Anthony A. Hutchinson, "The Word of God Is Enough: The Book of Mormon as Nineteenth-century Scripture," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, 17.

25. David P. Wright, "'In Plain Terms That We May Understand': Joseph Smith's Transformation of Hebrews in Alma 12-13," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, 211.

26. John C. Kunich, "Multiply Exceedingly: Book of Mormon Population Sizes," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, 264.

27. Edward H. Ashment, "'A Record in the Language of My Father:' Evidence of Ancient Egyptian and Hebrew in the Book of Mormon," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, 374.

28. Brent Lee Metcalfe, "The Priority of Mosiah: A Prelude to Book of Mormon Exegesis," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, 433.

posium held in Salt Lake City. As many as 1,500 people gather, over a three-day session, to hear papers on almost every imaginable subject concerned with Mormonism. But lying underneath some presentations is the nagging question: "Were there really gold plates and ministering angels or was there just Joseph Smith seated at a table with his face in a hat dictating to a scribe a fictional account of the ancient inhabitants of the Americas?" Although church leaders may dismiss publicly the annual gathering of the numerous Sunstonians, their numbers and concerns must engender some disquietude on the part of LDS authorities. To many observers, the Sunstone Symposium represents the tip of a large iceberg of loyal but questioning Mormons.

The reaction of LDS leaders to the growing body of intellectual challenges to many aspects of Mormonism was highlighted a few years ago by the obvious paranoia about the fraudulent activities of Mark Hofmann. His fictitious salamander letter and other highly imaginative documents revealed apostolic concern that some horrible historical discovery would expose the secret fears that perhaps the Joseph Smith first-vision-gold-plates story was fraudulent after all. One of the problems is that the LDS church is not the only institution that has vaults; universities and historical societies also have vaults for important historical documents. Like Edgar Allan Poe's "Raven," Joseph Smith's Book of Mormon creation rests mordantly above the church's door whispering, "Never—nevermore."

The recent spate of excommunications lists many reasons for the expulsions. To an outsider they might seem somewhat superficial and inconsequential: praying to a Mother in Heaven; priesthood for women; and written or oral criticism of church leaders. The basic reason may lie behind these announced causes: the hidden apprehension that some scholar will come up with convincing proof that the Book of Mormon is not history. B. H. Roberts had the instinct for what is significant in Mormonism—not such issues as those listed above, important as they are, but the true origins of the LDS faith—the Book of Mormon as history or as a figment of Joseph Smith's imagination and creativity.

Many members of the Mormon church teeter on the edge of the precipice of Book of Mormon historicity. They hang on to their beliefs and loyalty despite harassments and sometimes ludicrous pronouncements from church leaders until suddenly they discover what many suspected all along—"all that he [Joseph Smith] did as a religious teacher is not only useless, but mischievous beyond human comprehending."[29]

What should such disbelievers do about their church membership? The history of the New England Congregational church can be instruc-

29. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 12.

tive at least in an academic sense. By the 1660s many New Englanders, Puritans on Sunday but Yankees on Monday, would no longer put up with the rigid church regimen prescribed by their ministers:

> And the failure of large numbers of adults to prove their sanctity and gain admission to the church left their children unbaptized, without the fold. Faced by the dilemma of being consistent to the point where church membership would dwindle away to the vanishing point, or breaking down the system in order to keep the churches going, the New England ministers held a synod in 1662, which threshed the whole matter out. The result was a system known as the Half-Way Covenant, by which the children of adults who were not communicants could be baptized if their parents made a mere profession of faith.[30]

The partial covenant not only kept the dissidents contributing financially to the church, but continued to allow their children to receive the moral and spiritual training the church offered. The latter concern keeps many unbelieving Latter-day Saint parents of today going to church at least until their children gain adulthood. It is doubtful that present LDS leaders will adopt any legal Half-Way Covenant. Parents will just have to continue the informal procedure listed above. The problem for the Mormon church is that after the children of half-way parents reach their teens, the fathers and mothers will drift away, denying their church the intellectual stimulation and support that such a large institution needs and deserves.

While LDS leaders in Salt Lake City continue their aggressive preaching of the Book of Mormon, despite the overwhelming scientific proofs of its fictional character, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has adopted a different approach. In the 1960s some RLDS intellectuals "raised the same kinds of issues that Roberts's three studies discuss" and finally concluded: "As a result of public and private discussion, church leaders have soft-pedalled the Book of Mormon in church curricula and publications."[31] Under the present administration of the Salt Lake City LDS church, it is unlikely that the wise practice of the RLDS will be followed, but with new leaders in the future it may be possible to begin to "soft pedal" the Book of Mormon and so retain as members the thousands of thoughtful and loyal Mormons who do not accept the Book of Mormon as history, besides presenting to the world a more rational religion.

It is possible, as did B. H. Roberts during the last decade of his life, to emphasize the religious and spiritual values in the Book of Mormon and

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30. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1956), 172.

31. William D. Russell, review, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Fall 1987): 376.

to use these moral lessons as a driving force for missionary work without having to repeat such purported historical incidents as the amazing account of the 2,060 stripling "Lamanite" soldiers who fought through a thirteen-year war and who "Nevertheless according to the goodness of God ... not one soul of them did perish." In one particular battle, according to this wondrous fable, "Yea, neither was there one soul among them who had not received many wounds." Roberts dismissed this account: "Beautiful story of faith! ... Is it history? Or is it a wonder-tale of a pious but immature mind?"[32]

Most of the thousands of Mormon disbelievers in the Book of Mormon want to retain their activity and membership in their church because of the values they perceive in it. They cherish the Word of Wisdom and its rules of health; they applaud the church's stand for strong family values in a time of moral decay; they sustain the old puritan virtues espoused by their church leaders; they rejoice in their proud traditions of sacrifice; they thrill to the strains of the old hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints"; and, above all, in the words of non-Mormon historian, Jan Shipps, they endorse "a system that works to make people know they matter. It gives people a place where they fit in, in a world in which everybody is moving."[33]

These choice but questioning members of the LDS faith recognize that B. H. Roberts was wrong when he predicted that if the Book of Mormon "could be proved to be other than it claims to be, ... then the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ... must fall."[34] An organization of nine million adherents with great financial assets will continue because it has a life of its own. But dismissing that rather cynical approach, the LDS church will continue to expand because of the values listed above and because its members want it to continue to have an important place in their lives. With a willingness on the part of LDS church leaders to face up to the evidence of history and with a better understanding of the needs and desires of their members, many doubting Mormons may still be able to join with their congregations each Sunday to sing "No toil nor labor fear, But with joy, wend your way."

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32. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 272-73.
33. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 Nov. 1993.
34. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 12.

At Fifty-nine

Paul A. Tenney

I WAS READING THE OTHER EVENING from an old and friendly book by the late George Sheehan entitled *Running and Being: The Total Experience,* published in 1978 by Simon and Schuster of New York. This was from the pen of a former New Jersey cardiologist who decided to join the ranks of the fit somewhere after his fortieth birthday, but I think he was well into his mid-forties before starting out.

As I pulled the book from a high shelf, I found that it was covered with a fine layer of desert dust. Apparently, it had been some time since it had last been read. I had always enjoyed Sheehan's thoughts, his quotes. This was especially true during highly intense business years of heading banks on the west coast. I found then that Sheehan was a beacon of calmness, a point of reference for me, that the world was not entirely mad—particularly during a demanding final business stretch. And though not a runner, but rather an old, somewhat dedicated bicyclist, I nonetheless found myself moved by Sheehan to get away from the office, now and again, to ride in the late afternoons under a canopy of sheltering trees in the East San Francisco Bay area where we then lived.

Sheehan became, through a series of weekly newspaper columns, a major running "guru" to whom many looked, not only for answers to their questions and ailments, but for the way he quietly slipped into the athletic mainstream as an oft-quoted spiritual advisor to the rest of us. Only James Fixx during that period came close to Sheehan's insightful commentaries on one's physical-spiritual well-being while sweating.

Unfortunately, Fixx died at fifty-two while jogging near his home, the result of a faulty diet and heart disease. But Sheehan passed away after a long and highly reported battle with cancer, a disease that eventually took him down as he neared seventy-five, when he was no longer able to run or write.

An example of Sheehan's thoughts may be found in a 1984 column published in a national running magazine, written ten years before his death and before prostate cancer was detected. At that time Sheehan observed:

> I have found that tranquility begins about 20 to 30 minutes into the run. It takes that much time to detach myself from a preoccupation with my body, and from dwelling on the cares and concerns that filled my mind before I suited up to run.
>
> By a half-hour, my body is on its own—competent, relaxed, virtuoso—and I am off into my head. From then on, I am likely to have sudden and varied insights that illuminate whatever I am thinking. At no other time does my mind move so swiftly and in such varied ways. ... Our finest hours are during those easy, comfortable miles on the road. When we take to the road, we place ourselves in a setting that fosters our art—which is no less than the self we make and the life we live.[1]

That evening I leafed through Sheehan's book while my wife corrected first grade school papers. Her mother, eighty-five, sat beside her, a bright afghan about her legs, her thin shoulders bent over her latest book, now tipped to catch the most light. My mother-in-law is a marvel. She has continued to pore over thick religious biographies of LDS church leaders borrowed from our library.

I would stop now and again to reread thoughtful passages which Sheehan had written years before. I was immediately taken with one essay in which he described his age at the time, fifty-nine to be exact.

Turning to my wife to make sure there was a pause in her papers, I read to her:

> I am now fifty-nine years old, which is an awkward age to define. At fifty-nine, I am no longer middle-aged. I have, after all, no 118-year-old elders among my acquaintances. Yet I could hardly be called elderly.
>
> An awkward age, then, to define, but a delightful one to live. I am aging from the neck up. Which means I am elderly enough to have attained a look of wisdom; middle-aged enough to have a body that allows me to do what I want; and a face that lets me get away with it.
>
> You know that look. My hair is short and graying, the face is just skin and bones, the general impression of an ascetic who began the fight with the Devil in the garden, decided it wasn't worth it and walked away. ... But fifty-nine leaves quite a bit of time to go. Years that could be as exciting as any that have gone before. ... From where I sit the fifties look great, and I suspect the sixties will be even better (186, 188).

I looked up, chuckled, and reread part of this last passage to my wife who had by now a lap full of school materials, the floor around her covered. "Listen to this; this is great," I continued. She kindly heeded my request, but then I don't think she was overly impressed with what Sheehan had to say about our common age.

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1. In *Runner's World*, Apr. 1984, 127B.

I have thought often of what Sheehan had to say regarding his long runs on his noon hour, and then finding impressions and inspirations that seemed to roll through his mind while out pounding the asphalt. His "feelings of oneness with the universe" really do sound good, including such thoughts as, "We feel in our bones that we seek something beyond words, beyond the efforts of our own intellect."[2] He would then turn to Wordsworth, Yeats, Housman, Mozart, or even quote Robert Frost or Thomas Aquinas for a moment of guidance.

I find his search of his spiritual longings on the road most interesting: "What we have is a very special place for our mental and spiritual life. It comes with easy running, at a pace that frees the mind to create and the spirit to soar."[3]

An article which appeared in the religion section of a Salt Lake City newspaper in the fall of 1994 caught my interest in my ongoing concern for fitness and the spiritual helps that might be attached. The newspaper described a local stake patriarch and how he sought his own personal inspiration and guidance for his blessings by climbing in the nearby mountains before each blessing.

> For Lagerberg, the mountains represent a prime place to ready himself for the spiritual promptings he believes patriarchs are so dependent upon. "I go up to the mountains for most every blessing I give. ... After four or five hours of work and sweat, you have overcome yourself. When you finally have reached the top, you see God's beautiful creation, his handiwork. There are no disturbances whatsoever. You can feel his presence in the beauty of nature and you come as close to the Lord as you possibly can in this earthly life. The veil between here and the spirit work is very thin."
>
> It is usually in conjunction with this experience that Lagerberg senses the promptings—his "personal revelation from the Lord"—that form the blessings.[4]

From this, a recipient of such a blessing would later state, "He is one of the few people I've ever known who is at peace with all the elements of his life. He is a man of spirituality and wisdom."[5]

Over the years I too have been a devoted follower of a regular exercise plan even in my current calling as stake patriarch. For me, it has helped augment feelings of well-being and to relieve general stress from everyday life. As one eighty-two year old stated, "My life is so changed that I am miserable if I am not able to get my five to ten miles in every

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2. In *Runner's World,* Aug. 1988, 14.
3. In ibid., Apr. 1984, 127B.
4. Peter Scarlet, "Mountain Tops Bring Peace, Inspiration to LDS Patriarch," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 19 Nov. 1994, C-1, C-2.
5. Ibid., C-2.

day. My health has never been better. I have a new zest for living."[6] I too have often felt that way.

However, for me, the spiritual illumination has not readily been found on the open road. Maybe it is the on-going need while riding a very light and very quick racing bike for continual vigilance in traffic. Possibly it is the need to ride, as it were, "heads-up" as one swerves past ever lurking pot-holes in the road or tries to outrace the semi-wild, unkempt dog up that last hill—or could it be that it is just the desire to arrive home safely and in one piece that prevents one's mind from lingering too long on many intangibles.

But beyond relieving tension, chasing away the cobwebs, or satisfying my on-going need for personal fitness, exercise simply doesn't move far beyond the elements that Sheehan and Lagerberg seek. Oh, it is true that I complete some of my letters and essays while out pedaling on a deserted road, and, yes, I have had answers come to me that I have wanted. But I'm just not sure I can push it much beyond that.

For me, at least, it is the regular visits to an aged widow whose husband has left her in tattered financial straits, or weekly visits to a fellow quorum member now in the last debilitating stages of cancer. It is in the quiet dignity of the home he built that we discuss a previous priesthood lesson or the material covered in a Sunday school lesson he missed. Often we hold hands as we kneel and petition the Lord for guidance and assurance for him and his family. Those hours are sweet indeed.

I did share the article on Patriarch Lagerberg with another patriarch whom I have come to know and admire, who also works in the temple. While he thanked me for sharing the article with him, I think we agreed that the very reason we both work and worship in the temple is for the inspiration which the Lord has promised. We dearly seek for the magnification of our callings and for that sweet spirit to assist us in our blessings. While exercise and sweat have their place in fitness and good health, I believe there is something beyond that. There is the thoughtful element of grace, that wonderful "enabling power" which will be given. I treasure Jacob's succinct statement: "It is by his grace, and his great condescensions ... that we have power to do these things" (4:7).

As we stood together conversing about the news article in a temple hallway, dressed in our white suits before our next assignment, there seemed to flow over us the unspoken thought that each of us, alone, needs to find those spiritual answers that will bless others—no matter the personal form they might take. So Patriarch Lagerberg could well be right—at least for him.

I am always amazed at what church members perceive and say about

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6. In *The Runner*, May 1985.

the office of patriarch. The time needed for carrying out the calling has come to amaze me. If not had on an open road, or a mountain top, it must be had at some other time. One simple statement in the scriptures clarifies all other questions, at least for me: "Draw near unto me and I will draw near unto you; seek me diligently and ye shall find me. ... And if your eye be single to my glory, your whole bodies shall be filled with light" (D&C 88:63, 67).

My eighty-five-year-old mother-in-law lives with us now. I care for her, watch over her, buy the things she enjoys, see that her meals are on time, and in the late afternoon take her on short slow walks, weather permitting. It is a quiet part of our day together. Often winter weather is mild enough so that the rest of the nation is envious of our location and high pressure weather patterns. These are the times when coats and caution are left at home.

She takes my arm as we move slowly out of the driveway and down the road. We move at a pace that she enjoys and can observe the surroundings. A wave of her other arm in a wide loop signifies an approaching, all-inclusive statement she is about to make, generally about the weather or the desert setting. Or we may walk for quite a bit without speaking. It's a good time together, but years have passed for her. She has grown frail, her frame thin, her snowy white hair well cared for. Her hair often catches the low sunlight on our walks which causes a bright celestial halo effect about her head. It is almost as if she were trying on a new future head piece with which I am not familiar. She has moved under the lonely burden of widowhood for nearly three decades.

On cold days, when the wind is strong and moving in from the south and west, I dress her in the thickness of a good hiking jacket and pull down over her head and ears the soft warmth of an inviting Icelandic stocking cap. She is unable or unwilling to zip the jacket. I reach over to do that for her. On better days, to ward off wind or the slanting rays of a late sun, she wears the green university baseball cap my daughter gave me several years ago. She pauses for a moment at the mirror before stepping out and laughs at her new hat. Maybe her hair is not as she would like, but for now she is "roughing it."

"How do I look?" she asks herself stopping to check, always with a short chuckle. For the next little bit she never releases her grip on my arm. She opens the door, moves through it, and talks lightly of the weather, the day, or the wind, moving her other arm in stately loops. Her walk is unsteady, and often she shuffles, her tennis shoes tripping over absolutely nothing on the road. But for her, this is part of her day, as the sun lingers deep in the western sky, it is her time, her exercise and thought on the road. A time of well-being. Of thinking and commenting on an anticipated storm rolling in from the Pacific. It is her time to be out,

to acknowledge the winds from Cajon Pass or the snow atop the nearby San Gabriel Mountains. Her voice is soft, her comments float in the afternoon wind, unheard.

The quest for physical and spiritual well-being continues in the world that Sheehan described at age fifty-nine. But as one thoughtful observer noted:

> The deepest insights in both science and religion are associated with symmetries or relationships that remain unchanged through transformation. Indeed, it is my belief that the great truths of God, man and the universe are associated with the fundamental symmetries of nature. It is likely that these symmetries are innate with us and a sensitivity to them can lead us to creative insight.
>
> God gives to every man an environment in which he can achieve greatness or ignominy no matter what kind of circumstances he finds himself in. God also gave us knowledge. And to us in this dispensation he has given far more than has ever been possessed by any other people on the face of the earth. ... I suggest the reason for our failure is that we don't make full use of the knowledge and powers he has given us.[7]

After learning of his malignancy, Sheehan came to some realizations which he shared when he wrote in 1987, "My life has been filled with the best of me. What it has not been filled with is the best of others."[8]

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7. John H. Gardner, "Learning by the Golden Rule," *BYU Today*, Dec. 1982, 17-21.
8. In *Runner's World*, Mar. 1995, 18.

Building Wilkinson's University

Gary James Bergera

> *No one who accepts the Restored Gospel will question the prophecies of the Prophet of the Lord that this will become the greatest University in the world ...*
>
> —Ernest L. Wilkinson, 1954[1]

DURING HIS TWENTY YEARS FROM 1951 TO 1971 as seventh president of BYU, Ernest L. Wilkinson molded the lackluster Provo school into a showplace of LDS educational values. "More than any other single cause," his successor observed, "[Wilkinson's] remarkable and relentless leadership ... is the key to the present stature of Brigham Young University."[2] Under the scrappy Wilkinson's guidance, the student body grew five-fold to more than 25,000, the number of full-time faculty tripled to over 900, the number of faculty holding Ph.D.s jumped 900 percent to 500, faculty salaries more than doubled to an average of nearly $9,000 a year, the number of undergraduate colleges nearly tripled, the number of academic departments doubled, the first of some twenty doctoral programs was inaugurated, library holdings rose nearly 500 percent, use of the library climbed ten-fold, the physical size of the campus more than doubled, the number of buildings grew more than twenty-fold, and the amount of floor space increased 500 percent—with a total of over $143 million invested in land, permanent structures, and landscaping. And as the most tangible manifestation of the church's commitment to Wilkinson's university, annual church appropriations rose twenty-one-fold, from $1 million to $22 million, annual expenditures soared thirty-fold, from $2 million to $65 mil-

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1. Wilkinson, "Address to the BYU Faculty at a Workshop Preceding the Opening of the 1954-55 School Year," 17 Sept. 1954, 17, University Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, hereafter BYU archives.

2. Dallin H. Oaks, quoted in "A Final Tribute: The Wilkinson Era Comes to an End," *BYU Today*, May 1978, 15.

lion, while church appropriations as a percentage of total BYU income actually decreased from nearly 70 percent to 33 percent.[3] In all, Wilkinson's unprecedented impact on BYU is most evident today in the areas of enrollments, funding, and infrastructure.[4]

Recruiting New Students

Central to Wilkinson's ambitious vision of the future of BYU was a concerted three-pronged strategy of attracting more students, increasing expenditures, and establishing the need for greater income, especially appropriations from the church. In fact, Wilkinson believed that expanding the size of the student body was integral to BYU's fulfilling its destiny as the university of the Kingdom of God on earth.[5] While annual enrollments jumped from just over 1,800 (in 1945) to more than 4,300 following World War II (in 1946),[6] Wilkinson believed that such growth, especially with the onset of the war in Korea, could not be sustained without a church-sanctioned outreach program directed to student-age Mormons in local congregations throughout the United States. He also realized that while church appropriations had jumped as well due to much-needed capital improvements following the influx of veterans after the war, the year he took office church appropriations had actually decreased by more than 27 percent from $2.1 million to $1.5 million.[7] Clearly an adroit ad-

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3. The added growth beyond church spending has come from a combination of fund raising, student tuition, and income from auxiliary services.

4. The academic or intellectual development of BYU under Wilkinson is not treated in this essay. For Wilkinson's personality, managerial philosophy and style, and relations with his board of trustees, faculty, and family, see my "Wilkinson the Man," *Sunstone*, June 1997.

5. This is according to Wilkinson's authorized biography, Woodruff J. Deem and Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President* (Salt Lake City: Alice L. Wilkinson, Aug. 1978), 302.

6. *Brigham Young University Enrollment Resume, 1977-78* (Provo, UT: BYU Office of Institutional Research and Planning, Sept. 1978), copy in BYU archives.

7. See "Self-Evaluation Report I, Submitted to the Commission on Higher Schools of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools," 1 Oct. 1956, BYU archives. Wilkinson's immediate predecessor, acting president Christen Jensen, had complained to trustees that the cuts would "seriously [impair] the efficiency of the institution." The board ignored him. See Jensen to Joseph Fielding Smith, 1 May 1950, Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Lee Library. Copies of virtually all documents from the Wilkinson Papers cited here are in private possession, which is my source for them. Additionally, many are referenced in Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 2 (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 497-723; Wilkinson and Leonard J. Arrington, eds., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, Vol. 3 (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3-789; Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 429-759; and Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson.*

ministrator of Wilkinson's acumen could use a boom in student population as his most persuasive argument for securing increased funding from the church.

Thus two months after arriving in Utah Valley in early 1951, Wilkinson notified the chair of the executive committee of BYU's board of trustees, composed of the church's ranking general authorities, that unless enrollments increased, operating income from tuition and fees would drop significantly. For example, he explained, a decrease of 1,000 students would mean a loss of some $150,000, a shortfall the church would have to make up. He then proposed that carefully selected faculty members accompany church leaders on speaking tours to Mormon stake conferences throughout the western states to extol the virtues of BYU and encourage increased attendance among the faithful.[8] Church leaders liked the idea, and from May to August 1951 BYU faculty members attended nearly 180 stake conferences at a cost to the school of more than $4,000.[9] "The policy will be that of encouraging Latter-day Saint boys and girls to attend our Church Schools, that is, Brigham Young University and Ricks College [in Rexburg, Idaho]," Wilkinson explained to the church's institute teachers, not all of whom liked the plan, "except where there are definite reasons for them attending other Universities."[10] As a direct result, fall 1952 enrollments at BYU jumped more than 25 percent over the previous year's, from 5,082 to 6,359.[11]

Early the next year Wilkinson expressed appreciation to the board for supporting his recruitment efforts and asked permission to repeat the program.[12] Because of criticism that the program could adversely impact attendance at other Utah colleges as well as at the church's institutes, the board referred Wilkinson's request to the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles.[13] In addition, some Mormons worried that the successful program would overwhelm an unprepared BYU with too many undergraduates[14]; while others felt that Mormon students could receive

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8. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 18 Apr. 1951, Wilkinson Papers.

9. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 Feb. 1952; Wilkinson to Keifer B. Sauls, 17 Apr. 1952; Sauls to Wilkinson, 18 Apr. 1952, all in Wilkinson Papers.

10. Wilkinson, "The Place of the Institute in the Church School System," 20 Aug. 1953, 3, copy in Sterling M. McMurrin Papers, Western Americana, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

11. *Brigham Young University Enrollment Resume, 1977-78.* BYU's official history identifies this increase as 14 percent (Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University,* 2:603). I cannot account for the difference.

12. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, Jan. 1952, BYU archives; Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 Feb. 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

13. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 28 Mar. 1952.

14. See BYU Deans' Council Meeting, minutes, 10 Apr. 1952, BYU archives.

an equally effective religious education at the church's institutes adjoining state universities and colleges. "Bishops all over the state are trying to make the young men and women feel that it is a religious duty to go to the Y and help make it the greatest educational institution in the state," wrote one unhappy Mormon from northern Utah. "We have LDS Institutes in connection with all the schools and institutions of higher learning. Why must the Y take advantage of church influence and practically demand that young people of Cache Valley and elsewhere go only to the school?"[15]

Influential critics of Wilkinson's aggressive approach included Henry Aldous Dixon, president of Weber College in Ogden, Utah,[16] and Elder Joseph F. Merrill, one of the church's twelve apostles, former dean of the College of Engineering at the University of Utah, and former commissioner of LDS schools. Merrill favored the church's seminaries and institutes but not separate church schools such as BYU or Ricks, and bluntly told Wilkinson early on, "Apparently, President Wilkinson, you want to make the BYU a great university, great in numbers and great in repute as a graduate school. This is a noble ambition, but under governing conditions is it a wise ambition? Decidedly not, I think."[17] Merrill did not believe the church could fund both its seminaries and institutes and a large university. In fact, he condemned Wilkinson's efforts in a public act of defiance Wilkinson never forgot:

> When we began sending teachers to stake conferences to urge students to come to the BYU, I personally showed up at the Glendale [California] Stake conference where Brother Merrill was the visiting Authority. Having been tipped off in advance of the meeting that he was somewhat antagonistic to our recruiting students in that way, I spoke for only five minutes or so, so there could be no criticism of my trespassing on his time. He said nothing about it in the meeting, but I learned that at a subsequent meeting that day at which I was not present, he urged all those present to keep their children at home rather than send them to the BYU.
>
> I made an official protest to [church] President [David O.] McKay about this. I considered it insubordination on Merrill's part, because the stake conference visits had been agreed upon by the Board of Trustees. President McKay agreed that because of this he [Merrill] would be released as a member of my Executive Committee. In the process, however, the First Presidency completely reorganized the Executive Committee, removing also Brothers [Albert E.] Bowen and [John A.] Widtsoe. The latter I regretted very much,

15. Quoted in Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr. (counselors in the First Presidency), to Wilkinson, 22 Apr. 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

16. See Wilkinson to Henry Aldous Dixon, 14 May 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

17. Merrill to Wilkinson, 14 Nov. 1951, Wilkinson Papers.

but since both of them died shortly thereafter, the reorganization was probably as it should have been.[18]

Out of deference to such concerns, church leaders decided not to approve a second round of high-pressure recruiting.[19] With characteristic pugnaciousness, Wilkinson responded: "We shall, of course, be guided by the decision of the Brethren, but I just can't restrain myself from making the comment that we don't withdraw our missionaries in the field because other churches complain of them."[20] Instead, Wilkinson could send two school representatives into the church's North American mission field to act as BYU boosters.[21] "With the right kind of salesmanship on your part and cooperation from the Mission Presidents," he beamed, "I should think that we ought to get at least 50% of these returned missionaries."[22] Following unification of the church's worldwide school system under him the next year (1953), Wilkinson received permission to send representatives from BYU, Ricks College, and the institutes to stake conferences "in the hope of stimulating young people to attend Church schools, institutes and seminaries," not just BYU.[23] Sensitive to charges of empire-building, he counseled institute teachers not "to proselyte students for our Church Schools," but "if students ask for your advice," he instructed, "then we must ask that you restate the policy [of encouraging them to attend church schools]."[24]

Still, criticism mounted. Weber president Dixon thought the program "insidious,"[25] and University of Utah dean Sterling M. McMurrin complained: "The policy ... to proselyte for the Brigham Young University represents a serious breach of faith by the Church with those universities which grant university credit for institute work, and constitutes a most unfriendly attitude toward other non-credit universities, such as our own, where institutes are located."[26] Consequently, in mid-1955 Wilkin-

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18. Wilkinson Diary, 19 May 1959, original in Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers; see also photocopy in Ernest L. Wilkinson Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library. See also the account in BYU Centennial History Meeting, minutes, 4 June 1973, BYU archives. Wilkinson thought that Bowen "and I probably saw closer on social, political, and educational problems than anyone else," while Widtsoe "had a great vision and was very helpful to me" (Wilkinson Diary, 19 May 1959).

19. See Joseph Fielding Smith to Wilkinson, 28 May 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

20. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, 17 June 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

21. See Wesley P. Lloyd to J. Melvin Toone, 8 Dec. 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

22. Wilkinson to Harold Glen Clark, 8 Nov. 1952, Wilkinson Papers.

23. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 30 Oct. 1953.

24. Wilkinson, "The Place of the Institute in the Church School System," 7.

25. Wilkinson, memorandum of a conference with Henry Aldous Dixon, 3 July 1954, Wilkinson Papers. Yet compare Wilkinson Diary, 20 July 1954. See also Sterling M. McMurrin to A. Ray Olpin, 20 Apr. 1955, McMurrin Papers.

26. McMurrin to A. Ray Olpin, 1 June 1955, McMurrin Papers.

son's program was officially shelved. Later attempts to resurrect it proved short-lived, and recruiters shifted their attention away from church meetinghouses and into public high schools, where they competed with other colleges and universities for graduating seniors. Admissions officials also obtained the addresses of LDS missionaries, sent them promotional material praising BYU, and usually accepted them regardless of previous academic achievement.[27] Another targeted group was Native Americans, but the first wave of Indian recruits dropped out at a rate of nearly 60 percent. Special tutorial programs proved moderately successful in helping them adapt, and later efforts succeeded in reducing drop-out rates by 20 percent.[28] Even so, increases at BYU were never again as large as during the early years of growth, and in 1958 Wilkinson confessed: "The trouble is the divided loyalty of President McKay between the BYU on one hand and the state institutions on the other. As I gather it, he wants the BYU to grow, but not at the expense of the other institutions."[29]

Because of Wilkinson's efforts, coupled with the fact that during the 1950s admissions criteria were virtually non-existent and the percentage of applicants denied entrance never rose above 0.7,[30] BYU enrollments

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27. Wilkinson Diary, 19 May 1959, 14 Mar. 1968; BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 1 Sept. 1965; Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:509, 512-23.

28. See Vernon Pack, "A Study to Determine the Effectiveness of the Indian Education Program at Brigham Young University in Meeting the Needs of the Indian Student," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966; Anthony F. Purley, "Comparison of the Results of Scholastic Aptitude Tests and College GPA of Two Indian Populations at the Brigham Young University," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962; Carolyn Seneca Steele, "The Relationship of Cultural Background to the Academic Success of American Indian Students at Brigham Young University," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968; BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 2 Feb. 1972; L. LaMar Adams, H. Bruce Higley, and Leland H. Campbell, "Academic Success of American Indian Students at a Large Private University," *College and University*, Fall 1977, 100-10; and Grant Hardy Taylor, "A Comparative Study of Former LDS Placement and Non-Placement Navajo Students at Brigham Young University," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981.

29. Wilkinson Diary, 16 Jan. 1958. At the end of the first ten years of Wilkinson's push for increased enrollment, a survey of BYU undergraduates revealed that as many as one-fifth had enrolled as a second choice or because of pressure from parents and church leaders. Subsequently, school administrators tried to provide students with a variety of extracurricular activities, which, together with the emergence of the school's reputation as a highly "socialized" university, also helped attract undergraduates. See "BYU's Image Distorted?" *Daily Universe*, 11 Apr. 1963; Scott Grant Halversen, "A Survey of the Image Utah High School Seniors Have of BYU and Other Four-Year Colleges in Utah With an Emphasis on the Two-Step Flow of Communication," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974; G. Robert Standing, "A Study of the Environment at Brigham Young University as Perceived by Its Students and as Anticipated by Entering Students," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962; and Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:615-17; Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:206-207.

30. See information in "BYU Enrollment Profile," n.d., BYU archives.

jumped more than 100 percent from 1950 (4,510) to 1956 (9,050). During the next three years, as Wilkinson anticipated implementation of his proposed network of junior colleges to promote LDS teachings to Mormon freshmen and sophomores before transferring to BYU, enrollments increased only 12 percent (from 9,201 to 10,305).[31] Nationally during the ten years from 1949 to 1959 American university and college student bodies grew 54 percent,[32] half of BYU's 108 percent. (Closer to home, growth forty miles to the north at the University of Utah from 1950 to 1960 was 30.5 percent.[33]) However, attendance at the church's institutes was the reverse: 29 percent from 1950 to 1955 (4,309 to 5,558), but 69 percent from 1956 to 1960 (6,092 to 10,270).[34] Clearly Wilkinson's program *had* privileged BYU at the expense of the institutes.

TABLE 1.
Fall Enrollments of Daytime BYU Students, 1950-71

Year	Total Students	Percent Increase	Year	Total Students	Percent Increase
1950	4,510	<-8.6>	1961	11,178	8.5
1951	5,082	12.7	1962	12,399	10.9
1952	6,359	25.1	1963	14,236	14.8
1953	6,618	4.1	1964	16,444	15.5
1954	7,213	9.0	1965	18,725	13.9
1955	8,184	13.5	1966	20,028	6.9
1956	9,050	10.6	1967	20,375	1.7
1957	9,201	1.7	1968	22,304	9.5
1958	9,903	9.4	1969	24,144	8.2
1959	10,265	3.7	1970	25,021	3.6
1960	10,305	0.4	1971	25,116	0.4

Source: Brigham Young University Enrollment Resume, 1977-78.

From 1961 to 1965, when Wilkinson's junior college program was abandoned ostensibly due to financial obstacles, enrollments again rose

31. Student retention proved difficult, however. Almost one-half of new students dropped out after the first year; only one in five remained after four years. See "Survival of Freshmen Who Were Enrolled Autumn Quarter, Numbers Serving," and "Survival of Freshmen Who Were Enrolled Autumn Quarter, Percentage Surviving," BYU archives. By 1970 the percentage of students completing their undergraduate studies had increased to nearly 50 (see BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 2 June 1971).

32. U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1970), 78. The growth in student bodies per institution was only 11.4 percent.

33. Paul W. Hodson, *Crisis on Campus: The Exciting Years of Development at the University of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Keeban Corporation, 1987), 316.

34. William E. Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988), 245.

at BYU, from 11,178 to 18,725, or nearly 68 percent.[35] During the last five years of his tenure, however, church authorities determined that such growth rates could not be accommodated, set an increasingly rigid series of enrollment caps, and began encouraging high school seniors to attend universities nearer to their homes.[36] School administrators also tightened entrance standards and in 1967 consolidated admissions criteria to include a combination of high school grade point averages; ACT scores; ecclesiastical interviews; scholastic, creative, and athletic talents; and "other personal circumstances."[37] Consequently, the student body rose only 25 percent, from 20,028 (in 1966) to 25,116 (in 1971), while enrollments at the institutes mushroomed: growing 125 percent (13,331 to 30,052) from 1961 to 1965, and more than 60 percent (33,027 to 53,395) from 1966 to 1971.[38]

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35. Still, the academic competence of BYU's students was problematic. During the years 1962 to 1968 nearly one-quarter of the student body was on academic probation or suspension because of poor grades. See Attachment I, Academic Standards Committee Meeting, minutes, 11 Apr. 1972, and Attachment III, Academic Standards Committee Meeting, minutes, 4 Apr. 1972, BYU archives.

36. See BYU Executive Committee Meeting, minutes, 29 Jan., 23 Apr., 24 Sept. 1970; Wilkinson Diary, 29, 30 Jan. 1970.

37. For drop-out rates and ACT scores, see figures in Printed Material 34, e-3, BYU archives; "BYU Enrollment Profile"; "Brigham Young University Fact Book, 1978-79," BYU archives; *The College Handbook, 1983-84*, 21st ed. (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1983), 1513; "Survival of Freshmen Who Were Enrolled Autumn Quarter, Percentage Surviving"; "Composition of Student Body by Class and Sex—Fall Semester, 1958-64," Printed Material 32, BYU archives; BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 2 June 1971; and *Peterson's Annual Guide to Undergraduate Study* (Princeton: Peterson's Guides, 1983), 305. The three major reasons for student drop-out have been (and remain) marriage, finances, and employment; see Lillian Clayson Booth, "A Study to Determine the Reasons for Student Mortality at Brigham Young University for the School Year 1948-49," M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1950; D. Garron Brian, "A Study to Determine Some of the Reasons for Student Discontinuance at the Brigham Young University for the Year 1950-51," M.E. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952; "Reasons Given for Discontinuance, 1950-51 to 1960-61," Printed Material 34, e-2, BYU archives; and L. A. Campbell to Wilkinson, 22 Oct. 1970, BYU archives; see also Robert W. Spencer, "BYU Admissions: Past, Present, and Future," *BYU Today*, Feb. 1984, 5.

For at least two "special exceptions" to BYU's admissions requirements, see Verdon Harwood, Oral History, 26 May 1981, 16-17, BYU archives, and J. Elliot Cameron to Wilkinson, 23 May 1966, Wilkinson Papers. School officials also ruled in the mid-1960s that excommunicated or disfellowshipped Mormons would not be allowed entrance and checked the names of all applicants against monthly lists from the Presiding Bishop's Office identifying all excommunicated church members (BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 1 Nov. 1967, 4 May 1960). For a time they also precluded the admission of handicapped students (see ibid., 2 Mar. 1960).

38. Berrett, *Miracle*, 245. BYU's enrollment cap was raised to 26,000 in 1980, "with the understanding that this increase from the previous level of 25,000 would not be the subject of formal publicity" (BYU Board of Trustees, Special Executive Committee Meeting, minutes, 12 Mar. 1980). While full-time enrollment has remained at about 26,000 students, total enrollment now exceeds 30,000.

(In comparison, while enrollments increased nearly 400 percent at BYU from 1951 to 1971, they doubled at the University of Utah.)

In fact, bowing to the financial realities of funding American higher education as well as of meeting the needs of its own growing membership, the LDS church essentially reversed its recruiting policy in 1972, the year after Wilkinson left office: "[S]tudents should not feel it is a matter of Church loyalty to attend a particular Church college, University, or institute of religion."[39] Wilkinson greeted these developments with mixed feelings. While he believed that "except for this [enrollment] limitation we should now have 40,000 to 50,000 students," he also lamented that "as far as over all school spirit and over all friendliness is concerned, we have lost."[40]

Rising Expenditures

As enrollments rose, so did annual expenditures, jumping more than $56 million from 1950 to 1970, an increase of more than 3,300 percent. (Annual church appropriations during the same period rose $17.4 million, or 821 percent, one-fourth the rate of increase in expenditures.) Expenditures per student increased more than 600 percent during the same twenty-year period. By 1970, Wilkinson's last year on campus, annual expenditures comprised the following expenses:

Educational/general:	
General administration	$ 1,390,722.17
General expenses	4,441,917.67
Instruction and department research	21,144,562.77
Organized activities relating to departments	400,653.18
Organized research	3,665,782.67
Continuing education	252,000.00
Libraries	1,886,637.09
Physical plant	3,469,352.04
Auxiliary funds:	
Operating expenditures	25,751,374.43
Capital equipment purchases	567,375.65
Student activities funds:	1,530,055.11
Student aid:	1,462,865.17
Total annual expenditures:	$65,963,297.95[41]

39. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 6 Dec. 1972. See also BYU Board of Trustees, Executive Committee Meeting, minutes, 17 Aug. 1972, when church leaders decided that "financial limitations would make it impossible to duplicate existing school systems, even when the teachings of some of these systems are offensive to the members of the Church."

40. "[Auto]biography of Ernest L. Wilkinson for High Priests Quorum in 17th Ward of Salt Lake Stake," 27 Nov. 1977, privately circulated; "Loss of Friendliness due to the Growing Studentbody," BYU Centennial History Meeting, minutes, 24 Aug. 1973.

41. "Annual Financial Report" (1971).

TABLE 2.
BYU Budget: Annual Expenditures, 1950-70,
in 5-Year Intervals
(rounded to nearest thousand dollars)

Year	Total Annual Expenditure	Percent Increase	Expenditure Per Student	Percent Increase
1950	$ 1,698,000	n.a.	$ 376	n.a.
1955	3,769,000	122	461	23
1960	11,370,000	202	1,103	139
1965	35,619,000	213	1,902	72
1970	65,963,000	75	2,636	39

Source: Combined from *Seven Year Report of the President [1950-51 to 1956-57], Brigham Young University;* "Self-Evaluation Report I," 1 Oct. 1956; "Proposed 15-Year Plan for Unified Church School System," 10 May 1960; "Total Breakdown of All Church Monies," 1957-64; "Report of the Visitation Committee to the Commission on Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools," 26-29 Apr. 1966; "Annual Financial Report," 31 Aug. 1971, all in BYU archives.[42]

Evidence of this increase in spending was most obvious in the unparalleled growth of the university's physical plant (real estate, buildings, and infrastructure). The influx of new and continuing students created a serious need—bordering occasionally on crisis—for additional classrooms and dormitories especially. At times it must have seemed to Wilkinson that he and his staff could not move quickly enough to accommodate the growing student body. In fact, according to the director of BYU's physical plant, "President Wilkinson claimed that one of the things that brought on his heart attack [in October 1956] was the fact that he couldn't get his building program going fast enough."[43] And when it became apparent that the cost of land bordering the campus sometimes exceeded appraised value by as much as 60 percent, Wilkinson spearheaded legislation in 1957 granting all Utah colleges and universities, including

42. These sources do not always agree on exact dollar amounts. For example, the *Seven Year Report* gives total expenditures for 1955 as $4,325,000; and the "Report of the [1966] Visitation Committee" gives total expenditures for 1965 as $15,706,428 (expenditures two years previous were listed at $23,415,972 in "Annual Financial Report," 31 Aug. 1964). Also the amount of total expenditures for 1950—$1,698,000—is considerably less than the amount of LDS church appropriations for the same year—$2,120,480 (see Table 6). Presumably the larger amounts include capital improvements outlays (e.g., for 1950) and/or expenditures associated with the school's auxiliary services, sums which sometimes did not figure into the school's official operating budget. In any event, I have used figures that make the most sense to me.

43. Sam F. Brewster, Oral History, 29 Nov. 1983, BYU archives. See also BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 8 Oct. 1954, where Wilkinson "reported his concern about the continued delays in the [church] architectural department which has hampered the progress of the University's building program."

BYU, the power of eminent domain.[44] Among state legislators, the eager Wilkinson became known as "Julius Seizure."[45] While BYU officials never resorted to court action to resolve land negotiations, for sixteen years they relied on the "psychological advantage afforded by the statute" to help curb inflated prices.[46] However, in his haste Wilkinson also allowed several buildings to be constructed without benefit of a comprehensive master plan, as the need for new construction sometimes exceeded the school's own ability to plan sufficiently for future development.[47]

TABLE 3.
Investment in BYU Physical Plant, 1951, 1957-71
(rounded to nearest dollar)

Year	Beginning Balance	Net Additions	Ending Balance	Percent Increase
1951	$ 6,350,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
***				
1957	17,520,250	$ 8,544,262	$ 26,064,512	n.a.
1958	26,064,512	6,154,846	32,219,358	23.6
1959	32,219,359	2,603,367	34,822,726	8.1
1960	34,822,726	7,111,963	41,934,689	20.4
1961	41,934,689	5,170,813	47,105,502	12.3
1962	47,105,503	8,536,370	55,641,873	18.1
1963	55,641,873	9,581,935	65,223,808	17.2
1964	65,223,808	14,706,615	79,930,423	22.5
1965	79,930,423	10,115,552	90,045,975	12.6
1966	90,450,975	3,526,610	93,572,585	3.9
1967	93,572,585	3,859,635	97,432,220	4.1
1968	97,432,220	6,546,684	103,978,904	6.7
1969	103,978,904	10,515,005	114,493,909	10.1
1970	114,493,909	12,201,175	126,695,084	10.6
1971	126,695,084	16,515,214	143,210,298	13.0

Source: From Ephraim Hatch, "A Survey of the Department of Physical Plant, Brigham Young University," BYU archives.

44. Clyde D. Sandgren to Dallin H. Oaks, 2 Feb. 1972, and Sandgren, "Eminent Domain Amendment," 22 Jan. 1973, BYU archives; "Domain Stand Taken by BYU President," *Daily Universe,* 10 Mar. 1953; "Eminent Domain Bill Introduced in State Senate," *Daily Universe,* 14 Feb. 1957; "Certain BYU Purchases in 1956," BYU archives. For earlier efforts, see BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 14 Nov. 1952, 18 May 1953; "Domain Stand Taken by BYU President," *Daily Universe,* 10 Mar. 1953, 3.

45. J. Reuben Clark III, Oral History, 19 Jan. 1982, 10, BYU archives.

46. Sandgren to Oaks, 2 Feb. 1972. At the insistence of Wilkinson's successor, Dallin Oaks, school administrators backed legislation in the early 1970s to repeal portions of the statute which had extended the state's power of eminent domain to "private educational institutions." Oaks was concerned that this privilege jeopardized BYU's status as a private institution (see Sandgren to Oaks, 26 Jan., 29 Jan., 1 Feb. 1973, BYU archives). Wilkinson's biography contends, "When Wilkinson had obtained all the land he thought necessary, the law was repealed, with his acquiescence" (Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson,* 512), without also noting that this change occurred two years after he left office.

47. See Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University,* 3:274-75.

Beginning in 1951 with a total cumulative investment in the physical plant of $6.35 million, by the end of the decade this amount had grown to nearly $42 million, an increase of 560 percent. By 1971 this had climbed another $84 million to over $126 million. In all, from 1951 to 1971 the total investment in the Y's campus grew nearly $137 million, or 2,155 percent. Despite periodic protests from area residents,[48] Wilkinson saw his campus more than double in area during his twenty years. New buildings included a library, a fine arts center, numerous classroom buildings, an administration building, a student health center, a student union building, a stadium, a physical education building, a 23,000-seat activities center, and five student housing complexes.[49] At the time of his departure in August 1971, the university boasted a total of 349 buildings (excluding five off-campus storage facilities), which provided more than 4 million gross square feet of floor space. Following completion of two more buildings, including the Marriott Center, the amount of available square footage grew to 5.4 million.[50]

Of the more than 200 buildings erected on campus, the most important to students was a new student center, constructed in the early 1960s. More than ten years earlier Wilkinson had reallocated funds raised by students for the complex to cover the cost of a fieldhouse. He had then arranged for a $10 per student increase in church appropriations to offset the imbalance.[51] Early polls showed that students hoped the proposed building would include a ballroom, theater, swimming pool, hobby center, car repair workshop, lounges, and a meditation area. When asked their reaction to naming the building after Wilkinson, students answered that they preferred "Memorial Union," in honor of BYU's war dead. Other suggestions included "Cougar Union Building," "The Commons," "Peace Memorial Union," and "Everyman's Memorial."[52] In early 1965, after several years of delays, the $7-million project, two-thirds of which had been paid for by student building fees,[53] approached completion. The six-story edifice housed a bookstore, cafeteria, two theaters, lounges,

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48. See Lloyd L. Cullimore, Oral History, 23, 27 Feb. 1974, 15, 32, BYU archives; and Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:680.

49. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:394, 610, 616, 683-707; Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:28-49, 245-58; Hatch, "Survey of the Development of the Physical Plant," 1:31, 10.

50. Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:271.

51. Ibid., 37.

52. "Building Recommendations," *Daily Universe*, 15 Apr. 1957; "Controversy Developing on Naming of Proposed Student Union Building," *Daily Universe*, 8 Apr. 1957; "About That Center," *Daily Universe*, 30 Sept. 1960; "New Building Poll Results Favor 'Memorial Union,'" *Daily Universe*, 22 Apr. 1957; "What's Happening to Student Building?" *Daily Universe*, 29 Apr. 1960; "Student Center Plans Shrouded in Secrecy," *Daily Universe*, 5 May 1960.

53. "Financing the 'Y' Center," in ASBYU Student Body History, 1963-64, BYU archives.

bowling alleys, student body and student newspaper offices, a barber shop, and games and hobbies centers. Still, a consensus regarding its name had not been reached. Finally, during a trustees meeting shortly before the dedication, Wilkinson learned that church officials had decided to name the center after him.[54] Other buildings had been named after living trustees, and David O. McKay had presided at the dedication of a classroom building named in his honor in 1954. However, some students were incensed. One asked pointedly in a letter to the student newspaper, "If it is genuinely a student building, should we not at least have the right to decide what it shall be called?"[55] Trustees refused to budge, and Wilkinson later sat for a larger-than-life portrait to adorn the walls of one of the new student lounges.[56]

Also aided by increases in spending were faculty salaries and benefits (which in 1970 comprised more than half of all annual expenditures[57]). At his inauguration in October 1951 Wilkinson, a self-made millionaire at the time, had tried to soft-pedal BYU's historically low salaries, admitting that while the faculty had "not become rich in the material things of this life," they nonetheless had "stored up riches in heaven where moth and rust doth not corrupt and where a kind Providence will reward them for their service to thousands of students." He continued: "I believe that the members of this faculty will continue to make great sacrifices for this school in heavy class schedules, long hours, and extracurricular character building activities. Indeed, since this school came into existence through sacrifice, it must continue to retain its influence through the same kind of Christian sacrifice. We can never have union hours."[58]

In fact, Wilkinson inherited in 1951 a salary schedule that, compared to ten neighboring institutions, underpaid its teachers at virtually every level by almost 19 percent. "Competent faculty members are continually

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54. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 3 Mar. 1965. Wilkinson had returned to campus only two months earlier after losing a bid for the U.S. senate.

55. Dorothy Hall to Editor, *Daily Universe,* 17 Mar. 1965.

56. Over the years trustees have named a number of buildings after living church authorities who presided at ground-breaking and dedication ceremonies, including the Heber J. Grant, David O. McKay, N. Eldon Tanner, and Spencer W. Kimball buildings. See "New Grant Library Will Be Dedicated," *Y News,* 16 Oct. 1925; Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University,* 2:706-707; "Flying Rock Injures Woman," *Daily Universe,* 10 Nov. 1980; "SWKT Dedicated," *Daily Universe,* 10 Mar. 1982.

57. See figures in "Annual Financial Report," 31 Aug. 1971. BYU's official history adds that on average during Wilkinson's presidency, more than 72 percent of the budget was spent on salaries, Social Security, health insurance, and retirement benefits (Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University,* 3:545).

58. Quoted in *The Messenger* 1 (Nov. 1951): 5:21-22.

leaving our institution," complained one professor, "to accept positions of lesser rank and opportunity but for markedly higher salaries in high schools, junior colleges, and other universities."[59] In response, the board of trustees could only express "its appreciation to the teachers and President who have shown their loyalty to the Church and the University as evidenced by their self-sacrifice in accepting salaries less than they had opportunities of obtaining elsewhere."[60]

TABLE 4.
BYU Faculty Salaries Compared to Those
at Ten Other Western Universities, 1950-51

Rank	BYU	Average of 10 Western Universities[a]	Difference
Deans			
Min.	$5,565	$6,602	-$1,037
Max.	6,342	7,892	- 1,550
Full Professors			
Min.	4,032	4,777	- 745
Max.	5,481	7,186	- 1,705
Associate Professors			
Min.	3,531	4,092	- 561
Max.	4,730	5,698	- 968
Assistant Professors			
Min.	3,306	3,294	+ 12
Max.	4,426	4,961	- 533
Instructors			
Min.	2,760	2,589	+ 171
Max.	3,767	4,123	- 356

a. University of Utah, Utah State Agricultural College, University of Wyoming, Colorado A&M, University of New Mexico, University of Colorado, University of Arizona, University of Nevada, Montana State University, and University of Idaho.

Source: From information in Adam S. Bennion Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Lee Library.

Convinced that an open salary system would only exacerbate faculty dissatisfaction, Wilkinson stressed that such financial information be kept confidential. "I do not believe any one is qualified to judge himself in comparison with others," he lectured school employees. "That must be done by objective third parties," such as college deans and other univer-

59. Wayne B. Hales to Ernest L. Wilkinson, 13 Jan. 1951, Wilkinson Papers.

60. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 18 May 1953. Five years earlier the board had rejected a plea from Wilkinson's predecessor to increase salaries by 25 percent, fearing that such a jump would generate unrest among other teachers in the church school system. See ibid., 29 Apr. 1948.

sity administrators.[61] Nor did he feel that faculty salaries overall were as low as some thought: "The main difficulty with teachers' salaries is that the teachers invariably think of them for 12 months' work, when in fact they are for not more than 9 months' work. Further, they are not as bad when compared with certain other salaries as some teachers think."[62] Still, he knew that more competitive salaries tended to attract better qualified applicants, and at one point even resolved to "propose to my Board of Trustees that we pay unusually good salaries at the BYU to unusually good teachers—teachers who would not only inspire but who would take large classes; and that we would try on the other hand to gradually replace our mediocre or average teachers. If we can do this at the BYU, we can build up a great institution."[63] Consequently, faculty salaries on the average almost doubled during Wilkinson's first ten years, rising at rates that reportedly outpaced inflation by more than 45 percent.[64]

TABLE 5.
BYU Faculty Salaries, 1950-56, 1962-65

Year	Average	Full Profs.	Assoc. Profs.	Assist. Profs.	Instrs.	Percent Average Annual Increase
1950	$3,999	$5,083	$4,381	$3,922	$3,398	n.a.
1951	4,266	5,396	4,702	4,134	3,613	6.7
1952	4,623	5,789	5,113	4,541	3,874	8.7
1953	4,594	5,764	5,184	4,634	3,951	-0.6
1954	4,774	5,854	5,258	4,765	4,141	3.9
1955	4,910	6,056	5,476	4,915	4,266	2.8
1956	5,237	6,431	5,829	5,282	4,517	6.6
***						
1962	7,350	9,025	7,890	7,010	5,720	n.a.
1963	7,645	9,665	8,430	7,445	6,255	4.0
1964	8,116	9,916	8,674	7,754	6,449	6.2
1965	8,445	10,685	9,260	8,205	6,705	4.0

Source: Adapted from attachments to BYU Faculty Meeting, minutes, 18 Sept. 1956; "Brigham Young University Salary Comparison," 1963-64, 1964-65, and 1965-66; all in BYU archives.

At the same time Wilkinson remained "unconvinced that teachers

61. Wilkinson, "Address to the BYU Faculty at a Workshop Preceding the Opening of the 1954-55 School Year," 17 Sept. 1954, BYU archives. See also "Wilkinson Defends Policies," *Daily Universe*, 30 Oct. 1968, 1, where Wilkinson explained at a public question-and-answer session with students that "faculty wages were not divulged any more because of the problems of explaining salary differentials to lower-paid instructors."

62. Wilkinson Diary, 13 Aug. 1956.

63. See ibid., 18, 19, 20 Aug. 1958.

64. See Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:628; Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:754.

can't do more than many of them claim they can. Many of them are now carrying ten credit hours [weekly teaching load], most of it undergraduate. When I practiced law in New York, I carried ten hours of teaching law on the side (essentially graduate work)."[65] In fact, he sometimes grumbled that "the main problem with the teaching profession as such today is that it has become mercenary."[66] After returning to BYU from an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. senate, he observed in 1967:

> The matter of fixing salaries calls for a high degree of judgment. The final salaries represent a composite or compromise of the thinking of the Department Chairman, the Dean, the [Academic] Vice President ..., and myself, assisted by two very trusted faculty members who have no axe to grind and are entirely objective. Even then, we do not claim our judgment is invulnerable. The fact is that if we waived all sentiment and humanitarian reasons aside, there would be a much greater difference between faculty salaries than there are. ... In other words, many faculty members get much more than they are worth, on a relative basis.[67]

Despite regular adjustments, salaries during Wilkinson's tenure consistently lagged behind those at comparable private and public institutions by almost 30 percent. Too, salaries were sometimes administered on the basis of need, worthiness, or obedience to authority rather than merit, and women could find themselves particularly disadvantaged. A more equitable salary system would not be established until the 1970s.[68]

Increasing Income

As Wilkinson had hoped, with the growth of BYU's student population and rise in expenditures came an overall increase in church appropriations. Beginning with $1.5 million in 1951, Wilkinson's annual subsidy, often earmarked primarily for capital improvements, totaled nearly $6 million five years later, an increase of nearly 300 percent. By

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65. Wilkinson Diary, 3 Oct. 1958.

66. Ibid., 15 Apr. 1960.

67. Ibid., 22 Feb. 1967. For Wilkinson's love-hate relationship with his faculty, see my "Wilkinson the Man."

68. "Comparative Average Salaries by Rank: Universities for the Year 1965-66, Nine-Month Basis," BYU archives. BYU salaries even ranked behind those offered at the church's two-year College of Hawaii (although the cost of living was probably higher there than in Provo). Of eleven prospective faculty who turned down employment with the psychology department in the mid-1960s, all cited, among other reasons, low salaries as a factor in deciding to accept offers elsewhere (see Kenneth R. Hardy to John T. Bernhard, 10 June 1966, BYU archives).

1961, after ten years at the helm, Wilkinson had secured an annual appropriation of more than $16 million, an increase of 167 percent over that of 1956. In all, during Wilkinson's first decade annual church appropriations rose over 950 percent, the church spending a cumulative total of nearly $71 million on its Provo facility alone. Calculated on a per-student basis, church appropriations rose just over 90 percent. "Ernest comes in here with the most elaborate set of hogwash that I have ever seen to justify his need for money," Apostle Harold B. Lee reportedly exclaimed. "And he always gets it because there is no point at which you can attack it; there is no point where you can show that it is wrong; there is no point where you can show a fallacy in his argument. All you can say is that we just do not have it. ... When we finally had to say that, [Ernest would nod his head and say,] 'Alright, that I understand.'"[69] Following an early board of trustees meeting, one trustee prophesied, "Wilkinson's going to get more money out of us than the others we turned down for the presidency."[70] ("I took the hint," Wilkinson admitted.[71]) Another reportedly exclaimed, following approval of a $10-million building project Wilkinson had wanted, "Thank God the BYU has at last come into its own."[72] But while the percentage of BYU's annual income supplied by the church rose during Wilkinson's first five years, it decreased during the next ten years, a trend church leaders no doubt welcomed, even if they occasionally groused over total dollar amounts.[73]

Annual appropriations to the Unified Church School System, over which Wilkinson presided as administrator, also grew, from over $3.7 million in 1957 to more than $15.7 million by 1964, an increase of almost 315 percent, for an eight-year total cumulative expenditure of nearly $50 million. In contrast, annual church appropriations to BYU during the same period, while rising from $9.7 million to $15.1 million, increased only by 56.6 percent, but still totaled more than $97 million. As with student enrollments, however, the trend during these years was toward decreasing allocations to BYU and increasing allocations to the rest of the church's burgeoning school system.

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69. Quoted in J. Reuben Clark III, Oral History, 9-10.

70. Albert E. Bowen, quoted in "Response of Ernest L. Wilkinson at Dinner Given for Himself and His Wife," 3 Aug. 1971, 5, BYU archives. See also Wilkinson Diary, 19 May 1959.

71. Wilkinson Diary, 19 May 1959.

72. Ibid.

73. BYU's official history asserts: "[T]he Church has generally supplied about two-thirds of the operating costs of Brigham Young University" (Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:544). Presumably this refers to an average amount over time, not to the years of Wilkinson's presidency, which was not always the case.

TABLE 6.
BYU Budget: Annual Church Appropriations, 1950-65, 1970 (rounded to nearest dollar)

Year	Tot. Annual Approp.	Percent Change	Cum. Pct. Change	App. Per Student	Percent Change
1950	$ 2,120,480	+145.7	145.7	$ 470	+168.6
1951	1,540,384	- 27.4	78.5	303	- 35.5
1952	1,589,500	+ 3.2	84.2	250	- 17.5
1953	2,523,751	+ 58.8	192.4	381	+ 52.4
1954	2,616,501	+ 3.7	203.2	363	- 4.7
1955	2,931,637	+ 12.0	239.7	358	- 1.4
1956	5,875,400	+100.4	580.8	649	+ 81.3
1957	9,675,093	+ 64.7	1,021.1	1,052	+ 62.1
1958	9,431,004	- 2.5	992.8	952	- 9.5
1959	10,145,998[a]	+ 7.6	1,075.6	988	+ 3.8
1960	8,271,153	- 18.5	858.4	803	- 18.7
1961	16,186,322	+ 95.7	1,775.5	1,448	+ 80.3
1962	10,984,777	- 32.1	1,172.8	886	- 38.8
1963	17,552,863	+ 59.8	1,933.9	1,233	+ 39.2
1964	15,147,599	- 13.7	1,655.2	921	- 25.3
1965	13,082,000	- 13.6	1,415.8	699	- 24.1
***					
1970	22,449,000	+ 71.6	2,501.2	897	+ 28.3

a. From 1947 to 1951 the church and its educational system operated on a fiscal year basis: from 1 July to 30 June of the following year. In 1952 the fiscal year was changed to end on 31 August. In 1954 the fiscal year was extended to 31 December and coincided with the calendar year. This continued until 1959 when the fiscal year reverted to end 31 August.

TABLE 7.
BYU Budget: Annual Church Appropriation as a Percentage of Total Income, 1950-70, in 5-Year Intervals

Year	Percent of Income Supplied by Church Annual Appropriation
1950	69
1955	76 (+10%)
1960	59 (-22%)
1965	37 (-37%)
1970	34 (-11%)

Source: "Self-Evaluation Report I, Submitted to the Commission on Higher Schools of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools," 1 Oct. 1956; "Proposal to Church Board of Education and Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University for Pilot Junior College Program Through 1969-70," 3 July 1963; "Total Breakdown of All Church Monies Distributed to the Unified Church School System, 1957-1964"; "Report of the Visitation Committee to the Commission on Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools," 26-29 Apr. 1966; all in BYU archives.[74]

74. Again, the sources do not always agree on specific dollar amounts. For example, "Self-Evaluation Report I" gives church appropriations for 1950 as $2,120,480; "Annual Financial Report," 31 Aug. 1964, BYU archives, gives total church appropriations for 1963 as $10,055,249; and "Report of the Visitation Committee to the Commission on Higher Education of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools," 26-29 Apr. 1966, BYU archives, gives total church appropriations for 1965 as $10,180,815. As mentioned in n42, the larger amounts presumably included capital improvements appropriations, which could be counted as loans. In any event, I have used figures that make the most sense to me.

TABLE 8.
Total Church Appropriations to BYU
and to the Unified Church School System (UCSS), 1957-64
(rounded to nearest dollar)

Year	Approp. to BYU (and % Change)	Approp. to UCSS excluding BYU (and % Change)	Approp. to BYU as % of Tot. Ed. Approp.	Approp. to UCSS as % of Tot. Ed. Approp.
1957	$ 9,675,093	$ 3,788,293	71.9	28.1
1958	9,431,004 (-2.5)	4,881,117 (+28.8)	65.9	34.1
1959	10,145,998 (+7.6)	4,573,343 (-6.3)	68.9	31.1
1960	8,271,153 (-18.5)	8,251,554 (+80.4)	50.1	49.9
1961	16,186,322 (+95.7)	8,900,102 (+7.9)	64.5	35.5
1962	10,984,777 (-32.1)	8,045,532 (-9.6)	57.7	42.3
1963	17,552,863 (+59.8)	11,366,656 (+41.3)	60.7	39.3
1964	15,147,599 (-13.7)	15,706,401 (+38.2)	49.1	50.9

Source: "Total Breakdown of All Church Monies Distributed to the Unified Church School System, 1957-1964," BYU archives.

TABLE 9.
BYU Student Tuition and Fees, 1950-70,
in 5-Year Intervals

Year	Amount per Student	Percent Increase	Projected Income
1950	$150	n.a.	$ 676,500
1955	180	20	1,473,120
1960	260	31	2,679,300
1965[a]	330	27	6,179,250
1970	500	51	12,510,500

a. In 1964 trustees decided to differentiate between Mormon and non-Mormon students and increased the tuition charged non-Mormon students. Because non-Mormons have always comprised a minority of students (less than 5 percent), the annual income generated from this differential has been minimal.

Source: Adapted from Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University,* 3:545-46.

Church appropriations comprised only a percentage of total income, the difference being made up primarily from student tuition and fees,[75] as well as some fund raising and income from auxiliary services such as the dairy, bookstore, press, and sports events. (Despite a handful of exceptions, BYU has always refused federal aid.) Expectedly, as the need for money rose, so did tuition and fees, a ready and more reliable source of additional income during these years than BYU's development efforts. But while quadrupling during Wilkinson's twenty years, tuition nonethe-

75. Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University,* 3:544.

less remained relatively low vis-à-vis other costs, because of the steady increase in the number of students.

Wilkinson hoped to improve the school's financial base through several fund-raising initiatives. "A person's loyalty ought to be judged by response to appeals from the University," he believed.[76] Initially trustees feared that such programs would compete for tithing and other church-related contributions.[77] But when the Ford Foundation unexpectedly gave $1.2 million to BYU in 1956 as part of a nationwide $240 million endowment to improve faculty salaries at American colleges and universities, church leaders embraced the possibility of outside revenue and Wilkinson arranged for the appointment of Los Angeles high school principal Noble Waite as director of BYU's new $5-million, four-year Destiny Fund drive. In explaining the specifics of the drive to trustees, Wilkinson "committed about the worst faux pas that I had ever committed before the Board," he recorded.

> I told them that the President of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago had informed me that they generally expected the Board of Trustees to contribute about 1/3 of the campaign, the alumni 1/3, and the general public the other 1/3. Before I could even explain that I realized that the members of the Board of Trustees of the BYU were not in a position to do this, the two Counsellors in the [First] Presidency [Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark, Jr.] exploded. Pandemonium almost broke loose. I never heard either of them protest so loudly, especially Brother Richards. Finally, however, President McKay and I both explained that we weren't trying to get any large amount, but rather that as a matter of example, they all ought to contribute. Calmness finally prevailed until Brother LeGrand Richards, who was trying to be helpful, asked me whether, in order to have this carried out, Brother Noble Waite would call on each of them. I in turn inquired of President McKay and pandemonium again ensued. None of them wanted [stake] President Waite to accost them for a contribution, especially the two Counsellors to the Presidency. It was apparent they had a very, very healthy respect for Brother Waite's ability to extract money and they didn't want to be the victims. When it was decided that he would not interview any of them, the meeting adjourned.
>
> Within three minutes President Richards called me to his office and after a vigorous protest against humiliating members of the Board who couldn't afford to give any substantial amount, gave me his check for $500 which he had just written out. I think that he realized that his impetuous outburst had been a little overdone and this was a demonstration of his true repentance.[78]

As a stake president, Waite found it easiest to raise funds by canvassing

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76. Wilkinson Diary, 6 Feb. 1958.
77. "Gifts to the BYU," BYU Centennial History Meeting, minutes, 29 June 1973.
78. Wilkinson Diary, 6 Dec. 1957.

leaders and members of local wards and stakes, not all of whom appreciated the pressure or competition.[79] When trustees learned of the extent of Waite's activities and the reactions of local congregation leaders, they "were fit to be tied" and shortly afterwards called him as a mission president to Scotland in 1962.[80] During his four years as development director, Waite was credited with raising $2 million, of which $208,000 (about 10 percent) came from BYU alumni.[81]

In the meantime Wilkinson had learned that many large corporations matched dollar-for-dollar their employees' contributions to colleges and universities, and he persuaded church leaders to allow the tithing donations of Mormon employees be earmarked for use by BYU.[82] Before Wilkinson's innovative program was finally discontinued in late 1971 (it had been suspended during his run for the U.S. senate), donations to BYU from some companies outnumbered employee contributions to all other colleges and universities combined.[83]

Wilkinson also wanted graduating seniors to take out a $1,000 life insurance policy naming BYU as irrevocable beneficiary. J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency opposed the idea because "we were already placing altogether too many burdens on our people." Wilkinson "heatedly" replied that he was only asking for "a pittance"—$2.50 a month for twenty to twenty-five years—compared to what the church had spent for their education. The debate "got quite warm," and when President McKay called for a vote, everyone but Clark supported the proposal. When McKay then asked for a second vote to make the decision unanimous, Clark voted yes.[84]

The next month Wilkinson presented to the board's executive committee two alternative plans for implementing the program. Immediately Apostle Hugh B. Brown objected, "thinking that seniors would not take out a policy of this kind and that they would not keep them up and that it would be too burdensome." Colleague Harold B. Lee agreed, "stating

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79. In the words of BYU's official history: "[I]t was extremely difficult for Noble Waite ... to visualize a fund-raising activity run separately from the Church organization" (Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University,* 3:567).

80. The quote is from Wilkinson, in "Gifts to the BYU."

81. Ibid., 7-8 Apr., 7 May 1956, 16 Nov. 1957, 7-10 Mar. 1958; BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 17 Dec. 1957, 15 Oct. 1958, 3 June, 2 Sept. 1959, 3 Feb. 1960; Wilkinson, memo of conference with David O. McKay, 1962, Wilkinson Papers (compare Wilkinson, Fund Raising, 28 June 1973, BYU archives); Harold W. Pease, "The History of the Alumni Association and Its Influence on the Development of Brigham Young University," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 319-35.

82. Wilkinson Diary, 6 Feb. 1959, 12 June 1962; Clyde D. Sandgren to Joseph T. Bentley, 26 June 1961, Wilkinson Papers.

83. See Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University,* 3:568-70.

84. Wilkinson Diary, 6 Jan. 1970; BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 6 Jan. 1960.

that he could not understand why the Board would approve such a plan." Finally, committee chair Joseph Fielding Smith moved that they recommend one of the two approaches, but Lee insisted that the recommendation include the provision that the program be entirely voluntary. "The effect of this," Wilkinson complained, "would be to take away any sales pressure and would nullify the effectiveness of the plan." Lee admitted that this "was exactly what he wanted to do." Lee prevailed, and the amended motion passed.[85] When the full board met the next month, they decided to table the plan.[86] By the next year Wilkinson had managed to secure support for a voluntary insurance plan, but the number of subscribing seniors was low and a "quite discouraged" Wilkinson concluded: "This is not nearly as successful as I had hoped it would be."[87]

These fund raising setbacks, especially J. Reuben Clark's "rebuke" that he was "money mad," prompted a dejected Wilkinson to seek a special blessing of comfort and support from President McKay in April 1960. Following Wilkinson's recital of abuse, McKay recalled his decision in 1951 as newly-appointed church president to name Clark, who heretofore had served as first counselor in the First Presidency, as his second counselor, which many church leaders interpreted as a demotion. "How do you think I have gotten along with him," McKay explained. "If I ever had any inspiration it was when I selected Stephen L Richards as my first counselor against all precedent."[88]

Despite periodic—and usually deferred—donations from wealthy benefactors,[89] school administrators eventually learned that in many ways BYU and its president were their own greatest obstacles in national fund raising drives. One study found, for example, that BYU's parochial and politically conservative image made it unattractive to many large corporate philanthropic foundations.[90] In fact, at Wilkinson's resignation in 1971 BYU fund-raising activities had brought in only $33 million, an annual average of $2.2 million.[91] (In contrast, during the next five years nearly $49 million would be raised, an average annual total of $9.8 mil-

85. Wilkinson Diary, 4 Feb. 1960.

86. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 25 Mar., 4 May 1960.

87. Wilkinson Diary, 23 May 1961.

88. Ibid., 28 Apr. 1960.

89. Trustees were reluctant to solicit large donations from individuals in whose honor campus buildings would then be named (see BYU Board of Trustees Meeting, minutes, 3 May, 6 Sept. 1967). However, the allure of such contributions sometimes proved irresistible (see ibid., 4 Sept. 1968, 4 Sept. 1969).

90. Kenneth W. Porter and F. Charles Graves, "Recommendations Regarding Brigham Young University's Foundation Program," Oct. 1970, BYU archives (compare Wilkinson, memo of a conference with Mark Cannon, 18 Aug. 1966, BYU archives).

91. BYU Development Office, "Fund Raising Highlights," 1976-77, 1978-79, BYU archives.

lion.[92])

Nationally, where BYU's annual budget—income and expenditures—rose some 2,000 percent during the years 1949 to 1965, income and expenditures per average American college or university increased 350 percent.[93] The year of Wilkinson's resignation (1970-71) operating income at BYU came from the following sources:

Educational/general:	
Student fees	$10,873,268.15
LDS church appropriation	22,448,507.00
Gifts/grants	2,455,284.23
Sales and services of educational departments	13,492.83
Organized activities relating to educational departments	404,811.43
Other income	1,585,186.92
Auxiliary funds:	27,775,451.65
Student activities funds:	1,597,346.90
Student aid:	164,277.78
Total annual income:	$67,317,626.89[94]

"A Tremendous Responsibility"

Six years into his twenty-year term, Wilkinson frankly, if disingenuously, confessed to his diary: "When I became President and Administrator no one, least of all I, ever thought the budget would become so large in so short a time. It imposes a tremendous responsibility upon me."[95] Not surprisingly, financial considerations became a major preoccupation—and occasionally frustration—of his administration. In comparing original appropriations with actual expenditures for 1957, for example, he was shocked to learn that the university had spent $88,000 more than budgeted on faculty salaries. "This is really serious," he fretted, "because if we spent this much more last year, this amount will have to be carried over into next year and will substantially deplete the increase permitted for teachers' salaries."[96] With an unexpected surplus of $175,000 in income, however, revenues still exceeded expenses by $2,000. But the president remained annoyed: "This is the most embarrassing situation in which I have found myself since I became President, and I am deeply disturbed about it. ... This is the first time anything of any major importance

92. Ibid.
93. See U.S. Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1970,* 78.
94. "Annual Financial Report" (1971).
95. Wilkinson Diary, 25 Oct. 1957.
96. Ibid., 11, 15 Feb. 1958.

has happened to cause the Board of Trustees to have a lack of confidence in my administration, and I will, as President, have to take the responsibility thereof, and properly so."[97]

By the end of the 1950s concern among some of the more parsimonious members of the board over rising expenditures at BYU had begun to surface. "Whenever I go to see [J. Reuben Clark, Jr., first counselor in the First Presidency]," Wilkinson recorded in late 1959, "I try to get the low down on attitudes toward the BYU. He told me that there was criticism of the large spending at the BYU. This undoubtedly was a reflection of President [Henry D.] Moyle's concern, for the latter had urged that I not announce amounts that we were spending, because the public, without knowing the full facts, would get the impression that we were building faster than we needed to."[98] In fact, just that year the church had decided for the first time ever that instead of dipping into its financial reserves as needed, annual expenditures would not be allowed to exceed annual income.[99]

Six weeks later Wilkinson met with the church's budget committee to finalize the Y's budget for 1960. He reported that "for the first time in a number of years the Church last year [1 September 1958-31 August 1959] had spent $8,000,000 in excess of its income, having called on its reserves for that amount." Total requests for 1960 (1 September 1960-31 August 1961) totaled $17 million in excess of estimated income, and since the Committee on the Disposition of Tithes, composed of the First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and Presiding Bishopric, had decided that expenditures would not exceed income, they requested that the church operating budget be cut by $23 million. "As applied to the United Church School System," Wilkinson wrote, "they asked us to cut back our budget around $8,000,000. We had asked for a total of $29,000,000."

Wilkinson replied testily that while he agreed with the idea of not spending beyond one's income, he was "shocked to now learn that the Church had done so the last year and that we had not been informed of the same, but on the contrary had been certainly led to believe that we could go ahead planning as we had done." He pointed out that he was

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97. Ibid., 24 Feb. 1958.

98. Ibid., 29 Oct. 1959. Wilkinson assumed that Moyle was his only critic, probably because the second counselor had put an end that year to the church's historic practice of publicly releasing annual financial statements. However, Wilkinson was wrong, for four months later Clark himself would confess to having serious doubts about Wilkinson's spending: "Ernest, I think you are money mad at the Y. I don't know why you continue to worry about financial matters and try to get more money. ... Of course, I know you don't agree with me on this, but I wanted you to know what I thought. You have got many more important problems down there than raising money" (ibid., 24 Feb. 1960).

99. Ibid., 22 Oct. 1959.

only asking for a 2.2 percent increase and that "President Moyle [second counselor in the First Presidency] had specifically commended us for our budget and said he was sure it would be all right."[100] Wilkinson complained that the cuts were being administered across the board "even though in the past we had always lived within our budget and had voluntarily cut down our budget very substantially for the coming year." He noted that earlier that week the board of trustees had authorized the purchase of land for junior colleges in Arizona, California, and Oregon. He questioned the propriety of across-the-board cuts when Counselor Moyle was pushing for the church to finance student housing at Utah State University in Logan, and when the church had recently contributed $250,000 to the construction of a theater at the University of Utah and another $250,000 toward construction of the U's Medical Center. Nonetheless, the budget committee asked him to reevaluate his proposed budget and submit a statement "telling just how we could cut it back with the consequences of cutting back each particular item, so that the First Presidency would be able to decide just what they wanted us to do."[101] Compared to the previous year's appropriation from the church, the amount finally authorized for 1960 fell by 18.5 percent.

The next year Wilkinson was chagrined to discover that despite the church's best intentions, expenditures had again exceeded income:

> [O]ur figures on the income of the Church were based on expenditures given out at the General Conference of the Church in 1959; that we just assumed the Church was living within its income and that, therefore, we assumed the Church had at least that much income. We were informed, however, that in 1959 and 1960 the Church had spent more than its income. We had put down the income of the Church at $89,000,000. President Moyle stated it was off $4,000,000.[102]

The following month Wilkinson presented his 1961 budget for the church school system, asking for an increase of 8.9 percent for BYU and 9.8 percent for the rest. Almost immediately, according to Wilkinson, "President Moyle objected on the ground that that was in excess of the increase of income for the Church." Moyle did not reveal what the increase was but suggested Wilkinson trim his request to 6 percent. "I had been informed, however," Wilkinson later wrote, "that the increase up to date was 7.2%, but I could not disclose my source of information, although in fact I had been authorized by the First Presidency to have this information."[103] By the end of the meeting the board had agreed to Wilkinson's original pro-

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100. See ibid., 22 Oct. 1959.
101. Ibid., 4 Dec. 1959.
102. Ibid., 7 Sept. 1960.
103. Wilkinson's source was probably Delbert L. Stapley.

posed increase on the condition that "I go over it in detail with the Budget Committee of the Church to see if any further cuts could be made."[104]

Three months later Wilkinson "got a severe jolt." He learned that Committee on the Disposition of Tithes had eliminated from the Y's 1961 budget a fine arts center, a physical plant building, and architectural fees for a new physical education building. "In short," he groaned, "they eliminated all of our capital improvement projects except a loan of over $4,000,000 for married student housing." Apostle Delbert L. Stapley, acting chair of the budget committee, had earlier promised Wilkinson there would be no problem with these items, and was now "so sick about the decision" that he relegated notification to a subordinate. Later that day Wilkinson found out that the church had requests totalling $25 million in excess of income and that "they decided to stay within their income (which they have not done for the last few years) and so a lot of cutting was done in our area." Still, he vowed, "I haven't given up, however, and will see President McKay about this Monday morning to try to get the Fine Arts Center restored."[105]

When Wilkinson managed to meet with McKay four days later, "I told him that he might not agree with me at times with respect to my judgment, but that I was not going to permit him or anyone else to criticize me for not trying to get what I thought was necessary for the BYU." Once in his office, McKay assured Wilkinson that appropriations for the fine arts center would be granted. Wilkinson asked "if that was a decision that had been made so I could rely on it." McKay answered that it wasn't, that "no decision had been made but he was very much in favor of it and would try to get it in." Wilkinson pushed for the other two items, but McKay's tone was such that Wilkinson "[knew] there was no chance to persuade him on these and so I concentrated on the Fine Arts Center."

Wilkinson left the meeting thinking that the $4-million loan for married student housing would be allocated to the school from an account outside the university's budget so that monies appropriated to the loan could be rerouted to finance the fine arts center. In concluding this, he relied on the church's having funded a similar project at Utah State University by appropriating monies outside the budget of the adjoining LDS institute. When he reported his impression to Delbert Stapley, he was told that the previous day Henry Moyle had ordered the appropriation be reinserted into the institute's budget. "In Brother Stapley's words," Wilkinson recorded, "President Moyle was 'mending his fences,'" since Moyle had previously supported the unusually structured expenditure. Stapley added, however, that $6 million had not been spent in last year's budget,

104. Wilkinson Diary, 19 Oct. 1960.
105. Ibid., 13 Jan. 1961.

so that even if $2 million were needed for the Logan project, there was still another $4 million left. While uncertain as to "whether I will ever get an opportunity to let the brethren know I know about this," Wilkinson "was sure Brother Stapley will do it for us if he gets an opportunity."

Wilkinson subsequently learned that increasingly influential Elder Harold B. Lee opposed the Y's fine arts center "because of the present financial situation." In recapping the day's events, the beleaguered university president resolved that if the choice were between married student housing and a fine arts center, he would favor the latter. However, "if I fail in that, I will then ask permission to use money [intended] for the Y Student Center for the Fine Arts Center [instead] with the understanding that the Church will later appropriate money for the Y Student Center."[106]

Before the end of the week Wilkinson was informed that the First Presidency and Twelve had met in the Salt Lake temple and had voted in favor of his fine arts center. McKay, who delivered the good news, reminded a relieved Wilkinson, "I told you to go home and sleep and not worry, and this has come out all right." Wilkinson asked if this also meant that the loan for married student housing would be approved. McKay replied yes. "For the first time in a meeting with President McKay," Wilkinson wrote, "I was really upset[107] and almost wept as he gave me the information."[108]

Later that year Wilkinson met with Stapley "to inform him that I was going over the [1962] budget for the third time to see if I could cut anything out of it." Stapley then revealed that "they had requests for next year of $60 million in excess of the income of the church. Further, that the reserves of the Church had been spent down to $10 million." Wilkinson repeated what he was sure Stapley already knew, that "while it was none of my business I had not approved of the manner in which President Moyle had been spending the reserves of the Church, but that I wanted him to know as far as our budget was concerned at the BYU it was not inflated." He sympathized that as one of the members of the budget committee, Stapley "has an almost insolvable problem" because of "the reckless expenditures of the Church Building Committee." Wilkinson felt sure Stapley agreed with his assessment.[109]

Meeting with the budget committee early the next month, Wilkinson found members "sympathetic to us but had a real problem in trying to meet the various demands of the Church." He was informed that "the Church's income was up 7% over last year" and was asked if "we could

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106. Ibid., 17 Jan. 1961.
107. Wilkinson here means he became "emotional," not "angry."
108. Wilkinson Diary, 20 Jan. 1961.
109. Ibid., 9 Nov. 1961.

not get by with an increase of 7% instead of 13% which had been requested." After considerable discussion, Wilkinson offered to trim the requested amount from about $1.3 million to $900,000. He knew there would be some "weeping and wailing" on campus, but "I think we can do so. The Church has been very good to the educational system since I have been here. Indeed, the percentage of the Church expenditures for education has increased faster than the percentage of expenditures for any other activities of the Church and I felt it was only proper that I take this proposed decrease."[110]

At the same meeting Wilkinson learned that the church expenditures committee had adopted a policy allocating the cost of new buildings over the period of their construction.[111] Wilkinson, however, continued to push for a physical plant building and for architectural fees for a new physical education building, as well as for single women's housing.[112] On 12 December 1961 the expenditures committee agreed to reallocate unused monies to finance a physical plant building. Six days later Wilkinson met with the First Presidency, minus Moyle who was out of town at a funeral. Wilkinson hoped to solicit President McKay's support for single women's housing, costing $2.5 million, which the Council on the Disposition of Tithes had disapproved. McKay agreed to authorize construction of single housing units to accommodate 500 students with the understanding that other units would be authorized as the need arose. Wilkinson then proposed that if he were able to gift to BYU a building he co-owned with Moyle's brother Walter, which would net the university $80,000 to $85,000, that the money be used to cover architectural plans for a physical education building. McKay said, "You go right ahead and see what you can do. Let's keep this between ourselves and then we will try to work it out."[113]

Henry Moyle's deficient-spending projects continued to draw Wilkinson's and others' ire. "There is real feeling on the part of President [of the Twelve Joseph Fielding] Smith and Brother [Harold B.] Lee and possibly one or two others," Wilkinson divulged to his diary, "that the First Presidency has been profligate in its spending and that this spending should be stopped."[114] His suspicions of Moyle's financial machinations were evident five months later when he, in his own words, "pretty much horned" in on a meeting of the directors of the International Broadcasting Company. Moyle had requested a meeting with these men, all of whom shared a Mormon background, to solicit "their individual advice

110. Ibid., 1 Dec. 1961.
111. Ibid.
112. See ibid., 1, 4, 12 Dec. 1961.
113. Ibid., 18 Dec. 1961.
114. Ibid., 5 Sept. 1962.

as to whether the Church should invest $40 million in the purchase of a chain of radio and television stations throughout the country." Wilkinson had managed to secure an invitation to the meeting "because I wanted to know in the vernacular of the day, 'What President Moyle was up to.'" Since BYU's 1964 budget had only a few months earlier been cut by $2 million "on the grounds the Church didn't have the money," he was more than a little interested to discover that Moyle was contemplating a church expenditure of $40 million. "I know that President Moyle is a promoter and a spender whereas most of the members of the Quorum of the Twelve are not," he wrote. "I sensed at the beginning when President Moyle asked me why I was there that he was not particularly glad to have me there but he warmed up later and I got the information I needed."[115]

Moyle's death seven months later, in September 1963, and the appointment of fiscal conservative N. Eldon Tanner as counselor to David O. McKay the next month, effectively ended the drain on the church's diminishing reserves. Wilkinson's 1964 senate race took him away from all church financial discussions, and his reappointment as BYU president only following his return the next year confined his involvement to that school's budget. The church still funded his university at significant levels; his battle for an ongoing major subsidy had been largely won. Nonetheless, he continued to skirmish periodically with trustees over money. "The greatest surprise of the day," he wrote in early 1967,

> which shows that we are still living in the day of miracles, occurred in the Executive Committee Meeting [of the board of trustees]. Brother [Harold B.] Lee first objected to this meeting of the ground that he had other appointments and asked us to hold it on Thursday. I told him that I could not do so because I would be Washington. Finally, under the discreet leadership of President Tanner, it was agreed that this would be held and I explained to them that the one item of business was the approval of our special project budget for the first eight months of this year, which totalled over $1,500,000, composed of scores of items. As has happened in the past, I assumed that they would go through each item which would have taken several hours. I explained to them, however that these items had been screened by us at the BYU, screened again by the [church] Budget Committee, and they were in our budget. Brother Lee inquired if this was the same group that had been once before the Executive Committee and I told him it had. He therefore moved for approval of the entire budget of special projects. We were so flabbergasted that we got out of the room before the Committee changed its mind.[116]

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115. Ibid., 15 Feb. 1963.
116. Ibid., 9 Jan. 1967.

Three years later Wilkinson was still sparring, but his primary opponent had become more powerful. Apostle Lee now served as first counselor in a new First Presidency, and the strain of a future with Lee as de facto church president was beginning to show. "In the Board meeting President Lee objected to us going ahead with the Engineering Building because of the cost of $6 Million," Wilkinson confided in mid-1970, "even though it had been approved many times by the Board and before the limitation of 25,000 students we were told to go ahead. We did not, however[,] accept this as a 'no' answer yet and will refer it back to the Executive Committee for further consideration. It will be a tragedy and a repudiation of good faith to those relying on us if we do not get this building."[117]

In fact, Lee's opposition became surprisingly personal. "When President Lee objected to the Engineering Building costing $6 Million," Wilkinson added,

> I responded by saying that the Dean of the College of Engineering had urged a building that cost $10 Million but we had trimmed it to $6 Million and that it could be trimmed no more. He replied with the remark that when this came up in the Expenditures Committee he had said that is exactly what my retort would be. I said it was my retort and that I had mentioned it at the time the matter was approved and I mentioned it again. Ben Lewis [BYU executive vice-president] then spoke up and said I was wrong—that the engineering people originally wanted $15 Million. President Lee then said something that had an inference that the minutes were inaccurate. President Tanner, who was conducting the meeting, asked him pointedly what he meant by that and his response indicated that he thought that I might have had something to do with the making up [of] the minutes in the first place.
>
> After the meeting I was told by one of the highest ranking officials that if President Lee had congratulated me for what I had done it would not have added to my stature nearly as much as his criticism did and that the entire Board was behind me on the matter.[118]

Despite the private expression of support, Lee's charge that Wilkinson had doctored the board's official minutes to suit his own purposes—together with a growing list of other slights real and imagined—must have hurt. His support eroding quickly, Wilkinson knew that Lee's ascendancy, coupled with his own age and health problems, all but guaranteed his imminent departure from campus. Hoping to exit church employ on his own terms rather than be forced out, within three weeks of Lee's stinging accusation Wilkinson personally delivered to members of the First Presidency his handwritten resignation, effective 1 September 1971,

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117. Ibid., 3 June 1970.
118. Ibid.

or sooner, if the presidency so wished.

Conclusion

If a university's success is measured solely in terms of size (which it isn't), Wilkinson's contribution to BYU was enormous. In numbers alone, his extraordinary accomplishment will probably never be repeated. He took what one of his first administrative appointees termed a "junior college"[119] and turned it into one of the largest private universities in the United States. "He had the ability to set extremely demanding objectives," this same colleague reported, "and to pay whatever price was required to achieve them."[120] If Wilkinson ever regretted the price he paid for his achievement, he never said so.

While in retrospect Wilkinson felt that the growth of BYU was one of his "lesser accomplishments,"[121] he nonetheless took considerable—some would suggest justifiable, others misplaced—pride in the growth he had initiated, encouraged, overseen, and fought for. True, he did not work alone; he gathered around him a tightly-knit coterie of carefully chosen "lieutenants," men who respected and shared his commitment to BYU even if they sometimes disagreed with his methods. "Ernest and I didn't have the same philosophy of life nor did we have the same philosophy of education," his executive assistant remembered. "[But] I made up my mind when I came that I was going to be loyal to him and support him regardless of our differences. . . . If I couldn't, I'd leave."[122] Just as, if not more, important, he also enjoyed the virtually unqualified support of church president David O. McKay. But it was Wilkinson's single-minded drive to transform a bucolic BYU into the kind of educational institution that he hoped would one day command the admiration of American academe that set the direction and guided the future course of Mormon higher education. Whatever place BYU occupies today in the LDS and American educational community, it owes in large part to the efforts of Ernest Leroy Wilkinson.

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119. William F. Edwards, quoted in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:626.
120. William F. Edwards, quoted in Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 520.
121. See Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:271.
122. Harvey L. Taylor, Oral History, 12 Feb. 1979, 12, BYU archives.

Straw

Cathy A. Gileadi-Sweet

The straw of the cut grain
Gold mounding the hill
On the way down from my house
On the mountain

Like the round of my two-year-old's head
Just after a haircut
I run my hand over it wrong way
Feel it stubble under my palm

Think of a mouse hiding
In the straw on the hill
Shouldering the shadow of a hawk
Scuttering from shock to shock

Think of the robin crying
On my front walk
His strangled mate limp
On the railroad ties by the edge of the lawn
Her song caught in her mouth

It begins to rain on my child and me
I hold him in the autumn sunset
His shock of hair scented wet like straw

The deer have not found the tomatoes and peppers
We hid among the flowerbeds
I wonder if they'll ripen

The older children come one by one
To sit on the steps in the rain with us
We shoulder each other
Wordless, close together
Our toes outward, a circle of light
We have
No shadows in the setting sun

Did the Author of 3 Nephi Know the Gospel of Matthew?[1]

Ronald V. Huggins

IN 3 NEPHI IN THE BOOK OF MORMON (hereafter BOM) the resurrected Jesus Christ repeats in large part the famous Sermon on the Mount, but this time before a New World audience. The Sermon on the Mount appears twice in the New Testament, once in Matthew and once in Luke. Luke's version is often called the Sermon on the Plain because where Matthew begins by saying that Jesus "went up into a mountain" (5:1) Luke has "he came down with them, and stood in the plain" (6:17). For the sake of simplicity I will refer to both as the Sermon on the Mount (hereafter SOM). The form of the SOM in 3 Nephi agrees with the sequence in Matthew rather than in Luke. And the language is (for the most part) identical to that of the King James Version (hereafter KJV).

THE AGREEMENT OF 3 NEPHI WITH MATTHEW

That the 3 Nephi SOM agrees with that in Matthew but differs from that in Luke is seen from the following:

Sayings	*3 Nephi*	*Matthew*	*Luke*
1. Beatitudes	12:1-12	5:3-12	6:20-23
2. Salt of the earth	12:13	5:13	14:34-35

1. Earlier studies on the relation of 3 Nephi to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount include Krister Stendahl, "The Sermon on the Mount and Third Nephi," in *Reflections on Mormonism: Judeo-Christian Parallels*, ed. Truman G. Madsen (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1978), 139-54, and Stan Larson, "The Sermon on the Mount: What Its Textual Transformation Discloses Concerning the Historicity of the Book of Mormon," *Trinity Journal* 7 (Spring 1986): 23-45. See also Vernon K. Robbins, "Divine Dialogue and the Lord's Prayer: Socio-rhetorical Interpretation of Sacred Texts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Fall 1995): 119-46.

3. City on a hill	12:14	5:14	-
4. Candle under a bushel	12:15	5:15	11:33
5. Let your light shine	12:16	5:16	-
6. To fulfill the law	12:17	5:17	-
7. Jot and tittle	12:18	5:18	16:17
8. Obeying	12:19	5:19	-
9. More righteousness	12:20	5:20	-
10. *Raca* / fool	12:21-22	5:21-22	-
11. Offering your gift	12:23-24	5:23-24	-
12. On the way to court	12:25-26	5:25-26	12:57-59
13. Heart adultery	12:27-28	5:27-28	-
14. Cast into hell	12:29-30	5:29-30	-
15. Divorce	12:31-32	5:31-32	16:18
16. Swear not at all	12:33-37	5:33-37	-
17. Turn the other cheek	12:38-39	5:38-39	16:29
18. Your cloak also	12:40	5:40	16:29
19. The second mile	12:41	5:41	-
20. Give to the borrower	12:42	5:42	16:30
21. Love your enemies	12:43-45a	5:43-45a	6:27
22. On the just and unjust	12:45b	5:45b	-
23. Law fulfilled	12:46-47	5:46-47	-
24. Be ye perfect	12:48	5:48	6:36
25. Alms in secret	13:1-4	6:1-4	-
26. Prayer in secret	13:5-6	6:5-6	-
27. Vain repetitions	13:7-8	6:7-8	-
28. The Lord's Prayer	13:9-13	6:9-13	11:2-4
29. If you forgive ...	13:14-15	6:14-15	-
30. Fast in secret	13:16-18	6:16-18	-
31. Treasures in heaven	13:19-21	6:19-21	12:33-34
32. The single eye	13:22-23	6:22-23	11:34-36
33. God and Mammon	13:24	6:24	16:13
34. Do not worry	13:25b-34	6:25-34	12:22-31
35. Judge not	14:1-2	7:1-2	6:37-38
36. Mote and log	14:3-5	7:3-5	6:41-42
37. Pearls before swine	14:6	7:6	-
38. Ask, seek, knock	14:7-11	7:7-11	11:9-13
39. The golden rule	14:12	7:12	6:31
40. The strait gate	14:13-14	7:13-14	13:23-24
41. In sheep's clothing	14:15	7:15	-
42. By their fruits	14:16-20	7:16-20	7:43-45
43. I never knew you!	14:21-23	7:21-23	6:46
44. House on rock / sand	14:24-27	7:24-27	6:47-49

What is more where the language of parallel sayings in Matthew and Luke differ, 3 Nephi's version consistently agrees with Matthew's form rather than Luke's. Two typical examples will suffice. The first is the familiar Golden Rule:[2]

3 Nephi	*Matthew*	*Luke*
Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets (14:12).	Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets (7:12).	And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise (6:31).

In this case, as in many others, the language of 3 Nephi and Matthew is identical, while Luke's is conspicuously different. Some sayings have been modified to a greater or lesser extent in 3 Nephi but nevertheless still reflect closer affinity to Matthew than to Luke. The second example, the Lord's Prayer, is of this kind:

3 Nephi	*Matthew*	*Luke*[3]
Our Father which[4]	Our Father which	Our **Father** which
art in heaven,	art in heaven,	art in heaven,
Hallowed be	Hallowed be	**Hallowed be**
thy name.	thy name.	**thy name.**
	Thy kingdom come.	**Thy kingdom come.**
Thy will be	Thy will be	Thy will be
done in[5] earth	done in earth,	done, as in heaven,
as it is in heaven.	as it is in heaven.	so on earth.
	Give us this day	**Give us day by day**
	our daily bread.	**our daily bread.**
And forgive us	And forgive us	**And forgive us**
our debts, as we	our debts, as we	**our sins; for we also**
forgive our debtors.	forgive our debtors.	**forgive every one that is indebted to us.**
And lead us not	And lead us not	**And lead us not**
into temptation,	into temptation,	**into temptation;**

2. All quotations from the BOM are taken from the 1830 first edition. Chapter and verse divisions, however, conform to the modern LDS edition. In the first edition of the BOM the SOM appeared in chapters 5 and 6 of the third book of Nephi (pp. 479-85).

3. The KJV version of the Lord's Prayer (reproduced here) has been expanded somewhat in the process of textual transmission. We therefore put those portions now considered part of the original Lukan version of the prayer in bold type.

4. Recent editions of the BOM have "who" rather than "which."

5. Recent editions have "on" rather than "in."

but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen (13:9-13).	but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen (6:9-13).	but deliver us from evil (11:2-4).

Apart from the absence of the petitions for the coming of the kingdom and daily bread, the form of the Lord's Prayer in 3 Nephi agrees with Matthew's rather than with Luke's.

It is obvious from these examples that we are dealing here with one of many BOM passages where the language is clearly taken from the KJV. A standard argument accounting for this phenomenon in the BOM has been to speculate that when Joseph Smith saw that the passage before him on the gold plates was the same as some known passage of scripture he simply adopted the familiar language of the KJV in his translation. Thus in the present case it would be assumed that we are dealing with the retelling of an almost identical sermon in the New World which had already been delivered in Palestine and been preserved in Matthew. Such an explanation, however, overlooks important factors relating to the composition of Matthew, particularly its use of written sources.

It has long been recognized that Matthew, Mark, and Luke are interrelated in terms of their shared sources. Sometimes their language is identical in related passages, pointing to a common source or else to mutual dependence of some sort. Yet at other times they differ significantly in both language and chronology. By far the most common way of explaining this interrelationship by scholars today is to say, first, that Matthew and Luke had Mark as a common source. They both, in other words, knew and used Mark. It is then further argued that, given their differing versions of the infancy account and genealogy of Jesus, Luke could not have known Matthew, nor Matthew Luke. Such differences, it is urged, would be hard to explain if one gospel writer knew the other. On the other hand, there are a number of passages that Luke and Matthew both have but Mark does not. This being the case, it is necessary to suppose that, not knowing each other, Matthew and Luke must have shared another source besides Mark. This additional shared source is commonly referred to as "Q" (from the German *Quelle*, meaning "source").

Another argument commonly given for the independence of Luke and Matthew is the fact that material from Q does not always appear in the same location in Matthew and Luke. It is reasoned, in other words, that if Luke had known Matthew, or if Matthew had known Luke, they

would have consistently placed Q material (which is mostly sayings) at the same places in their narratives. They do not.

This common explanation is called the *two-source theory,* since it contends that Matthew and Luke share two common sources: Mark and Q. Further details of this theory along with a description of the arguments usually set forth in its favor may be found in any standard New Testament introduction.[6]

According to the two-source theory, the compositional problem faced by Matthew and Luke can be understood as follows: Imagine you are about to write a gospel. As sources on your desk you have first of all the gospel of Mark, which will provide your narrative framework but which contains relatively few sayings of Jesus. Also on your desk is another document which contains mostly sayings. Few of these, however, give any clue as to the actual setting in which they were originally uttered. Your task is to shape the two documents (along perhaps with a number of other items you have found elsewhere) into a coherent whole.

According to the dominant two-source theory, something very like this was faced by Matthew and Luke as they set about writing their gospels. Of the two, Luke took the simpler approach to incorporating Q into Mark's outline. Most of it he introduced in more or less one large block at the point in Mark's outline where Jesus has embarked on his final trip to Jerusalem (9:57-19:27/ / cf. between Mark 10:45 and 46). Luke introduces Q's expanded version of the preaching of John the Baptist and the baptism and wilderness temptation of Jesus at the natural place in Mark's outline, where Mark had his own shorter version of the same events already. Luke's placement of the SOM follows immediately after the choosing of the twelve disciples. This is probably because the Q version of the SOM contained in its preamble a reference to the fact that the sermon was addressed primarily to Jesus' disciples. Scholars gather this from the fact that both Matthew and Luke take this for granted. In addition, the Q version of the SOM must have been preceded by reference to large crowds coming from various places to be healed or delivered from demons since both Matthew and Luke agree in inserting their versions almost immediately after such a statement (Luke 6:17-18/ / Matt 4:23-25). Mark's parallel passage (3:7-12), which is also connected with the choosing of the twelve (vv. 13-19), would thus have provided Luke with a clue as to where to incorporate his version of the SOM. Once Luke had determined the proper location for the SOM, his placement of the material originally following

6. See, for example, Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament,* rev. and enlgd. English ed., trans. Howard Clark Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 38-80. For a nontechnical yet pleasingly comprehensive (though by now a little dated) discussion of Q, see Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Jesus Christ in Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 1-27.

the SOM in Q (i.e., the healing of the centurion's son [Luke 6:20b-6:49 + 7:1-10] and probably John the Baptist's question to Jesus and Jesus' answer and subsequent praise of John [7:18-35]) followed suit as well.[7] The last bit of Q material, the twelve thrones on which the apostles will eventually sit (Luke 22:28-30), is linked by Luke to Jesus' teaching on the difference between rulers of this world and rulers in the kingdom.

Matthew, in contrast to Luke's conservatism with regard to breaking up and redistributing Q material, has, in the process of developing five major dominical discourses (Matt. 5-7, 10, 13, 18, 24-25), freely rearranged Q material and supplemented it with his own special material. This rearrangement of material is not limited to Q, but extends even to reshaping Mark's narrative outline.[8] Part of Matthew's rationale for doing this appears to have been (among other things) his interest in structuring his gospel around significant numbers, especially threes and fives. Echoing the Trinitarian baptismal formula of Matthew 28:19 and the three-trier genealogy of 1:1-16, Matthew's entire gospel is divided into three main sections by the transitional phrase *apo tote ērxato* ... ("from that time on he [Jesus] began ... ") at 4:17 and 16:20.[9] Following the suggestion made in 1930 by B. W. Bacon, many scholars see in Matthew's five great discourses an intentional parallel to the five books of Torah, with Jesus being represented as the new lawgiver, the new Moses.[10]

Some scholars have tried to dispense with Q by suggesting that Luke knew and used both Mark and Matthew.[11] The reason that solution is not acceptable was already explained by B. H. Streeter in the 1920s. If Luke had really

> derived his material from Matthew, he must have gone through both Matthew and Mark so as to discriminate with meticulous precision between

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7. The account of the healing of the centurion's son/servant follows close on the heals of the SOM in both Matthew and Luke, indicating that it also followed it in Q. The location of the material on John the Baptist, though less certain, is probable given the fact that Luke, consistent with his aims as outlined in Luke 1:1-4, is much less ready to break up and redistribute parts of Q than is Matthew.

8. Thus J. C. Hawkins long ago noted that in chapters 8-11 of Matthew not "much account is taken of the Marcan arrangement and order" (in E. P. Sanders, "The Argument from Order and the Relationship between Matthew and Luke," *New Testament Studies* 15 [1968-69]: 254).

9. See, for example, F. Neirynck, "APO TOTE HPΞATO and the Structure of Matthew," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 64 (1988): 21-59. For other significant threes, see J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 2d. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), 165-67, and W. A. Allen, *St. Matthew*, 3d. ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, n.d. [1912]), lxiv-lxv.

10. B. W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (New York: Scribner's, 1930). See, more recently, Ben F. Meyer, *Five Speeches that Changed the World* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994), and Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

11. See Austin Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1957), 55-86.

> Marcan and non-Marcan material; he must then have proceeded with the utmost care to tear every little piece of the non-Marcan material ... from the context of Mark from which it appeared in Matthew—in spite of the fact that contexts in Matthew are always exceedingly appropriate—in order to re-insert it into a different context of Mark having no special appropriateness.[12]

A simpler way of expressing this would be to say that (1) although it would be easy to imagine that if Matthew had Luke as one of his sources along with Mark, he might have broken down the sayings sections in Luke (especially the large central section 9:57-19:27) in order to scatter them about in different locations in his gospel in service of his own redactional interests; and (2) it would be harder to imagine and for Luke to accomplish having Matthew before him to draw the various sayings that Matthew has scattered throughout his gospel together (some of them appear outside the boundaries of the five main discourses: Matt. 15:14; 17:20; 19:28; 19:30; 22:1-10) in order to deposit them for no apparent reason in a lump in the middle of his gospel. What conceivable reason, in addition, could Luke have had for dismantling Matthew's beautiful SOM or for replacing Matthew's fuller version of the Lord's Prayer with his own more clipped one? Because of considerations such as these, scholars have rejected the idea that Luke had Matthew as one of his sources.

On the other hand, because of this difference between the way Luke and Matthew arrange their common "second-source" material, I have also attempted in an earlier study to dispense with Q by proposing that while Luke did not know Matthew, Matthew knew Luke.[13] But whether Matthew knew Luke, or Matthew and Luke knew Q, it is clear that it was Matthew who aggressively restructured and expanded the traditional material that came into his hands in the interest of the design and message of his gospel.

The Form of Q's Sermon on the Mount

Given Luke's overall conservatism, compared to Matthew's, it is scarcely surprising that the majority of scholars today believe that Luke reflects more accurately both the original order and the original form of Q. This general conclusion includes the Q version of the SOM as well. Hans Dieter Betz, for example, describes the view "most agreeable to present scholarship" as follows: "There was one source Q that contained an early form of the Sermon (Q-Sermon), identical, or nearly identical, with Luke's SP [Sermon on the Plain] (Q-SP). Matthew's SM [SOM]

12. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 161.

13. Ronald V. Huggins, "Matthean Posteriority: A Preliminary Proposal," *Novum Testamentum* 34 (1992): 1-22.

would then be this evangelist's revision and expansion of Q-SP, for which he used other special traditions (*Sondergut*)."[14] The extent to which Matthew's SOM differs both in length and arrangement from Luke's is seen in the following, which follows the order and extent of Luke:

	Luke	*Matthew*
1. The Beatitudes	6:20-23	5:3-12
2. But woe to the one ...	6:24-26	-
3. Love your enemies	6:27-28	5:44
4. Turn the other cheek	6:29a	5:39
5. Thy cloak also	6:29b	5:40
6. Give to the borrower	6:30	5:42
7. The golden rule	6:31	7:12
8. If you love those ...	6:32-33	5:46-47
9. If you lend ...	6:34-35	-
10. Be ye merciful/perfect	6:36	5:48
11. Judge not	6:37	7:1-2a
12. Give and it will be	6:38a	-
13. The same measure	6:38b	7:2b
14. Blind leading blind	6:39	15:14
15. Not above his teacher	6:40	10:24-25
16. Mote and log	6:41-42	7:3-5
17. By their fruit	6:43-44	7:17-18
18. Heart treasury	6:45	12:35
19. Lord! Lord!	6:46	7:21
20. House on rock/sand	6:47-49	7:24-27

If Matthew's SOM derives from a Q SOM "identical, or nearly identical" to Luke's, as common scholarly opinion suggests, or if he derived it from Luke and then built it up with material from other places in Luke along with additional material of unknown origin, as I have elsewhere argued, then it is clear that to a great extent the form and arrangement of the Matthean SOM comes not from Jesus but from Matthew.

Did the Author of 3 Nephi Know Matthew?

This brings us back to the question raised in the title: "Did the author of 3 Nephi know the gospel of Matthew?" Obviously the Nephi who recorded the post-resurrection, New World version of the SOM could not have known the gospel of Matthew. But if Matthew is responsible for the

14. Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 42-43.

arrangement of his gospel's SOM, then it would also seem to be impossible for the author of 3 Nephi 12-14 to produce those chapters without knowing the gospel of Matthew. The answer to the question in the title therefore is both *no* and *yes*. *No*, Nephi did not know, could not have known, the gospel of Matthew. *Yes*, the author of 3 Nephi, presumably Joseph Smith, Jr., did know, must have known, the gospel of Matthew.

This conclusion strengthens arguments set forth in certain earlier studies. Stan Larson, for example, in his detailed study of the textual history of Matthew's SOM as it relates to the 3 Nephi version, concluded that consistently

> the BOM blindly follows the KJV at the precise point where the KJV falls into error due to mistranslating the Greek or translating late and derivative Greek texts which are demonstrably secondary developments in the textual tradition. The evidence leads one inexorably to the conclusion (at least for the section comprising 3 Nephi 12-14) that the term "translation" is inappropriate, since nowhere in the BOM version of Jesus' masterful sermon is there any indisputable evidence of being a translation from an ancient document.[15]

Given the thoroughness of Larson's treatment, there is no reason to dwell on questions relating to the textual criticism of the SOM here. Those arguments, in any case, touch only the issue of the transmission of Matthew in its final form, while our discussion deals with an earlier phase—the process of composition through which Matthew originally came into its final form. Given Larson's article alone, some might continue to appeal (if not quite legitimately at least semi-plausibly) to the argument that Smith, upon realizing that he was encountering a version of the SOM on the gold plates that was for all intents and purposes identical to Matthew's, simply chose to translate it in the familiar language of the KJV. In the process, the imposing evidence presented by Larson could be dismissed by (1) attempting to cast doubt on current text-critical methods, or by (2) suggesting that Smith's concept of "translation" was flexible enough to render insignificant those cases where he inadvertently incorporated inferior KJV readings into the BOM. Is it really so heinous, it might thus be argued, that the ending of the Lord's Prayer—"For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen"—though a late addition to Matthew's version and therefore probably absent from the lips of the resurrected Lord as he taught the Nephites, ended up in the BOM? If what we have argued here is correct, however, the Lord was not simply repeating a sermon which he had previously delivered but was organizing his sayings into a form that agreed with the organization Matthew would independently give them several decades later. While "anything is possible

15. Larson, "Sermon on the Mount," 43.

with God," such an explanation makes a sham of all textual and source-critical studies.

Recontextualizing Matthew's SOM in 3 Nephi's New World Setting

Once it is recognized that 3 Nephi's SOM had as its principle source Matthew's SOM in the language of the KJV, a number of things become clear. Not only does it explain why 3 Nephi's version contains the textual corruptions of the KJV version of Matthew's SOM, and why Matthew's organization of the sayings of Jesus appears in a document ostensibly written decades before the gospel of Matthew and in a different hemisphere, it also explains why certain changes were made and why certain other points where changes were not made introduce significant historical and narrational inconsistencies.

While the reasons for some of the changes are not immediately apparent, others seem obvious. The replacement of KJV Matthew's "farthing" (5:26) with "senine" (12:26), for example, was a move taken to introduce verisimilitude, the senine being "the smallest Nephite measure of gold (Alma 11:3, 15-19)."[16] Further in the KJV Matt 5:20 Matthew had:

> For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

3 Nephi 12:20b changes this to:

> ... for verily I say unto you, that except ye shall keep my commandments, which I have commanded you at this time, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The shared language of these two passages and their identical placement in relation to Matthew's sequence indicate that 3 Nephi's version was derived from Matthew. Krister Stendahl's attribution of the absence in 3 Nephi 12:20b of any mention of Scribes and Pharisees to the "truly refreshing and welcome and unique," "non-anti-Semitic" character of the Mormon tradition[17] is kind but almost certainly not correct. The more ob-

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16. Robert Timothy Updegraff, "Sermon on the Mount," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1299. It is also possible that it was intended to avoid mention being made of the coinage of the Roman Empire to people who had come to the Western hemisphere long before that empire existed. But this is less certain since "farthing" was the name of the English quarter-penny used by the KJV in this instance to translate the Greek *kordantēs*, which refers to the Roman *quadrans*.

17. Stendahl, "Sermon on the Mount and Third Nephi," 151.

vious explanation is that Scribes and Pharisees were both bodies in Judaism which arose long after Lehi departed from Jerusalem in the sixth century B.C.E. It is probably with this same motive that 3 Nephi 12:46-47 has also been changed, with the result that the double reference to the *publicani* ("publicans") in Matthew 5:46-47 has been removed. It is not because of the "non-anti-Publicanic" character of the Mormon tradition that they are not mentioned, but rather because of the need to remove reference to a class of persons unknown to first-century Nephites. Another example of this is the removal of mention of Jerusalem in 3 Nephi's parallel to Matthew 5:34-35:

Matthew 5: 34-36a	*3 Nephi 12:34-36a*
But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head ...	But verily, verily I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by Heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth for it [is] his footstool; neither shalt thou swear by the head ...

Even more interesting are those instances where we might have expected such changes to be made but they were not. Matthew's reference to *synagogues* in 6:2 and 5 is retained in 3 Nephi 13:2 and 5. While the BOM mentions the existence in the New World of "synagogues, which were built after the manner of the Jews" (Alma 16:13), it is certain that synagogues did not exist as an institution early enough for Lehi and his family to carry knowledge of them to the New World prior to the Babylonian exile. The generally accepted theory of their origin is that they arose in Exilic or early Post-exilic times as a compensatory response to the destruction of Solomon's temple (and therefore after the departure of Lehi). But actual evidence for their existence even that early is entirely lacking.[18] It was in fact only on the eve of the New Testament period that the synagogue began to come into its own as an established institution within Judaism.[19] By incorporating unchanged Matthew's passages about what hypocrites do when praying and giving alms "in the synagogues, and in the streets," 3 Nephi seems to imply that identical institutions inexplicably emerged independently in both the New World and Palestine. This becomes especially striking if the sounding of a trumpet to announce the hypocrites' giving of alms (Matt. 6:2//3 Ne. 13:2) was an

18. See "Synagogue," in *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period: 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*, ed. Jacob Neusner and William Scott Green (New York: Macmillan, 1996).

19. For a discussion of the relevant evidence, see Howard Clark Kee, "Defining the First-Century CE Synagogue: Problems and Progress," *New Testament Studies* 41 (1995): 481-500.

actual first-century practice (rather than merely Jesus' scathing satire on the general desire of hypocrites to make sure people see them doing good).

One might also have expected that the Aramaic word *raca* (Matt. 5:22//3 Ne. 12:22) would have been changed. To be sure, Imperial Aramaic was known in Palestine prior to the time of Lehi's departure, but it had not yet become the common language of Palestine, as it had by Jesus' day.[20] That would occur, again, only after the Exile. It seems unlikely in view of this that the Nephites could have independently come to use the Aramaic insult *raca!* against people they did not like in the same way the native Aramaic-speaking Palestinians did.

Along these same lines we might ask if Nephites would have understood what the resurrected Jesus meant by not being able to serve both God and *mammon* (Matt. 6:24//3 Ne. 13:24).[21] Would that word have communicated the same thing to the Nephites, cut off as they were for centuries from the Near-Eastern environment, as it did to the first-century audience of Matthew?

Conclusion

The version of the SOM presented in 3 Nephi closely follows the form and arrangement given in Matthew 5-7. The claim on the part of 3 Nephi to represent an independent witness to this teaching of Jesus rests on the assumption that it was Jesus who organized the material into the form in which we now find it in both the gospel of Matthew and 3 Nephi. Current scholarship on Matthew, however, indicates that this is not the case, that indeed Matthew contributed significantly to the shaping of his version of the SOM. If this assessment is correct, it is no longer possible to regard 3 Nephi 12-14 as a record of an actual sermon that was delivered before first-century Nephites by the resurrected Jesus, since Nephi could not have known Matthew. Rather, the 3 Nephi SOM was derived from Matthew (in the particular form given it by the KJV), after which certain minor changes were made with a view toward assimilating it to its New World setting.

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20. See Joseph Fitzmyer's "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 501-31.

21. *Mammon* is a semitic word that has simply been transliterated into Greek in the gospels as *mamēnas* (pointing to the Aramaic form). Its meaning in both Aramaic and Hebrew seems to have been simply "wealth" or "property" without a specifically negative connotation.

Take These Depositions

Casualene Meyer

"I am Richard II.
know ye not that?"
—Queen Elizabeth

"The king is not himself ... "
—Richard II (2.1.241)

I.

Let's talk of griefs,
of wombs,
of epithets.

Why is "Mother"
an epithet?

II.

When my son cries tonight, I
say: Let Mama love you.
When he hungers, I
say: Let Mama feed you.

Mama does so much for him,
I so little.

III.

My son.
Is he the deposition
or the abdication
of my I?

Shall I
no longer be
myself?
Ay no no ay ...

IV.

Abdication and abduction
are consonant—
the same in bone,
they differ only in breath.

V.
Not all the water in a woman
can wash the balm
from off a self-appointed queen.

Researching Mormonism: General Conference as Artifactual Gold Mine

Richard N. Armstrong

FROM ITS BEGINNINGS IN THE SPRING OF 1830, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has grown to more than 9 million members and now adds a million new converts worldwide every three years. On Sunday, 25 February 1996, a milestone was reached when the number of Mormons living in other countries exceeded the number living in the United States.[1] In fact, only about 17 percent of members currently reside in Utah.[2] Clearly, the days of Mormonism as a Utah or American church have passed, and recent growth has been so impressive that non-Mormon sociologist Rodney Stark projects church membership to reach 265 million by 2080 and believes that Mormonism is on its way to becoming the next major world religion.[3]

In view of these rising numbers, official LDS rhetoric has been increasingly recognized (both praised and blamed) as an important factor in a number of state, regional, national, and world issues such as liquor by the drink and pari-mutuel betting in Utah (both defeated), the proposed basing of the MX missile system in Utah[4] (defeated), the Equal

1. Jay M. Todd, "More Members Now Outside U.S. Than in U. S.," *Ensign* 26 (Mar. 1996): 76-77.

2. Tim B. Heaton, "Vital Statistics," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1518-37.

3. Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (1984): 409-12. See also Armand L. Mauss, ed., "Mormons and Mormonism in the Twenty-first Century: Prospects and Issues," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Spring 1996), for a special issue on the growth of the church.

4. Steven A. Hildreth, "The First Presidency Statement on the MX in Perspective," *Brigham Young University Studies* 22 (Spring 1982): 215-25.

Rights Amendment[5] (defeated), and various disaster relief efforts (millions of dollars raised and disbursed), among others.

Perhaps noting the dynamics of such "political" debates, a number of researchers have studied Mormonism from sociological, legal, cultural, and economic perspectives, to name a few.[6] One prominent non-Mormon historian has even characterized Mormonism as a new world religious tradition.[7] Church founder Joseph Smith is being reassessed by some non-Mormons as, for example, "an authentic religious genius"[8] or as a thinker to be taken seriously since he convincingly addressed knotty problems that other Christian theologians had wrestled with for centuries.[9] Such positive acknowledgments depart from condemnations of the past which dismissed Smith as a manipulative charlatan.

Given such developments, the church and its leaders will, no doubt, be the objects of growing interest from the scholarly world. However, a full understanding of the rhetorical collectivity[10] of Mormonism, including the motivations and goals of its leadership, is unattainable without a knowledge of the primary oratory of its leaders from 1830 to the present. Indeed, any scholar studying Mormonism, no matter his or her discipline or religious orientation, needs to familiarize him- or herself with the general conference rhetoric of its general authorities. General conference may be the most profound, authoritative, and historically persisting source of Mormon leader rhetoric extant and available to LDS and non-LDS researchers alike.

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5. See, for example, Janice Schuetz, "Secular and Sectarian Conflict: A Case Study of Mormons for ERA," *Women's Studies in Communication* 5 (1982): 41-55; David M. Jabusch, "Mormon Anti-ERA Rhetoric: An Exercise in Piety," paper presented at the meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Anaheim, California, 1985; Richard J. Jensen and John C. Hammerback, "Feminists of Faith: Sonia Johnson and the Mormons for ERA," *Communication Studies* 36 (1985): 123-37; Tarla Rai Peterson, "Argument Premises Used to Validate Organizational Change: Mormon Representations of Plural Marriage," *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 18 (1990): 168-84; O. Kendall White, Jr., "Mormonism and the Equal Rights Amendment," *Journal of Church and State* 31 (Spring 1989): 249-67.

6. See, for example, Harold Bloom, "The Religion-making Imagination of Joseph Smith," *Yale Review* 80 (Apr. 1992): 26-43; Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Martin E. Marty, *Religion and Republic: The American Circumstance* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987); John Heinerman and Anson Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985); Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

7. Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

8. Bloom, "The Image-making Imagination of Joseph Smith," 26.

9. As quoted in O. Haroldsen, "Good and Evil Spoken Of," *Ensign* 25 (Aug. 1995): 9-11.

10. Jill J. McMillan, "In Search of an Organizational Persona: A Rationale for Studying Organizations Rhetorically," in Lee O. Thayer, ed., *Communications in Organizations* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1987), 21-45.

Development of General Conference

The initial gathering on 6 April 1830 in Fayette, New York, was held to incorporate the newest manifestation of Christianity. Then, following a Sunday, 11 April, meeting where Joseph Smith's scribe, Oliver Cowdery, "preached the first public discourse by any of our number,"[11] the first identifiable general conference of the Latter-day Saints convened on 1 June 1830 in the Peter Whitmer, Sr., home in Fayette.[12] Twenty-seven adherents attended along with another 30-40 other interested parties. Joseph Smith read the fourteenth chapter of Ezekiel and then offered a prayer. In addition, a hymn was sung, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, several converts were confirmed members of the new faith, and a number of the men were issued official licenses to identify them as missionaries or as other church officers. Although little of that first conference was preserved relative to the oratory expounded, the minutes do contain these details:

> Much exhortation was given, and the Holy Ghost was poured out upon us in a miraculous manner—many of our number prophesied, whilst others had the heavens opened to their view, and were so overcome that we had to lay them on beds, or other convenient places. ... the goodness and condescension of a merciful God, unto such as obey the everlasting gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, combined to create within us sensations of rapturous gratitude, and inspire us with fresh zeal and energy, in the cause of truth.[13]

From this first meeting, conferences were held during the next few years whenever Joseph Smith deemed it necessary to transact business, deal with problems, or when new revelations needed to be announced and ratified by the church. This latter function helped to establish the concept of common consent in the church that continues to this day as seen by the yearly vote of members to sustain the general officers of the church or when the church votes to ratify or "canonize" a revelation received by the president before it is accorded official status as scripture.

The second conference was called to order on 26 September 1830, again at the Whitmer home, where the sacrament was administered, a number of communicants had hands placed upon their heads to be confirmed members and ordained to the priesthood, and where other business was conducted. Membership had increased to sixty-two over the intervening three

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11. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 1:81; hereafter HC.

12. John Taylor, ed., *The Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, IL: Taylor and Woodruff, 1843), 4:22.

13. Ibid., 23.

months,[14] and it was reported that Isaiah 5 was read by Joseph Smith with additional remarks by the twenty-four-year-old prophet.

In the early years, probably following the Methodist practice, a chairman or moderator was elected to preside over the conference who was not necessarily the president of the church.[15] In this case, Joseph Smith was, indeed, elected. However, in the few short months since the organization of the church, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and others had voiced their discontent with some aspects of Smith's leadership and Hiram Page had claimed to have received revelations for the church through a "seer" stone. In her biography of Joseph Smith, Donna Hill offers these details of this pivotal conference:

> The membership at once revealed its discontents, and the conference became a stormy affair. Oliver rose to protest against Joseph's claim to receive commandments for the whole church. Joseph countered by denouncing Hiram Page's revelations which he said contradicted the New Testament and the latest word of God received by him, their prophet.
>
> Hiram and his adherents were adamant, however, and the danger of a schism in the church became apparent. No matter the cost, Joseph felt that the church must hold together. Deciding to risk all, he demanded a vote of confidence from the congregation.
>
> Put to the test, the members, including Hiram Page himself, renounced Hiram's stone and revelations, and sustained Joseph as their prophet.[16]

Despite such contentions buffeting the infant church, Smith's developing rhetorical skills contributed to his success in keeping the flock together as he happily noted in his journal that the "utmost harmony prevailed, and all things were settled satisfactorily to all present."[17]

Nor would this be the last challenge to the prophet and his authority as the very next conference (2 January 1831) seemed to have been called to counter more dissent, this time to a revelation which directed the church to move to Ohio. Despite the debate, it was clear that "the Church became officially constituted with a dynamic and biblically consistent eschatology"[18] and the Saints did, in fact, move to Ohio. By the fourth conference, held in Kirtland, Ohio, in early June 1831 and attended by some 2,000 persons, comments on oratorical style began to appear. For exam-

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14. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 3.

15. Jay R. Lowe, "A Study of the General Conferences of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1901," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1972, 23.

16. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday & Co., 1977), 117, 118.

17. HC, 1:118.

18. Lowe, "A Study of the General Conferences," 38.

ple, Jared Carter reported that although Joseph Smith "was not naturally a talented speaker, ... [he] spoke as I have never heard man speak for God before."[19] Parley P. Pratt confirmed this perception when recalling that "much instruction was given by President Smith, who spake in great power, as he was moved by the Holy Ghost."[20] This observation is in harmony with one scholar's assessment of early Mormon preaching when she reported that "Some Mormons, believing as they did in divine inspiration at the moment of delivery of a sermon, felt no need to supplement the efforts of the Holy Spirit."[21] In other words, most early church leaders eschewed advance preparation and spoke as they believed the Spirit directed in an obvious extemporaneous fashion. At any rate, the most singular event of this first Ohio conference was Joseph Smith's announcement that several brethren were to be ordained to the high priesthood.[22]

The fifth general conference, 4 August 1831, was held in Kaw Township, twelve miles west of Independence, Missouri, with only thirty-one people in attendance.[23] Lands had been purchased and Sidney Rigdon, a confidant of and assistant to Joseph Smith, had consecrated the land for the eventual removal of the church to Missouri. It was noted that Joseph Smith had dedicated the temple site in Independence, but little else was recorded. Still, another historian called the progress of the church phenomenal during this period and credited the conferences as "a most important organizational device through which this progress had been attained."[24] He also characterized this period of conference holding as predictably intermittent:

> During this period of Church history, and for some time to come, there seems to have been no consistent pattern for holding conferences. They were often quite irregular with respect to time, place, content, and form. The Church was undergoing rapid change as a result of numerical and geographical growth. The conference was the chief device for making the necessary adjustments and coping with numerous emergencies as well as implementing the new programs and principles of the Church. This is the probable explanation for there being more conferences (approximately thirteen) of a more or less

19. Ibid., 41.

20. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1994), 53.

21. Barbara J. M. Higdon, "The Role of Preaching in the Early Latter Day Saint Church, 1830-1846," Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1961, 73.

22. Bruce N. Westergren, ed., *From Historian to Dissident: The Book of John Whitmer* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 69.

23. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 10.

24. Lowe, "A Study of the General Conferences," 56.

> general nature during the period 1831 through 1833, than in any other comparable period in the history of the Church.[25]

Although I count more than twenty conferences during this period, these formative conferences, as irregularly held as they may have been, were nevertheless crucial to the development of a sense of unity and harmony among converts especially in light of the difficult transportation and communication era in which they found themselves. Many such early conferences "were more of the nature of work and project conferences."[26]

A notable conference during this period was held in Hiram, Ohio, in November 1831 which dealt with the publication of the revelations Smith had so far received. Smith wrote that, during this conference, his "time was occupied closely in reviewing the commandments and sitting in conference, for nearly two weeks; for from the first to the twelfth of November we held four special conferences."[27] The conference voted to publish 10,000 copies of the Book of Commandments, although the actual first printing was closer to 3,000 copies. This type of activity was not unusual during these early conferences since these meetings were held to motivate the Saints to support a variety of initiatives ranging from the establishment of "Zion"[28] to fending off challenges to Smith's authority, and from encouraging support for the prophet's inspired revision of the Bible to taking oaths of allegiance. In fact, "the preaching of sermons was often incidental or ancillary to the conduct of church business and administrative tasks at early Mormon conferences."[29]

The early conferences also served a judicial function since disputes between members were settled and moral transgressions were addressed by church leaders which further served to establish general conference as an important unifying and organizing element in nineteenth-century Mormonism. An early practice was the "silencing" of a priesthood leader due to transgression. For example, the following notation is found in the Far West Record for a conference held on 12 September 1831 in Kirtland, Ohio: "Upon sufficient or satisfactory testimony to this Conference, it was voted that our brethren George Miller, a Priest in the church of Shalersville, John Woodard an Elder in the Church of Orange, and Benjamin Bragg a Priest in the Church of Warrensville, be silenced from ministering

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25. Ibid., 57, 58.
26. Ibid., 100.
27. HC, 1:235.
28. A. D. Sorensen, "Zion," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1624-26; Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, esp. ix-xvi.
29. Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, 15.

in their respective offices."[30] This form of discipline effectively restrained these men from preaching or otherwise acting in an office to which they had been appointed or "set apart."

Following the 1847 migration of the Mormons to the Great Salt Lake Valley,[31] the judicial function was eventually transferred from general conference to separate church courts where "the priesthood retained exclusive jurisdiction over secular as well as religious cases throughout the 1890's."[32] Scholars of Mormon jurisprudence and legal sociologists would do well to study the history and workings of general conference to comprehend fully the development and impact of church courts.

A conference held on 25 January 1832 at Amherst, Ohio, was significant because Joseph Smith was ordained president of the high priesthood. Then, three months later, on 26 April 1832, a conference in Independence allowed the Missouri Saints to sustain Smith also as president of the high priesthood[33] which "ordination carries with it the office of president over the entire church."[34] The revelation in the Doctrine and Covenants addressing this facet of church government reads: "And again, the duty of the President of the office of the High Priesthood is to preside over the whole church, and to be like unto Moses—behold, here is wisdom; yea, to be a seer, a revelator, a translator, and a prophet, having all the gifts of God which he bestows upon the head of the church" (107:91-92). Previously Smith had been recognized only as First Elder of the church, but here he assumed the mantle of president.

Up to this time, primary leadership authority had been shared with Oliver Cowdery, Second Elder and assistant church president. In addition, Sidney Rigdon, a former Campbellite minister and early convert known for his dynamic and persuasive oratory, was one of the top leaders and a close confidant of the prophet as well. Therefore, this conference was instrumental in cementing Smith's position as the ultimate authority in the church. Though a form of shared governance is prac-

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30. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record,* 12.

31. Before the coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869, this migration included at least 60,000 Latter-day Saints making the trek by wagon, handcart, and foot. About 10 percent of this number died en route and were buried along what is now the Mormon Pioneer Trail. For a brief description of the migration, see Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: An American Moses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 283-86.

32. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts,* xiv.

33. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record,* 44.

34. William E. Berrett, *The Latter-day Saints: A Contemporary History of the Church of Jesus Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985), 124.

ticed at the highest echelons of the church today, there is no doubt that the prophet has the final word on any issue before the church.[35] This concept was still forming prior to the 25 January 1832 general conference.

Although the 6 April 1833 conference held on the ferry on the Big Blue River in Missouri had been convened to celebrate the birthday of the church, it was otherwise uneventful. Subsequently, a number of assorted conferences transpired during the 1834-37 period. Only single general conferences were held in 1834, 1835, and 1836, but the 3 May 1834 conference was notable in that the name of the church was changed from "Church of Christ" to "The Church of the Latter-day Saints." The 17 August 1835 "general assembly" was distinguished by the official acceptance of the Book of Doctrine and Covenants,[36] although, interestingly, Joseph Smith at the time was away on church business in Michigan.

The 3 September 1837 conference was called to deal with dissension and apostasy caused by the failure of the chief Mormon financial institution. Some members who had invested in the bank were disillusioned with Smith when the bank he supported failed. Though the prophet often cautioned members to differentiate the spiritual from the secular, some could not accept the fact that their prophet was fallible in business. On 7 November 1837 another conference was held, this time in Far West, Missouri, to prepare the Saints for the transfer of church headquarters from Ohio to Missouri. Apparently Smith had felt it prudent to leave Kirtland in consequence of the anger directed at him by some unhappy investors.

The 6 April 1838 meeting is seen by some as marking the beginning of the "whole modern conference system of the Church."[37] This seems an accurate assessment since more preaching and less business marked this conference, with Smith speaking at least four times, along with other leaders. This development appears to have signaled the start of the

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35. Though there have been reminders of late in general conference that all members of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles are sustained as "prophets, seers and revelators" and that no major policies are enacted unless there is unanimity among the "Brethren," there can be little doubt that when the president of the church feels inspired that the church ought to move in a particular direction, the church moves in that direction. Many members are familiar with the maneuvering over succession to the office of president which followed Smith's assassination in 1844. Succession and reorganization issues are treated in a number of sources, but sufficient explanations are contained in James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992), 213-15, 265, 383, 387, 410; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma; Emma Hale Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 175; D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 245-63; and Ronald K. Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity," *Brigham Young University Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 301-41.

36. Lowe, "A Study of the General Conferences," 119.

37. Ibid., 131.

mostly educational function of general conference.[38] That is, aside from the annual sustaining of general church officers by the rank and file and the reading of brief statistical reports, conference speakers seek to instruct, inspire, motivate, and strengthen members through their addresses from the pulpit.

The October 1839 conference, held at Commerce (later Nauvoo), Illinois, may be considered the first semiannual general conference in the regular order of conferences as they have become established in the LDS church today. Since an earlier conference had been held in May in Quincy, Illinois, to celebrate the escape of Joseph Smith from prison in Missouri, 1839 was the first year that both recognizable annual and semiannual general conferences were held.[39] Parenthetically, Smith had received a revelation on 26 April 1838 that the name of the church should be The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (D&C 115:4).

Many conferences were held in the 1840s including several in Great Britain where Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and other church apostles were baptizing thousands, including ministers and their entire congregations. Other conferences were held in Kirtland and in Boston, as well. Although there is some question as to which of these conferences may be considered "official" general conferences, historian Jay Lowe explains:

> The conferences were mostly referred to as special conferences and the designation "special" seemed quite appropriate in comparing them with those of 1838-1841; the so-called institutionalization period. They were not primarily instructional but were held for the special purposes of conducting trials, meeting other exigencies such as the adventism excitement, and expediting church business relative to missionary work, the gathering, the construction of the Nauvoo House and temple, etc.[40]

Another scholar identifies the 1838-44 period as the time when "the concept of a regular general conference for the Church was set firmly in place and the precedents were established for the annual and semiannual conferences in April and October."[41] Gary and Gordon Shepherd are more specific in fixing a date: "It is not until 1840 that it becomes possible to systematically identify annual and semiannual conferences which are regularly scheduled and convened every six months."[42] As noted above, I believe that 1839 marks the beginning of the semiannual system.

Kenneth Godfrey identifies the April 1844 conference as distinctive

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38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 137, 138.
40. Ibid., 194.
41. M. Dallas Burnett, "General Conference," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:307-308.
42. Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, 15.

because "conferences became a time for instruction rather than business, Joseph Smith was nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the United States and it was the last conference over which he presided."[43] This conference was also notable for the prophet's King Follett discourse wherein he "spoke concerning some twenty-seven doctrinal subjects, including the character of God, the origin and destiny of man, the unpardonable sin, the resurrection of children."[44] This sermon[45] would crown his prophetic career.

With the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter, the city was left without a police force, so "by the April 1845 general conference, the Saints had begun to employ a 'whistling and whittling' brigade to unnerve outsiders and discourage non-Mormons from coming to Nauvoo."[46] Owing to the unsettled state of affairs brought on by the church's forced emigration from Nauvoo, no conference was held in 1846, but a December 1847 conference in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake was significant because Brigham Young was sustained as president of the church by the general membership after having been ordained president on 5 December in Kanesville, Iowa, by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.[47] The Twelve had administered church affairs since Smith's death over three years earlier, but an 1850 conference saw the church president sustained for the first time as the "prophet, seer and revelator."

By the 1850s the conference schedule was firmly stabilized on a semiannual basis and, as historians have noted, conference time "became a time of reunion and socializing. The conference became one of the great symbols of Mormon unity as well as a cohesive force in building a sense of community."[48] Nearly three decades of conferences are briefly summarized in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism:* "The conferences from 1848 to 1877 considered pressing needs such as emigration from the east and foreign countries, colonization, and missionary work. Assignments to colonize and calls to serve missions were frequently announced from the

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43. Kenneth W. Godfrey, "150 Years of General Conference," *Ensign* 11 (Feb. 1981): 68.

44. Donald Q. Cannon, "The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith's Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (1978): 179.

45. See also Clarissa I. Whitney, "A Critical Analysis of the Forensic and Religious Speaking of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, California State College at Fullerton, 1967, 70-100, for an insightful rhetorical analysis of the King Follett discourse; and Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (1978): 209-23, for a detailed examination of the doctrinal implications of the address.

46. Marshall Hamilton, "From Assassination to Expulsion: Two Years of Distrust, Hostility, and Violence," *Brigham Young University Studies* 32 (Winter 1992): 229-37.

47. Gail Geo. Holmes, "A Prophet Who Followed, Fulfilled, and Magnified: Brigham Young in Iowa and Nebraska," in Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Lion of the Lord: Essays on the Life and Service of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.), 145, 146.

48. Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 286.

conference pulpit without prior notice."[49] That these public "calls from the pulpit" were accepted without question is a telling measure of the devotion church leaders of that era enjoyed from the membership.

Even though it would not be completed until 1875, the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City was first used for a general conference in 1867 which lasted four days instead of the usual three, due to a vote of the conference to extend the proceedings.[50] General conference continued in this vein until the polygamy issue forced a traumatic interregnum, especially for Mormonism's presiding officers. Edwin Firmage and Garth Mangrum describe government actions during this period intended to force Mormon compliance with federal mandates:

> The vengeance of a state repudiated in every measure of governance by a recalcitrant people insured that no stone would remain unturned in the process of demanding compliance. Incarcerating practicing polygamists was not enough. The Poland Act of 1874 disqualified Mormon jurors and restricted the jurisdiction of Mormon-controlled probate courts. The Edmunds Act of 1882 disfranchised many Mormons. Federal judges refused to naturalize Mormon immigrants. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 dissolved the church corporation.[51]

In consequence, many general authorities went into exile where they were pursued by federal marshals for their arrest on "unlawful co-habitation" charges. Thus on the run, many leaders found their ability to address general conference severely limited and only undertaken at great risk to their freedom. James Allen and Glen Leonard describe the standoff's effect on general conference:

> The crusade disrupted many normal activities including the custom of holding general conference in Salt Lake City. Between 1884 and 1887 Church leaders considered it prudent to hold these meetings in Logan, Provo, and Coalville in order, if possible, to relieve those who attended from pressures of possible arrest. Federal officers, nevertheless, continued to show up at conference sites in hope of apprehending fugitives, though they usually left empty-handed. The conferences were sparsely attended by Church officials for most were in hiding. Apostle Franklin D. Richards, immune from prosecution by special arrangement with the government, presided over some of them. Guidance to the conferences came in the form of general epistles, signed by President Taylor and his first counselor, George Q. Cannon. Joseph F. Smith was in Hawaii as a missionary. To the Saints, continuing to hold con-

49. Burnett, "General Conference," 308.
50. Godfrey, "150 Years of General Conference," 69.
51. Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 10.

> ference even without their leaders bolstered their faith and eloquently testified of their continued opposition to any surrender to the government.[52]

Elder Moses Thatcher of the Twelve, speaking in the April 1884 general conference, voiced widely held frustrations among members as the polygamy prosecutions began:

> I was born in this country. I can trace my lineage to the revolutionary fathers. I love the institutions of my country. I love and venerate the Constitution. But I am not so ignorant, I am not so blind that I cannot see that anything which you or I may do may be contrary to law, and may be called unconstitutional; but I hold that the Constitution was made broad enough, high enough and deep enough to enable us to practice our religion and be free before God and man.[53]

The standoff with the federal government ended in 1890 when President Wilford Woodruff issued the Manifesto, marking what many scholars point to "as the effective point of division between the past and the present"[54] in the history of Mormonism. The Manifesto was a major accommodation to more powerful secular forces and paved the way for Utah statehood in 1896.

Subsequent events of note in general conference history include the holding of a session of the April 1893 conference in the Salt Lake temple so that President Wilford Woodruff could dedicate the magnificent structure; 1907 conference goers voting to donate two hundred tons of flower to famine-plagued China; and 1919 conference attendees hearing an address by President Heber J. Grant in support of the League of Nations.[55]

Besides federal intervention affecting the usual practice of holding general conference, the advent of World War II also had a dramatic effect:

> In America, many activities were cut back. Travel was difficult as automobiles were no longer readily available, and gasoline and tires were strictly rationed. One response was to suspend all auxiliary institutes and stake leadership meetings for the duration of the war. Beginning in 1942, general conferences were closed to the general membership and confined to approximately 500 priesthood leaders.[56]

Despite the occasional interruptions and modifications dictated by a nation at war, and other uncontrollable events such as an influenza epidemic that caused cancellation in October 1957, general conference has

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52. Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 407.

53. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: LDS Bookseller's Depot, 1854-86), 25:115, hereafter JD.

54. Shipps, *Mormonism*, 114.

55. Godfrey, "150 Years of General Conference," 71.

56. Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 539.

persevered as an important institutional and cultural custom on a twice yearly basis.

As late as 1938 the church's twenty-six general authorities still sat on padded red benches in the Tabernacle instead of the familiar red arm chairs of today, and every one of them spoke at conference,[57] often with no advance preparation. Before the advent of electronic broadcasting imposed strict time limits on speakers, church leaders commonly spoke at length with sessions continuing until the last speaker had spoken his peace. Barbara Higdon describes the process that characterized the oratorical efforts of general conference speakers in the early years and which carried on into the twentieth century:

> Rejecting both the Puritan tradition of painstakingly studied sermons delivered either in a form fixed by memorization or from detailed notes and the widely accepted Protestant practice of presenting homilies carefully prepared beforehand but not rigidly planned in final form, the Mormons adhered to the tradition of George Whitefield and his descendants who spoke without forethought, giving the spirit of God credit for their fluency. The emphasis on general intellectual cultivation, however, suggests that the Mormons did not conceive of the preacher's mind as a tabula rasa on which the Holy Ghost inscribed a sermon. Rather, the Doctrine and Covenants clearly stated that a man should help himself through wide study. The Spirit would then assist him in selecting the pieces of knowledge to be used in a given address. In this procedure the prophetic statements provided a means by which the speaker could make use of his subconscious resources.[58]

Coverage expanded in 1924 when conferences were first broadcast over radio with even greater reach attained in 1949 when conference sessions began to be televised. Also in 1924 a microphone was first used to amplify speakers' voices for the benefit of the audience. In 1947 President George Albert Smith told the conference that he, a few weeks previously, had delivered a sermon by short wave radio to a gathering of 203 LDS servicemen in Japan and predicted that "it will not be long until, from this pulpit and other places that will be provided, the servants of the Lord will be able to deliver messages to isolated groups who are so far away they cannot be reached. In that way and other ways, the gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord ... will be heard in all parts of the world, and many of you who are here will live to see that day."[59] The accuracy of this prediction is evident in the following information on current general conference coverage.

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57. Heidi S. Swinton, *In the Company of Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.), x.

58. Higdon, "The Role of Preaching in the Early Latter Day Saint Church," 26.

59. *Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 1946* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1946), 6; hereafter CR.

The April 1959 conference saw the last public accounting of annual church expenditures. The first color telecast transpired in 1967, and conference was first heard live in Europe in 1965 when Elder Ezra Taft Benson arranged for a radio station in Frankfort to carry the proceedings.[60] In 1962 conferences were simultaneously translated into several languages other than English, and by 1996 conference was available in thirty-four languages. In 1977 general conference was reduced from three to two days in length with sessions on Saturday and Sunday only. Today conference is transmitted, via satellite, to more than 1,200 cable systems and to more than 3,000 church buildings where listeners in virtually any part of the country and many offshore locations can watch the Salt Lake City-based sessions as they transpire.

The physical setting for general conference for over a century has, of course, been the familiar Mormon Tabernacle with its famous choir and organ on Temple Square in the heart of Salt Lake City. However, in the April 1996 conference President Gordon B. Hinckley announced that a much larger building was in the planning stages which would be used for conference and for other church and selected community events. In addition to the 6,000 conference attendees seated in the Tabernacle, other buildings on the square receive conference via television while the audio portion is piped throughout the grounds for the benefit of members unable to sit inside. LDS church-owned, and NBC affiliate, KSL-TV in Salt Lake City broadcasts general conference live. General authorities are seated on the stand in order of rank with the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles occupying the top tier, the two quorums of Seventy in the middle, and the Presiding Bishopric close to the main floor. Members of the presidencies of the auxiliary organizations presided over by women are also seated on the stand on a level with the Presiding Bishopric, while various guests such as government officials and other dignitaries are provided reserved seating in the first few rows of the Tabernacle. As Jan Shipps has observed, the overall effect is remarkable:

> Gathered there quite literally in the center of the Mormon world, Latter-day Saints participate in a direct and primary experience of community which, while corporate, is in a way often as powerful, meaningful, and profound as the spiritual experiences sometimes accompanying the performance of the secret sacred temple rites, which center on individuals in the context of family and not on the congregation.[61]

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60. Sheri L. Dew, *Ezra Taft Benson: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1987), 380.

61. Shipps, *Mormonism*, 136.

Thus the unifying, socializing, and instructional functions of general conference continue to be as important as ever in the Mormon culture.

Following general conference, further reach is accomplished when addresses are published in the official monthly magazine, the *Ensign*, and the official *Conference Reports* which are sent to all stake presidents and bishops. Brief reports are also published in the weekly *Church News* which is sent to thousands of subscribers worldwide. Finally, video tapes of conference are sent to those areas of the world not yet equipped to receive satellite transmissions, thereby allowing virtually any Latter-day Saint to participate in the conference experience and to feel some degree of connection with the leadership of the church.

After a halting, struggling, but determined start, general conference has now attained a worldwide reach with hundreds of thousands of listeners/viewers. With such impressive numbers available, general conference is more than ever the premier forum through which Mormon prophets and other general officers share their most profound thoughts with the flock and, theoretically, the world at large. Scholars who do not recognize the importance of this process to the maintenance and progress of Mormonism and fail to mine the proceedings for significant insights are missing a grand opportunity to comprehend more fully the essence of Mormonism.

Significance of General Conference Addresses

Scholars are united in their assessment of general conference as the most significant source of authoritative Mormon leader rhetoric since the organization of the LDS church. For example, Jan Shipps offers this perceptive view of conference:

> While conference addresses are not put forth as revelation, an informal "ex Cathedra" infallibility inheres in them, almost as if by being delivered in the presence of the church in conference assembled, these addresses are somehow distillations of the concentrated power of revelation and inspiration present at that time and in that place. Without being accorded status as Mormon doctrine, the words said in conference carry more weight and impact than words said elsewhere. When such words are uttered by the church president—who as presiding officer over the church has the right to divine inspiration in matters concerning its members, and who as its "prophet, seer and revelator" may receive revelation for the whole of the church—Latter-day Saints regard those words, quite simply and without question, as true.[62]

62. Ibid., 137, 138.

The practical efficacy of this insight is confirmed by a Mormon historian who is convinced that "It was through the instrumentality of conference that church leaders were able to effect the central planning and direction of the manifold temporal and spiritual interests of their followers."[63] Sociologists Gary and Gordon Shepherd lend credence to both claims by concluding, following their exhaustive quantitative analysis of general conference topics, that

> [b]ecause of Mormons' paramount belief in modern revelation, we conclude that leader rhetoric has played a particularly meaningful part in the institutional history of the Mormon Church. It is also our opinion that the published proceedings of the general conferences, which have been regularly convened since 1830, are the documentary source that provides the most comprehensive and meaningful record of Mormon rhetoric over the entire course of Mormon history.[64]

Furthermore, Charles Tate, commenting on the value of conference addresses in their subsequent published form, asserts: "Those publications are significant resources for the study of the theology, progress, and development of the Church."[65] For another scholar, "General conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints continues today as a vital doctrinal and social institution. It touches the lives of hundreds of thousands of Latter-day Saints worldwide."[66]

And how do LDS presidents themselves approach or perceive general conference? In the October 1870 conference Brigham Young suggested some topics he would like to hear the general authorities address:

> As our brethren of the Twelve will address us during the Conference, I feel like giving them a few texts to preach upon if they choose to do so. I should have no objection to hear them discourse upon union of action, or concentration of faith and action, or, as some call it, co-operation. That is one item. I would also like to hear them give instructions with regard to our traditions; instruction on this subject is necessary all the time. We must overcome them and adopt the rules laid down in revelation for the guidance of man's life here on the earth.[67]

From Young's prescriptive direction for conference topics, confirming Higdon's description of early Latter-day Saint preaching style, we move to the thoughts of President David O. McKay in the 1950s who listed six

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63. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 32.

64. Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, 3.

65. Charles D. Tate, Jr., "Conference Reports," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:305.

66. Burnett, "General Conference," 308.

67. JD 13:262.

specific purposes for holding general conferences:

> Among the purposes of these general conferences are, in summary, as follows: (1) To inform the membership of general conditions—whether the Church is progressing or retro-gressing, economically, ecclesiastically, or spiritually. (2) To commend true merit. (3) To express gratitude for divine guidance. (4) To give instruction "in principles, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel." (5) To proclaim the restoration, with divine authority to administer in all the ordinances of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to declare, quoting the Apostle Peter, that "there is none other name given among men" than Jesus Christ, "whereby we must be saved." (Acts 4:12) (6) To admonish and inspire to continue to greater activity.[68]

Recently, President Gordon B. Hinckley commented on conference in a similar fashion:

> My brethren and sisters, it is wonderful that we have the opportunity of meeting together each six months in these great world conferences. We gather from over the earth to bear our testimonies one to another, to hear instruction, to mingle as brethren and sisters. We partake of that sociality which is so pleasant and so important a part of the culture of this great organization.
>
> For more than a century these gatherings have originated in this historic Tabernacle. From this pulpit has gone forth the word of the Lord. Through the years the speakers have come on the stage and then moved on. The personalities are different. But the spirit is the same. It is that spirit referred to when the Lord said, "He that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another, and both are edified and rejoice together" (D&C 50:22).[69]

Surely much may be learned about Mormonism as these various functions are revealed by LDS prophets and their associates every six months.

General conference oratory is the paramount source of authoritative and continuously available Mormon leader rhetoric and any scholar researching almost any aspect of Mormonism ought to be familiar with this primary corpus of Mormon thought.[70] For example, even in my brief chron-

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68. CR, 1954.

69. CR, Oct. 1995.

70. Although there is some variation in the historical accounts, it appears that the proceedings of LDS general conferences were first published in self-contained booklet form in April 1880, the church's jubilee year, and then again in October 1897. Since 1897 the conference reports have been consistently published in booklet form. In addition to the booklets called *Conference Reports*, conference addresses were published, beginning in 1942, in the official monthly LDS magazine, the *Improvement Era*. Since replacing the *Improvement Era* in 1971, the *Ensign* magazine has devoted two issues each year to publishing these addresses. In addition, official *Conference Reports* booklets are mailed to stake presidents and bishops/branch presidents and others every six months. The magazines and *Conference Reports* are

icling of general conference here, something should have been learned about the following topics: early trials of the infant church, licensing practices, who preached the first LDS sermon, miraculous happenings, the growth and size of the church, the development of the concept of general conference, the judicial/disciplinary function of general conference, internal conflicts, early practices and protocols, speakers, topics and oratorical styles, revelations and doctrinal development, seniority and rank protocols, organizational development, use of mass media, early financial endeavors, political interests of church leaders, humanitarian relief efforts, external factors influencing the church, etc. With this in mind, I believe that the student of Mormonism lacking familiarity with general conference history and the addresses themselves cannot expect to be seen as a credible reporter of things Mormon no matter which facet of Mormonism he or she chooses to examine.

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sometimes found for sale in church owned bookstores and thrift stores, as well as in private bookstores specializing in old LDS books. Some LDS institute of religion libraries also have collections of these valuable resources. All of the general conference addresses are now available on compact disks in the *1995 LDS Collector's Library* distributed by Infobases, Inc. For the addresses of Joseph Smith, see *History of the Church*, and for Brigham Young's conference addresses, see *Journal of Discourses*. Finally, a valuable "bridging the gap" endeavor covering some years in the 1880s and 1890s is Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses* (N.p.: B.H.S. Publishing), 5+ vols. The published accuracy of some of the earlier addresses is treated elsewhere, but see, for example, Dean C. Jessee, "Priceless Words and Fallible Memories: Joseph Smith as Seen in the Effort to Preserve His Discourses," *Brigham Young University Studies* 31 (Spring 1991): 19-40, for an excellent treatment of the situation relative to the accuracy of Joseph Smith's addresses.

Woodwork

Ken Raines

He squints and turns the beam around,
swapping it end for end. He runs
his eye down the length of the crown
and sees an overall design
emerge from the splintered wood.
Then, his fingers trace the grain,
lingering. He bows and says a word,
before he applies the adze and plane
to smooth the roughest edges down.
The heat and labor raise great beads
of sweat that drop with little sounds
to the smoothed surface. He breathes
with even efforts. Wood and water
and even breath are precious goods
among these arid hills. And later,
beneath a desert moon, he'll read,
and thoughts will gather like the curls
of shavings heaped around his sandals.

FICTION

When the Brightness Seems Most Distant

Todd Robert Petersen

"IT MIGHT NOT BE A PROBLEM," she said to her husband before rolling onto her stomach with a pillow clutched in her arms. She was tired from crying and wished sleep would overcome her. Though her husband was awake, he said nothing. He didn't know what to say, so he climbed his shoulders up onto his pillow and tried to stare through the slats of the venetian blinds out into the forest surrounding their home. He couldn't see much, the gap was too narrow and outside it was still too dark.

"Maybe it's only in me," she said again. "It can happen that way. Maybe it's just Emmett. Maybe it didn't get this far." She tried to say more, but couldn't. They had been talking about it all night, and all their energy had drained out of them in a steady stream. All they could do was lie on their bed as the indirect blue morning crept toward them. They hoped that in those few dark hours, the letter her ex-mother-in-law had sent from Arizona would shrivel up on itself and disappear. They thought they would wake up and find it gone. But when the light grew strong enough, they saw that it was still there, unfolded on the dresser where they had left it.

An hour earlier, just after the coldest stretch of night, starlings and cowbirds rose and began calling to one another. The man and his wife had been listening for some kind of signal that the night would be over, that they could get on with their lives, thinking it could come in something as simple as bird calls. As they lay there, waiting for the morning, they both knew that her son, Jeremiah, would rise soon, clomp down the wood stairs by himself, and take the dog out to play in the pines which ran up the hill and away from the house.

"He might not have to worry about anything," she said, following the curve of her legs where they bent in and met below her belly. She rested her hands there, feeling the slight indentations where her body had torn itself to make room for her son. When her husband said noth-

ing, she ran her forefinger under the edge of her pajamas and the elastic band of her garments and let it glide across the thin, crescent-shaped scar woven like a wire into her body.

The man rolled over, looked at his wife for a moment in the strange light, then rolled back and breathed out heavily. *She would have to go through some denial,* he thought, but ignored the fact that he would have to go through something very much like it as well. He heard his wife's breathing and turned to watch her chest rise and fall. As he did, she was watching him watch her.

"You never asked much about Emmett," she said after a time.

The man lay still for a while before answering. "I never figured it was my business," he said.

"It's okay if you want to know," she said.

In the next room, her son's feet slapped the floor and they both heard movement in his room. The dresser drawers slid open and shut, there were more steps, and the sound of a zipper. His door opened and they heard him walk through the hall, past their room and down the stairs.

"Is it okay if he goes out?" the man asked.

"I don't care. It's fine," she said, wondering why he wasn't worried yesterday.

They heard the dog's loose chain and tags rattle downstairs, and, after that, the boy called to him. Then the back door slid open and they heard the dog's toenails clicking on the wood parquet.

The woman looked over at her husband; his hands were laced behind his neck and he stared at the ceiling. She noticed that it was light enough outside for bars of shadow from the blinds to have appeared across their comforter. She tried not to think about her son's father, Emmett, and that first marriage. She thought it was love. But ever since she'd always been confused about that. Downstairs, her son slid the door shut behind him.

He whistled to the dog through his fingers, then said, "Come on, girl. Come on." As the woman listened to them play, she wondered why Jeremiah never asked much about his father. He was little when she left Emmett and came north, and she expected him to want to know something, but he never showed any interest. She wondered how much he remembered. Outside, a raven croaked, distracting her, and she watched its shadow fly almost imperceptibly across her corner of the bed and disappear.

"I want Emmett to know that we know," she said after a moment. She paused and breathed slowly so she wouldn't start to cry again. "I want him to know the worst of it."

The man folded his arms across his chest and breathed through his

nose. When he was ready, he said, "I didn't marry you for this." He rolled his head over and watched to see what she would do. She had nothing to say back to him. She wanted to tell him that he didn't have to stay if he didn't want to, that he was free to go anytime he felt like it, but she couldn't.

After a while the clock radio came on. The man switched it off and lay back on his pillow a minute before getting up. He crossed the room and stood at the window with his fingers separating the slats in the blinds. Through them he could see Jeremiah and the dog running together up the hill and through the sparse pines. The Uintahs stood clear above the dark line of trees. Snow still lay brightly on them this late in a very dry year, and the creeks that laced the canyons together had not yet begun to swell with spring melt. The man wondered if they would this year. He turned back to his wife; she was pulling her hair through a rubber band she had stretched around her fingers.

"He may not get sick," she said, returning her hands to her lap. "There's a chance that I don't even have it."

The man rolled his feet on the floor and drew up the blinds by the thin bundle of cords. He felt like saying something, but he didn't know what it would be. There was no lesson in the manuals about this color of tragedy: one that comes when you're trying your best. He ran his hands along the molding of the window sill and sash. It was stripped but unpainted. This was a project they were going to attend to that spring. They had all sorts of projects planned to restore this old farm house, but the man wondered now if he would ever get to painting this window or if it even mattered anymore in a world this different.

He turned back to her because he knew she was watching him.

She knew he had something else to say.

"This doesn't have to be easy on you," she said. "That's not always the way it works."

The man's eyes flared, and he turned quickly to face her. "And if you test positive?" he said. "Then it's me who buries you, not him. And who explains that to Jeremiah?" the man said, pulling back the best he could. He tried, but there was too much pent up inside. "Emmett does whatever the hell he feels like and I stay here to clean up after his messes. *I* go to work every day. *I* make sure there's enough money," he said, jabbing his finger towards himself. "*I* pay the bills and coach baseball teams and pray that I'll have the courage not to drive down to Phoenix and smash Emmett's head against the pavement. I ... I—" Then as quickly as his anger came, it fell away.

"Jeremiah and I are Emmett's messes?" she asked.

The man looked over at her and was about to answer but he didn't. The woman noticed how small her husband seemed against the window

frame when he was lit from the side and cut into sections by the panes. He opened his mouth to speak and after a few seconds said, "I take care of you and Jeremiah, not him, and he just—." The man's face trembled for a moment then froze. He tried to look his wife in the eye, but his gaze broke. He turned back toward the window and said, "The fact that you were ever married to him makes me ask a lot of questions I don't want to ask."

The woman's chest burned. She wanted to say something to fix that, but when she looked over at him a second time and found his lips razor thin and his eyes glancing side to side like he didn't know where to let them fall, she stayed quiet and drew her legs up into the bedclothes and waited, which had to be enough.

Clouds passed by the top edge of the window one at a time, and the ridge line behind their house took on a glow along the rim as the sun climbed higher behind it, the trees standing out against the sky one by one. From a distance up the hill the dog barked twice, and another raven gurgled and croaked somewhere on the cracked limb of a pine. Soon a clear light spilled over the ridge itself and flooded straight into the window. The man couldn't see through any longer, but stayed facing it to feel the heat the glass threw against his face.

He will have to go through something, his wife thought, something like this. She picked up her Book of Mormon, thought of opening it, but set it back down. She rose and crossed around the bed to where he was standing and stood behind him with her hands on his back. Her husband's muscles were tight and unforgiving.

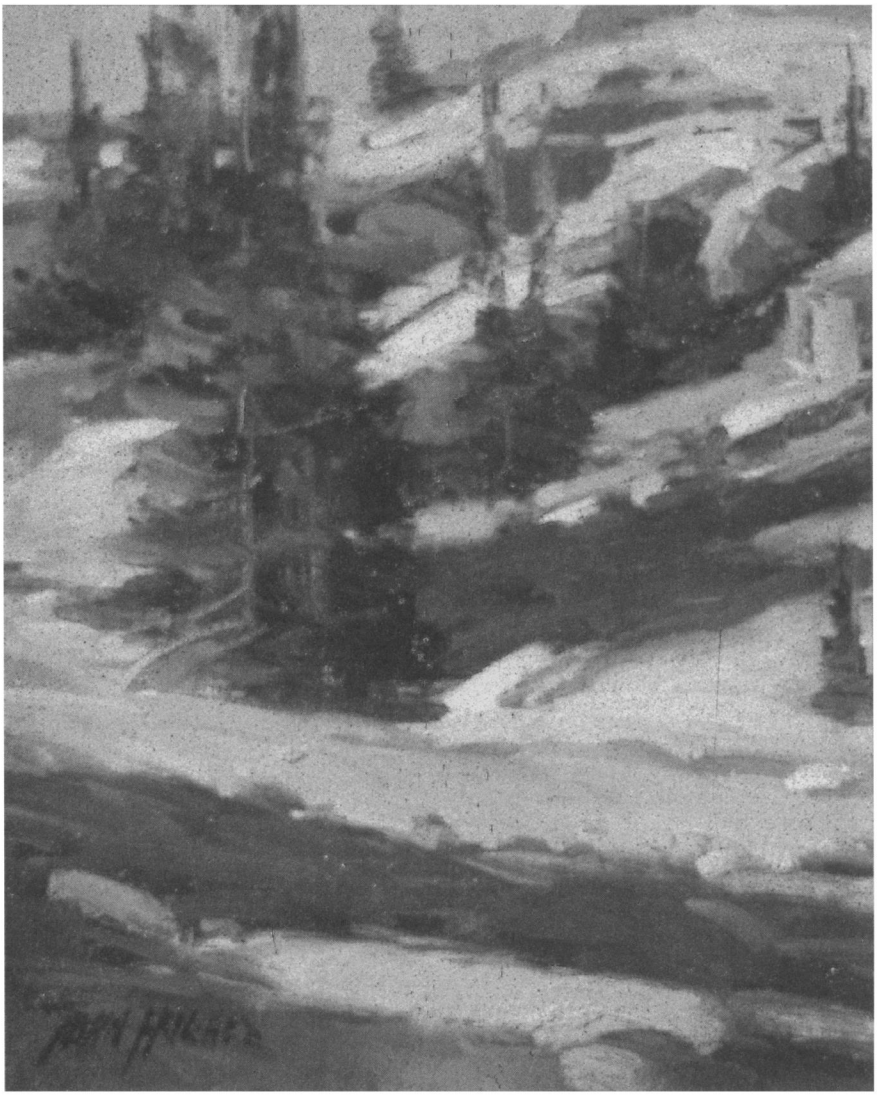
As their eyes adjusted to the brightness, they saw Jeremiah walking down the hill swinging a stick in his hands. He seemed far away in that light, like a vision, like he was apart from everything real. When the dog caught up to Jeremiah, she nipped at the stick then stopped quickly and barked. Jeremiah stopped, looked at the dog, and shook his stick toward the animal just to tease her. After a second he drew the stick back over his head and threw it in a long arc onto the lawn. The dog crouched and sprang after it.

The man stepped away from the window and his wife.

"Are you all right?" the woman asked.

"I'm fine," the man said as he crossed the spot where the window grid was thrown into the shadows on the floor. "I just don't know what to do anymore," he said.

"I don't either," she answered.



On the Death by Cancer of Someone Too Young

for Jeffrey Montague

Emma Lou Thayne

Your wondering is over.
A radiance has taken you.
Now part of the council of all beings
You are exuberant as the earth in the cosmos
Alive, astonishing, beyond maps
And places to fall.

Nothing is now too late
Or to be demolished.
No invaders foreign and calloused by presumption
Can have their way.
Your awakening is unbounded
Pure surprise.
The Light
Over, around, suffuses your coming

As your passing wrenches us all
Through the flailings of our endangered species
To where sleep and beyond
Beckon from birth
And feather the heaviest death
With luminous fingers
To draw us
Weeping with the lightness of being
Home.

Like the Rose

For Baldomero and Adeena

Hugo N. Olaiz

MY REAL NAME IS CARLOS, but ever since I turned eight everyone calls me Charlie. That's the name I received from Allen and Johnson, the first two Mormons who ever set foot in Paso Seco. Allen and Johnson had already knocked on every door in town when they finally got to ours. You see, we live in the last house on the last street, so by the time they found us they were about to leave town for good.

At that time everyone in Paso Seco was Católico Apostólico y Romano, but Abuelita used to say that we were not. It had all started about ten years before, when Mother got pregnant and the man that got her pregnant left town. Padre Alfonso said very bad things about Abuelita and Mother during mass, and after that Abuelita swore she would never set foot in the Catholic church again. Then when Abuelita started to have strange dreams and visions, most of the people in town thought she had gone crazy, and Padre Alfonso said it was Castigo del Cielo.

When Mother let the Mormon missionaries in, the whole neighborhood was outraged. Padre Alfonso said we were going to go straight to hell. But from the first moment Abuelita saw the elders, she called them Santos Varones. What I remember is that they gave me a Hershey bar, and that was pretty neat because I had never had a Hershey bar before. Allen and Johnson came to our house every day, taught us the gospel, and then they asked us if we wanted to be baptized. I told Mother I wanted to be baptized because I had never been baptized before and also because the elders were good people. So on a Sunday very early we all went down to the river. Allen baptized Mother and Johnson baptized me. I remember I was dressed all in white and even had white socks on. The water was cold, so after the baptisms we all returned home, Abuelita

made some hot chocolate, and the elders brought a heavy cake they called *brownies*. Allen wanted to know how to say *brownies* in Spanish, and we told him we didn't know because we had never seen this type of cake before. The elders taught Mother how to make the cake, and we always called it *brownies* just like the elders did.

A few days after our baptism, Allen and Johnson came by with the news that they had rented a house where they could live and hold meetings. Mother asked them what house it was, and the elders replied it was La Casa de las Locas. Abuelita started to laugh and told the elders that men used to go to that house to dance and drink with women who lived there, and that's why they called it La Casa de las Locas. The elders were embarrassed when they heard the story, but they had already cut the deal, so after that everyone in town knew the Mormons were having meetings in La Casa de las Locas.

Family Home Evenings were what I enjoyed the most. They were on Mondays and everyone was there—that is, the missionaries, Mother, and me. We sang a hymn, had a prayer and a short lesson, and then cooked something. I guess in the old times the kitchen must have been an important part of La Casa de las Locas, because it was big and very comfortable. The elders taught us how to bake cinnamon rolls, and banana bread, and chocolate chip cookies, and apple pies. We also learned how to make French toast and lemon bars.

Four weeks after we started to meet in La Casa de Las Locas, President Shumway and his wife came to Paso Seco for the first time. Mother told me he was boss of all the missionaries in the country. I shook hands with President Shumway just as I used to do with the elders, but he stopped after the first part of the handshake because he didn't know how to continue. He had been serious until that moment, but when he saw the handshake the elders had taught me, he and the others started to laugh, and then I realized there are many ways to shake hands.

People had all kinds of opinions about the elders, swapping many stories that I couldn't believe. Marisa the seamstress was Mother's best friend. She had heard that the Mormons had come to town to kidnap young girls and take them to the United States, so she was really scared and didn't want anything to do with the elders. But then one day Marisa passed by La Casa right when we were making pancakes. The kitchen window was open, and later she said that when she smelled those pancakes she realized that maybe the Mormons weren't all so bad, after all. The batter for the pancakes was easy to make and we could buy margarine or jam, but the maple syrup was a different story. Most of the time we used honey instead, and then one day a new elder came with a bottle of maple flavoring. It was so big that we used it for years and it's still half full.

We knew Allen would soon go back to the United States, but still we were very sorry when he left. Before going he gave us a photo album with his picture on the first page. Elder Johnson came back from the capital with Elder Strong. Strong used to say his name was Elder *Fuerte* because *fuerte* means strong. The elders worked very hard in Paso Seco, trying to teach the people in town, but they couldn't find anyone else who wanted to be baptized.

There were two or three young girls who came to church often, and one of them asked me to find out if Elder Strong had a girlfriend. When I asked him, his face turned red. He told me he did not, but that was a secret between the two of us. He told me that whenever a girl asked me if he had a girlfriend, I had to tell her that he had a very beautiful girlfriend in the United States, and that they were going to get married very soon. I did that not only for Elder Strong, but also for all the elders who came after him. I even started to invent names and descriptions for these American girls I had never seen. The elders loved to hear my descriptions, and they even helped me to come up with more English names. They always told me that, in this case, lying was all right.

After six months the elders started to call the town *Pozo* Seco instead of Paso Seco, and Elder Cluff once said that this town was drier than a Mollie Mormon kiss. I didn't know what a Mollie Mormon was, but after that I told every new missionary that Paso Seco was actually a dry pit, even drier than a Mollie Mormon kiss, and they all laughed their heads off. The elders never asked Abuelita to get baptized, because no one knew for sure if she was crazy or not. One Saturday very early in the morning she got sick. Mother was getting ready to go to the capital, and I was left in charge. I told Abuelita I was going to make a breakfast, something called *French toast,* that she had never had before. When she saw the breakfast, she started to laugh and said that was not French toast but *torrejas,* and that she had eaten them since she was a little girl. Abuelita eventually got better and made *torrejas* for me many times, but when I was with the elders I still called it French toast. And after this episode I was never sure if the elders were teaching us things we had never known or things we had just forgotten.

President Shumway had told Mother he couldn't afford to keep the same two elders for a long time, so every month a new one would come and another would go, and every elder left a picture. I was in charge of adding the new pictures to the album. Two years passed and Mother discovered I was cramming more and more photos right before the last page of the album. I told her I thought that when we finished the album it would be the end of the world. Mother thought that was very funny and told the elders. At the next Family Home Evening Elder Sanders taught a lesson on the Second Coming and ever since then they've called me *Char-*

lie el Apocalíptico. That evening Elder Pennock baked cinnamon rolls, but the oven was too hot and when we took the first batch out they were all burned. Elder Sanders said that it had been an object lesson, because those rolls were one of the signs of the Second Coming.

One day Sanders and Pennock came in plain clothes which was quite strange, but they explained to us that with the revolution and everything President Shumway had told them to dress like that. For several days they spent most of the time in La Casa, writing letters and listening to the radio. I visited them every day, ran errands, and even bought them the newspaper; this was also unusual because the elders had a rule that said they weren't supposed to read the news, but I guess in those days there were many rules they were allowed to break.

That Monday we had a special Family Home Evening and we made s'mores. To make s'mores was very difficult because we had to make the marshmallows ourselves, and then wait for the elders to receive a package from the United States with the Hershey bars and the Graham crackers. And sometimes the package would come with a hole in it, or the elder would be transferred before the package arrived, so we had to wait for another elder to receive another package. But then it was neat because we would go outside to make a fire, bend a few of the elders' hangers, and use them to toast the marshmallows. Elder Cluff loved to bend those hangers. He used to say that the hangers made in the country were only good to make s'mores. And he was probably right, because before leaving for the United States he gave us all his American hangers, and we never had to buy hangers again.

Three days after the s'mores, Sanders and Pennock told us that they would have to leave town and that the church was going to be closed. Mother took me with her to the capital to see President Shumway, to tell him he couldn't close the church in Paso Seco. President Shumway listened carefully. Then he explained he was closing the church not only in Paso Seco, but in the whole country before leaving for the United States. He told Mother that, in order to keep the church running, men were necessary—men like Brother Wilson, who worked at the American Embassy, or like Brother Riveros, who had been a professor before emigrating to the United States. He told her that the gospel was for everyone, but that the church had to be lead by men.

Since the revolution many things have happened in our country, and many things have changed. The worst part is the rationing because we receive only a little flour and a little sugar, and the sugar we receive is usually brown. Last time we got flour Mother made some waffles. We had no honey, but Mother had kept some jam hidden and we always have the maple flavoring. That flavoring is about the only thing we have left.

Sometimes Mother and I go to the bookcase and open the album. We take a look at the pictures and we laugh as we recall old stories. I wanted to order the pictures alphabetically, so that we could easily find any elder in the album, but Mother told me that it was unnecessary, because she knows all the names by heart. So we left the pictures in the same order, with Allen at the beginning and Pennock at the end. It is funny to have them like that because that album is the history of the church in Paso Seco.

La Casa de las Locas is now a place to dance. On weekends they play very loud music, dance until three or four in the morning, and sometimes finish the dance with a big shoot-out. The neighbors say they liked it better when the Mormons lived there. Marisa told me she wishes she'd been kidnapped by the elders and taken to the United States rather than staying in this hell of loud music and big guns.

Now I am twelve, and next year I will be drafted into the Ejército Popular Revolucionario. Mother says that she won't allow it, that if the government maintains the draft we'll emigrate to the United States. The elders used to say that at the Second Coming all the Mormons will go to Utah, and that they won't need passports or visas to get there. But Sanders told me once that Zion is in all the places where people are trying to be good. If Sanders was right, then we don't need to go to Utah. We can have Zion here in Paso Seco and see the desert blossom like the rose. Some day they might even call off the rationing so that we can make upside-down cakes, and lemon pies, and cookies, and waffles, and banana bread. That would be really neat. Because the aroma of the banana bread is great. And I remember those chocolate chip cookies and those warm brownies. They smelled so good. And those cinnamon rolls. They had an aroma that I don't think I'll ever forget.

Martyrs

Timothy Liu

A brigade of ants marching over torsos
cast in bronze. The mouths that cannot speak

took hours to make. Beauty was not required.
Only hands that spoke two languages, the cross

not loved as symbol but as wood and nail—
that iron song as their bodies flailed.

Learn from the Stories, Pity the Prejudice

Mormons in Transition. By Leslie Reynolds (Salt Lake City: Gratitude Press, 1996).

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., Professor of Western American History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

WHEN I SAW THE TITLE *MORMONS IN Transition,* I thought perhaps *Dialogue* had given me the book because the author intended a word-play on my *Mormonism in Transition.* I was quite mistaken. Leslie Reynolds started the research as a master's project on former Latter-day Saints who joined other churches. For this book she added other interviews, including some with marginal Mormons. She intended the "book to help former Mormons ... to heal and to help others, both Mormon and non-Mormon, gain perspective on the LDS church and their experiences with it" (4).

As I read, the thought struck me forcefully that most Latter-day Saints could learn some lessons from the personal stories. One lesson is that some members become disaffected when leaders and teachers give unnecessary offense through insisting on unorthodox doctrines or practices or punishing people for asking questions. In one of Reynolds's examples, a bishop offended a sister who sought counsel about her marital problems. The bishop appears poorly informed about Mormon doctrine and oblivious to his responsibility to provide comforting and helpful counsel. Instead of helping to heal the woman's pain, the bishop insisted that as a "second class Mormon," she ought to obey her abusive husband. In another case, a teacher told a disappointed young woman that if she were special and holy she could expect to see an angel in the room at the time of her baptism.

In addition, the stories ought to teach us to avoid obsessions with poorly defined doctrines and the expectation of perfection among members. One member left the church because of a fixation with the plurality of gods. Some became disillusioned because they came to expect omniscience and faultless lives from other church members, especially general authorities.

Nevertheless, the text reveals a number of deficiencies in Reynolds's understanding. She glosses over the differences within what she calls "traditional Christianity," by attributing to all non-Mormon Christians doctrines accepted by some Evangelicals. Many belonging to mainline Protestant churches may find the work puzzling. It most certainly does not represent the views of Catholics. She asserts, for instance, "Since God is not only a gracious God of justice, but also a God of mercy, He sent Jesus to pay the ransom for our sins, and through believing in him, we disarm the consequences of the Fall and are

promised eternal life. Other works are not required of us" (14).

I thought that many Christians did not believe the last sentence, but I also acknowledge that my understanding might be faulty. To check my knowledge, I called Jan Shipps, a Methodist and an emeritus professor of religion. She pointed out that many Baptists preach "once saved, always saved." While the concept of grace is critically important in mainline Protestantism, repentance is an ongoing process. Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Disciples, and others seek repentance through personal prayer and meditation. Among liturgical churches such as Episcopalians and Lutherans, prayer and meditation are also important, but some turn to their pastors to confess their sins. The Catholic church expects members to confess to a priest, who mediates between humans and God, and to forsake the sin. The priest may also direct the member to say Hail Marys or to perform other actions that are considered works.

Most serious, in my view, is the faulty understanding Reynolds has of the Mormon doctrines of the Fall, sin, the Atonement, salvation, and grace. In an absolutely mindboggling assertion, she writes: "In my experience, the LDS church emphasizes neither sin nor grace, in general" (14).

As believing Mormons know, in Latter-day Saint theology baptism constitutes a covenant between faithful, penitent candidates and God. In that covenant the candidates accept Christ's atonement to cleanse all their sins. In his grace God covenants to wash away their previous sins through Christ's atonement and to forgive sins committed after baptism, provided the members repent of them. In Mormon theology no one except Jesus Christ has the power to cleanse us of any sin. Amasa Lyman lost his church membership and his position in the Twelve in part because he preached that humans could atone for their own sins. Moreover, as a symbol of the covenant with God, of God's pace, and of Christ's atonement, each Sunday faithful Latter-day Saints take the emblems of his body and blood. In fact, on this subject Mormon doctrine is quite close to that of mainline Protestant and Catholic churches.

Latter-day Saints will also find extremely offensive her tendency to reserve the term "Christian" for those believers in Christ whom she calls "traditional historical, or evangelical Christians" (10). Though she acknowledges that "Mormons ... may be, in fact, Mormon Christians" (10), she seems uncomfortable considering them as such, since she frequently distinguishes between "Christians" and "Mormons."

Moreover, she uses Jan Shipps's work when it suits her purposes but ignores it when it does not fit her Evangelical preconceptions. Reynolds writes that she is "still emotionally offended by references to Mormonism as a cult," but she insists that "definitionally ... it is one" (97). Shipps, on the other hand, argues that Mormonism is a new religious tradition which bears the same relationship to traditional Christianity that Christianity did to Judaism.

To characterize Mormonism, Reynolds adopts Ruth A. Tucker's definition of a cult as "a religious group that has a 'prophet'-founder called of god to give a special message not found in the Bible itself, often apocalyptic in nature and often set forth in 'in-

spired' writings. In deference to this charismatic figure or these 'inspired' writings, the style of leadership is authoritarian and there is frequently an exclusivistic outlook, supported by a legalistic lifestyle and persecution mentality" (5). By this definition, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are all cults, since each was led by charismatic and authoritarian prophets who added inspired writings to the contemporary "Bible."

Most problematic, such a definition fails to consider changes over time within a religious tradition. Following Shipps's suggestion, I would argue that these traditions may have begun as cults. After gaining sufficient adherents to achieve a degree of stability and acceptance, however, they became new religious traditions.

Since Mormonism is one of the largest religions in the United States, and since it has achieved a large number of adherents throughout the world, it is properly called a Christian church. If Mormons did not believe in the atonement of Jesus Christ, they might be called a new religion, but since they accept Christ as their savior, they are a church within Christianity. Only the ignorant or prejudiced would call Mormonism a cult.

In sum, Mormons can learn a great deal from the stories told by people and recorded in this book. Nevertheless perceptive Latter-day Saint and other Christian readers will find themselves disappointed because the author's understanding of Mormonism is deficient and her characterization of the church reveals her prejudice.

A Tragic Story of Loss

San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community. By Edward Leo Lyman (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996).

Reviewed by Maria S. Ellsworth, researcher and writer, Logan, Utah.

THIS AWARD-WINNING BOOK BY Professor Leo Lyman of Victor Valley College is the product of many years of research and writing. He takes the reader through diaries, letters, records kept by church clerks, newspaper accounts from California and Utah in describing all that happened in the San Bernardino Valley before and after the San Bernardino colony was established by Brigham Young in the fall of 1851 and was then recalled by him in 1857.

This impressive book, with maps and photographs, and dramatic narrative, will interest all who enjoy detailed history of the period when colonizing the Mormon territory took place.

Lyman describes the history of the region before the American Period: the native people, the Spanish Fathers who converted them to Christianity, the Spanish ranchers, the early trappers and explorers, followed by westering Americans. Into this mix was added the very different group of Latter-day Saints coming from Utah. The mix was made more

complex by the inclusion of members from the South, with their slaves, and the returned Pacific Island missionaries, with their Polynesian converts. Add more: the less faithful Saints who did not care for the cold of Utah or the restrictions placed upon them there. The stage is set for the great drama that is played out.

The LDS church held a central position in the colony with apostles Charles C. Rich and Amasa M. Lyman resident emissaries of President Brigham Young. Under them the colony was founded and managed. The author sees clearly the devastating effect on the colony of Brigham Young's initial support turned awry and eventual opposition. Divisions plagued the colony.

Chapter six is a favorite exposition of the social history of the people sacrificing and helping all to enjoy the blessings of the gospel plan. The chapter shows how the people lived, worshipped, and played together. This was not Utah, but California, where others could acquire free land and run for public office without approval of the local high council. Mormon political practice took a different position with regard to democracy. Church unity in politics was hard to establish and retain.

By the time of the "Mormon War," the stage had been set for the removal of the "true saints" from the place that President Young had come to detest. Chapter eight, "Exodus and After," gives the story of what happened as the settlers had to give up on payment for the remainder of the purchase and get only what they could to cross the desert and return to live in near poverty in the communities of southern Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. It is a tragic story of loss of property and homes, of families split up, of travel most difficult. Then the travellers learn the war was over while they were still on the march, and that with a little help from Brigham Young the colony could have survived and become prosperous enough so that those who wanted to leave could do so without so much pain and sacrifice.

The extensive bibliography attests to the fact that the text is well founded on appropriate sources. The history of Mormon San Bernardino has been written!

Fundamentalist Polygamists

Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society. By Irwin Altman and Joseph Ginat (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Reviewed by Jessie L. Embry, Assistant Director, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

IRWIN ALTMAN, OF THE UNIVERSITY of Utah, and Joseph Ginat, of the University of Haifa, one a social-environmental psychologist, the other an anthropologist, studied twenty-seven contemporary polygamous families in the American West. They start with a brief history of polygyny (the technical

name for a man having several wives) in the Mormon church and the development of fundamentalist movements which continue to practice polygamy. They then describe their sample who live in a rural and an urban community. These families are numbered, and the communities have fictional names and general characteristics "for purposes of their anonymity." The authors caution, "Many present-day fundamentalist communities are similar. ... Readers are therefore advised not to leap to conclusions about the identities of people or groups" (61).

Altman and Ginat justify their small sample by explaining they wanted to look at a few families in depth. They visited the informants in their homes, talked on the telephone, invited family members to Altman's home, and met in restaurants. From 1987 to 1992 they conducted 189 interviews or observations. Frequently both authors were present; both kept field notes. From these they compiled information about marriages, home life, schedules, and connections between family members. They compare the dyadic (two individuals such as a husband and wife) and communal relationships. While they found no "typical" families, they concluded that in most families the focus was on the link between the husband and wife or the wife and her children rather than the husbands, wives, and children working together as a unit. Their explanations increased my understanding of current polygamous families.

Each chapter highlights one aspect of contemporary polygyny. For example, there are chapters on courtship patterns, marriage ceremonies, living arrangements, and schedules. First, the authors summarize the experiences of polygynous societies throughout the world. After giving this background, they review the experiences of several families from their sample. Stories of nineteenth-century Mormons (from secondary sources) are included in the middle of this discussion to show that the contemporary families are very similar to LDS church-sanctioned marriages.

Occasionally the authors even slip and call their study group "Mormon plural families" (218). I am offended because, although the fundamentalists believe they are following Mormon traditions, technically they are not Mormons. I would prefer to see the Mormons included in the background information rather than mixed into the discussion on the contemporary families, almost implying that the current polygamous groups are Mormons.

I am also uncomfortable with the way that my work on *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987) and other studies of nineteenth-century Mormon polygamy are cited. For example, the authors include stories and statistics from my study as if I were talking about a norm and not a limited sample based on oral history interviews with children. They also depend too heavily on just a few secondary sources. They refer to my citation of Lowell "Ben" Bennion's study of Davis County and Washington County polygamists when Bennion's article is easily available.

Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society is an interesting study of a limited number of plural families in the West today. However, the families should have been studied based on their own merits. There are too many attempts to make them into Mormons.

Fall Is the Wrong Analogy

Lee Robison

this hesitant collapsing
of a canopy that will billow
in windy spring—

absurd. Death does not waft with each dithering
tumult of air and no
spirit resides

in these wavery harvesters of light. If at all,
in the heartwood that summer hurricanes
shake with no intent

less or more than stripping bare and
finally cracking to battered
stump.

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ABOUT THE ARTIST

This issue's featured artist, John Hughes, became interested in art at an earlier age, although his serious study of landscape painting began after military service and college. His education has consisted of informal study groups, high school and college classes, and national workshops with some of America's foremost painters. He has been influenced by excursions into the field with other artists, many of whom he has formed lifetime friendships with. But his primary inspiration is nature itself. He believes in working from life, doing small field studies, and bringing them back into the studio as references for larger paintings. He often backpacks into the mountains with his pochade box in the true spirit of plein air painting.

John's works hang in collections throughout the United States. He exhibits regularly at the Springville, Utah, Salon and has shown his work at the Arts for the Parks Top 100 Show (1995,1996) in Jackson, Wyoming. He recently won first place in the oil division of the Best and the Brightest show at the Scotsdale, Arizona, Artists School. Others of his galleries include Williams Fine Art in the Z.C.M.I. Center Mall, Kings Cottage Gallery (both in Salt Lake City), and Meyers Gallery in Park City, Utah. One week each summer he teaches plein air painting in the Salt Lake City area through the Kings Cottage Gallery.

PAINTINGS

Cover : "Northern View," 22"x 28" oil painting, 1995
p. *viii*: "Cottonwoods," 11"x 14" oil painting,
p. 56: "A Shroud of Mist," 22"x 28" oil painting, 1997
p. 86: "Hones Barn," 12"x 16" oil painting
p. 98: "Winter at Diamond Fork," 24"x 40" oil painting
p. 170: "Cloud Shadows," 22"x 28" oil painting
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