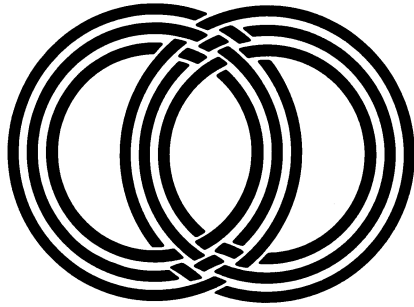


DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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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
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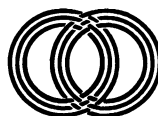
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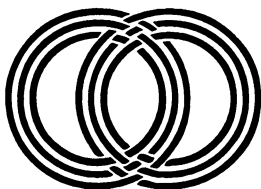
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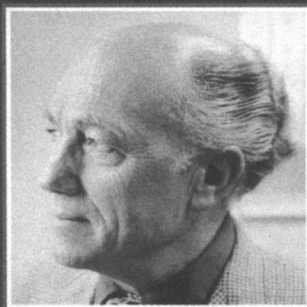
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LETTERS

A Can of Worms

You're collapsed with ho, ho, ho, guzzling a cup of joe, and while you're at it, I dare you to put a hex on sex. No Mormon theme or symbol here, just a romp with language, which brings me to my point: I extol *Dialogue* for daring to diverge in its spring 1997 issue on the "new Mormon scholarship" and would like to comment specifically on "Don't Fence Me In: A Conversation about Mormon Fiction," where the interviewees say that frolicking with language and aesthetics in fiction is paramount to frolicking with Mormon themes. (Those who think the term "new Mormon scholarship" is an oxymoron, please control that twitch. Again, no symbolism here.)

I am no English major nor am I into literary criticism, I think deconstruction is youth who vandalize. Besides, according to Michael Austin, "only faithful Mormons can criticize Mormon literature as faithful Mormons" (*Dialogue*, Winter 1995, 144), and I'm not sure what constitutes a faithful Mormon or if I'm one (temple-recommend-worthy? wait a minute, I know of people with temple recommends who lie, cheat, beat their spouses, or commit adultery). I merely seek to express some observations.

Before I begin, I also think that Darrell Spencer, mentioned in the article that all the participants were his students, is one of the finest fiction-writing instructors, having been guided, encouraged, and restructured through those first pitiful drafts of fiction at the School of Spencer. Unknowingly he opened a new world for me when others had closed down.

To begin, I notice that Sean Ziebarth (SZ) categorized Mormon fiction into three groups: the Gerald

Lund, Jack Weyland group; the Eugene England, Doug Thayer, Levi Petersen group; and the group that if Mormon nuances creep in, it's coincidental and accidental, the group the interviewees say they fit. I see this categorization as a type of taxonomic nomenclature, a labeling and pigeonholing of sorts. It's a curious human habit that we naturally pigeon-hole while at the same time resist being pigeon-holed, as evidenced in these remarks, which I recognize have different teleological bases. David Seiter (DS) said that he "would hate to be pigeon-holed on a dust jacket," and SZ said, "Calling our work 'Mormon fiction' really puts it in danger. I didn't even want to do this interview for fear of being pigeon-holed, for fear of scrutiny, even though I haven't published a book yet." In another quote, DS said, "Redemption can be rich subject matter; it's interesting stuff. I'm fighting this classification, the labeling of redemption as a necessarily 'Mormon' part of our fiction." From one perspective, these remarks indicate how grouping and labeling seem to preoccupy Mormon literature, Mormon fiction writers and readers (and Mormon literary critics), as well as fiction readers, fiction writers, and literature at large. Michael Austin seems to have matriculated Mormon literature nomenclature to an art form (*Dialogue*, Winter 1995, 131). Do we spend undue time and energy on classifying and desire or resistance at being classified? Great art is great art. For me, the simpton that I am, a rose is a rose and would smell as sweet if called by any other name, but then I'm no literary critic.

Students of Spencer learn that a brush stroke is only a brush stroke, that fiction is only fiction, words and

language on a page, and that only reality is reality. In other words, art is not reality. In other words, according to DS, fiction is not to teach people how to live, reducing it to a vehicle. Sam Cannon (SC) said, "The way I think about fiction and doctrine is dichotomized really; they are two separate things." SZ agreed, saying that he reads doctrine through fiction, not fiction through doctrine. Joanna Brooks (JB) said that she believes "words can be inspiring and inspirational without having any actual reference to real life and material evidence." On the other end of the spectrum, SZ's first two groups "are very concerned with message and meaning—significant themes and symbols," according to DS.

I see that *Dialogue's* mission statement is for the expression and examination of Mormon culture and the relevance of religion to secular life—to bring the LDS faith into dialogue with the larger world of religious thought and human experience and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on the LDS cultural heritage. In reference to these objectives, I searched high and low for traces, whispers, even a breath of LDS culture in the stories by SC and SZ, two finely wrought pieces finely fraught with aesthetics and language. But did I miss the LDS subconscious and unconscious in these stories? Don't get me wrong—there is plenty of human doctrine through fiction here, just not LDS doctrine—maybe it's Raymond Carver or John Barth doctrine instead.

I harbor no qualms about this fiction, only that this fiction is found in our finer secular publications: *Esquire*, *The New Yorker*, *Harper's*, the Pushcart Prizes, the *Best American Short Stories* (this is a subliminal and sublime compliment, SC and SZ). My question is:

does Mormon culture need a forum for literary fiction with explicit or implicit LDS themes, symbols, and signs? If we do, what more expansive, professional publication than *Dialogue* to effectuate this forum?

Or does Mormon literature seek to mesh into mainstream literary fiction as Philip Roth and Salman Rushdie have? This question then opens a can of worms—what is Mormon literature, why isn't it recognized for its literary value in the wider world, and how can it get there from here? Maybe we just need really smart, savvy advertising, marketing, a *New York Times* book reviewer who is Mormon (faithful Mormon), and Oprah Winfrey's Book Club to solve all our literary problems.

In the meantime, the cans of worms keep opening.

I'm one lone human who attempts to look at art for art's sake, the process and act of consummation without the innuendoes, and believes that great art can be appreciated, magnified, and inspirational without my being a Pablo Picasso, Igor Stravinsky, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Jewish, Muslim, or Mormon. Faithful Mormon even. (I'm thinking I should write a response to Austin's article but JB already has written a fine counter-exchange in *Dialogue's* spring 1997 issue.)

At any rate, I celebrate the fiction editor and all the editors for expanding boundaries in this issue, like raptors, birds of prey, that do not hover on land too long, spending as much as two-thirds of their lives in flight, sometimes flying over two continents. Talk about expanding.

Sarah L. Smith
Orem, Utah

Response to Brigham D. Madsen,
No. 1

In his article, "Reflections on LDS Disbelief in the Book of Mormon," in the fall 1997 issue of *Dialogue*, Mr. Brigham Madsen reveals his prejudices of the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith more clearly than his ability to marshal cogent arguments attempting to refute the historicity of the Book of Mormon.

He first takes the position that since B. H. Roberts apparently refuted the book's historicity, therefore other LDS church members of a lesser stature should follow his lead in refuting it. Indeed, we are informed that there are at least "thousands of disbelievers" even today apparently already following Roberts's example. These may be truthful statements but hardly a good reason for doubting the historicity of the Book of Mormon.

He then uses Roberts's example of the anti-Christ to support his contention that Joseph Smith was the book's author. Are not all anti-Christ's basically cut from the same cloth? What is so difficult or unusual about believing that indeed they all are "of one breed and brand"? That hardly proves Joseph Smith was its author.

He then makes the bold statement that according to "the Book of Mormon narrative New World settlement by the Nephites around 600 BCE [was] the means by which the New World was occupied by the ancestors of the American Indians." Who says so? Certainly not the Book of Mormon. Although Joseph Smith himself apparently believed that "the remnant" of the Lamanite people "are the Indians that now inhabit this country" (*The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, comp.

and ed. by Dean Jessee, p. 215), and probably many, if not most, members of the LDS church also believe this, a critical analysis of the Book of Mormon itself combined with our current understanding of modern archeological data of the ancient Americas actually lead one to conclude that the Nephite and Lamanite civilizations were quite geographically limited and probably accounted for only a very small percentage of all of the New World inhabitants at that time. Therefore, the majority of modern Native Americans are most likely descendants of other, non-Book of Mormon peoples. This conclusion certainly does not mitigate the historicity of the book. The Book of Mormon never claims to be an all-encompassing history of the entire Western Hemisphere. Nothing in the book discounts the likelihood that other civilizations were already in existence in the Americas when Lehi's small group arrived there. The fact that Joseph Smith and other prominent nineteenth-century LDS church leaders probably believed and taught that all Native Americans were descendants of the Lamanite people and that the Book of Mormon history geographically encompassed the entire Western Hemisphere, instead of a much smaller area most likely located in Mesoamerica, actually strengthens the historicity of the book: even Joseph Smith did not probably completely comprehend all that this extraordinarily complex book contains or implies, let alone author it (within sixty working days without any subsequent, substantial changes)!

In regards to Madsen's domesticated animals argument, since when did the absence of archeological evidence conclusively prove something

never existed? In fact, Madsen himself points out how Roberts was limited in his ability to scientifically evaluate the Book of Mormon because of the scarcity of archeological information in his day and that has subsequently been discovered since his death. Surely Mr. Madsen is not suggesting that we now have all the archeological evidence we will ever have and need to conclusively prove or disprove domestication of animals in ancient America.

Next, Mr. Madsen quotes a writer who has discerned a "peculiar dictation sequence" within the Book of Mormon that "points to Smith as the narrator's chief designer." Surely Mr. Madsen is aware of the results of many wordprint studies on the Book of Mormon (John Hilton and Kenneth Jenkins, "On Maximizing Author Identification by Measuring 5000 Word Texts," Provo, UT: FARMS, 1987), some by non-LDS researchers, all demonstrating with a high degree of statistical probability that there were indeed multiple authors of the Book of Mormon. If we can accept the facts concerning the actual transcription and printing process of the Book of Mormon, over a relatively short period of time, as historically accurate, then how does Mr. Madsen propose that multiple authors wrote that book in the early nineteenth century? Is it any easier to believe that Joseph Smith was so brilliant he could actually fake his fictional writing in such a way as to fool twentieth-century state-of-the-art computer stylometry?

Finally, Mr. Madsen reveals his own misgivings and prejudices about Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon most clearly by asking if there were "really gold plates and ministering angels." This seems to be the crux of the issue: he, and many others like

him, simply cannot accept the truth of spiritual manifestations, either in modern times or in times past. But this is certainly not a new thing. History has repeatedly shown that people usually rejected God's prophets and their teachings: Christ was crucified at the hands of non-believers, and many of the ancient Jewish prophets were either denounced or ignored by their own people. But then spiritual manifestations can only be recognized and understood by those receptive of the same inspiration, and such things need not be proven scientifically or, as Mr. Madsen phrases it, disproved by "some horrible historical discovery [that] would expose ... Joseph Smith" and the Book of Mormon as fraudulent.

In the end, the Book of Mormon contains a wonderful spiritual message for those who "have ears to hear and eyes to see," and which I and millions of others have accepted as true. Not only do we believe the divine origin of the Book of Mormon exactly as Joseph Smith explained, but more importantly we believe in its doctrinal message and accept it as another testament of Jesus Christ.

I also wish to respond to a second article in the same issue by Ronald V. Huggins entitled "Did the Author of 3 Nephi Know the Gospel of Matthew?" The answer is a simple "yes," God inspired the recording of both accounts. No uninspired human can state unequivocally that "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." How Joseph Smith actually translated the gold plates has never been made known. It's not difficult to accept he was inspired to use the Matthew version of the sermon in

our King James Bible to translate what Jesus actually said to the Nephites, the same way he may well have been inspired to use Isaiah's book when translating much of 2 Nephi. Members of the LDS church believe Matthew was inspired by that same spirit when he penned his work, regardless of whatever source material he used, and presumably Mr. Huggins does also. Therefore, I would agree with his last sentence with only one but significant change: "Rather, the Nephi Sermon on the Mount was derived from Matthew, after which certain minor changes were made [as inspired by the Holy Ghost]."

Ed Kingsley
Henderson, Nevada

Response to Brigham D. Madsen,
No. 2

I was angered by your recent (Fall 1997) article by Brigham D. Madsen on the "nonhistoricity" of the Book of Mormon (hereafter abbreviated B of M). I have no objection to his "reflecting" upon a "fictional B of M," but I'm appalled at what appears to be his anti-Mormon "legal brief" in complete support of (1) a fictional B of M, (2) disastrous honest intellectual inquiry by B. H. Roberts into contemporary (1909-21) archaeological support for the B of M, (3) conclusory finality against "traditional" scientific research into historical, tangible, archaeological, philological, etc., support for the B of M à la Hugh Nibley and "traditionalist" defenders of the B of M. The irony is that "recent" archaeology, philology, etc., appear to confirm not only the HISTORICITY, not the "fiction" of the B of M, but also the "fictional" basis of orthodox Christianity itself, thereby rendering a "Res-

toration" against provably apostate orthodox Christianity more likely and necessary.

Why are we bowing all of a sudden to standard anti-Mormon arguments? Who blew the bugles telling us to surrender? Madsen, Roberts? Why are we capitulating NOW to "archaic" anti-M arguments when the new documentary discoveries at Nag Hammadi and elsewhere are demonstrating Joseph Smith to have "restored" original principles of Jesus' gospel, e.g., human pre-existence as pre-mortal "children of Divine Parents" with Jesus as our pre-existent elder "Brother," and recent archaeology has revealed authentic "ancient Hebrew" inscriptions carbon-14 dated to 100 A.D.—AUTHENTIC B OF M TIMES—and certified accurate by world-renown non-Mormon Semitists? Shouldn't intellectual Mormon Christians NOW be attacking orthodox Christian and other error with renewed vigor rather than fleeing the battlefield? I see the proper *Sunstone* symposia and growing *Dialogue* publications NOT as exasperated Mormon intellectuals "fed up" with oppressive church leadership and capitulating to popular scientific and/or historical opinions, but rather as occasions of real scientific and historical expression of solid historical and scientific foundations for Mormon Christian theology and the B of M specifically.

Madsen traces the 1909 Roberts's *New Witness for God* and Roberts's "dramatic change of mind" in 1921 *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, wherein he "concluded that his hero [Smith] was less than a prophet." Then, leaving his subject, B. H. Roberts, Madsen steps boldly forward to review "seventy-five years" worth of most recent New World archaeology, reciting

ONLY the CONCLUSIONS of some non-Mormon scientists, and failing to mention at all the Bat Creek, Tennessee, authentic stone inscription written in Hebrew about 100 A.D.—a significant archaeological datum wholly in favor of B of M ancient Hebrew marine excursions from Palestine to Tennessee about 100 A.D. Madsen concludes his “modern archaeological review” with the damning: “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’” (91). Spoken like a true anti-Mormon, but completely overlooking Bat Creek and other recent archaeological evidence I shall recite hereinafter plainly disputing Madsen’s exclusively “Asiatic origins” across the Bering Strait land-bridge—the very theory lampooned as “biased” by my Cyrus H. Gordon pronouncement, *infra*. Roberts may have been “sick at heart himself because of his discoveries based on the scholarly developments of his day.” But what has THAT to do with the “scholarly developments” OF OUR OWN DAY? Madsen is apparently unwilling to do what Roberts himself reluctantly suggested in the quotation, middle of page 93, i.e.: “boldly acknowledge the difficulties ..., confess that the conclusions of the authorities are against us, but notwithstanding all that, ... 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.” What’s wrong with “awaiting” new scientific and/or historical evidence which may be forthcoming in the future, although absent at earlier times? If Roman Ca-

tholicism can “await” many centuries before receiving its scientific quietus at the hands of Copernicus et al., can we not “await” a mere seventy-five years for scientific and historical confirmation of Mormon theology and the B of M which is already proceeding apace? Writes Madsen, “Many members of the Mormon church teeter on the edge of the precipice of Book of Mormon historicity. They hang onto 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’” (95). (“Awaiting,” as we suggest herein, must necessarily delay such “sudden” conclusions based upon deficient science and incomplete historical development. Doesn’t “faith” demand as much?)

I suggest we refuse to conclude, as apparently did Madsen, that there exist presently “overwhelming scientific proofs of [the] fictional character” of the Book of Mormon. We simply research anew and again in light of the book’s many “Old World” characteristics and “truly ancient” scientific evidences. New World archaeology remains in its infancy. Even Madsen admits that archaeology itself didn’t have serious scientific foundations until 1949 with the invention of carbon-14 dating (91). Why the rush to judgment, especially a catastrophically disastrous and wholly unnecessary judgment which may turn out to be entirely incorrect in light of modern scientific developments undreamt of before now?

I recite here two recent manuscript and/or archaeological discover-

ies which lend full credence to the B of M as an ancient authentic Semitic text and/or Smith's claim to "restore" original teachings of Christ. The first is the "Bat Creek" stone inscription in ancient Hebrew apparently deposited during B of M times (about 100 A.D.) after sailing from Palestine to North America.

Archaeological Evidence Supporting "Ancient Hebrew Marine Excursions" as Depicted in the B of M. It would appear that the "real reason" the Smithsonian Institution has "failed to consider" the B of M seriously is its own pervasive bias against any notion of "floating" settlement, oceanic immigration, or mariner excursion depicted in the B of M. Their own institutional bias limits them to consideration of ONLY the Bering Strait landbridge as the sole source of pre-Columbian immigration to the New World.

In an article published by the eminent non-Mormon authority Cyrus H. Gordon, "A Hebrew Inscription Authenticated" (in J. M. Lundquist and S. D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also By Faith*, Vol. 1, Deseret Book, 1990, 69-80; see also Gordon's, "The Bat Creek Inscription," in *The Book of Descendants of Dr. Benjamin Lee and Dorothy Gordon*, Ventor, NJ, Ventor, 1972, 5-18), wherein Gordon speaks of the so-called "Bat Creek Tennessee Old Hebrew inscription" discovered in 1889 by a Smithsonian Institution expedition headed by Cyrus Thomas at Bat Creek Mound #3, Loudon County, Tennessee, which was "state of the art" carbon-14 dated to be from 32 A.D. to 769 A.D. (a scientific dating which was refused to be undertaken earlier because Thomas stoutly refused to characterize the text as Old Hebrew, mistakenly attributing it to local Cherokee "mound building" Indians), Cyrus Gordon establishes the

"milestone" in his view of conclusively established scientific evidence supporting ancient Jewish immigration from Old World to Tennessee about 100 A.D. For the details of the carbon-14 dating and other aspects of the dig, see J. Huston McCullough, "The Bat Creek Inscription: Cherokee or Hebrew?" *Tennessee Anthropologist* 13/2 (Fall 1988). In the first cited reference above, Cyrus Gordon relates:

The stone was carved either ca. A.D. 100 in the Old World, or aboard ship, or in America by someone trained in the tradition of that [Old Hebrew] script, some time after the refugees landed in what is now the eastern United States. By the time of its interment in Bat Creek Mound #3, it might have been passed down as an heirloom for several generations. But the carbon-14 test proves that the burial took place over seven centuries prior to Columbus' discovery in 1492. The letter-forms imply cultural contact between American and Palestine ca. A.D. 100. The inscription cannot be a modern forgery on the one hand, nor can it be pre-Christian on the other. CYRUS THOMAS HAD AN AX TO GRIND. His theory was that the Mound Indians (including everybody buried at sites like Bat Creek) were the same people as the local Indians (notably the Cherokees) of modern times. He PUBLISHED THE INSCRIPTION UPSIDE-DOWN and called it Cherokee (in the script invented by Sequoyah around 1821). Neither Thomas nor those who have agreed with him have attempted to translate any of the text. A few amateurs, in the midtwentieth century, matched up two or three of the letters correctly by comparing them with published Phoenician alphabet charts. My friend, Dr. Joseph B. Mahan, Jr. consulted me on the Bat Creek Inscription in 1970. He

was convinced that the letters were Phoenician, after he had compared them with an alphabet chart in the Cambridge Ancient History.

No one had been able to make any sense of the text either as Phoenician/Hebrew or as Cherokee. I was the first Semitist to study the text and read the sequence LYHWD [] "for Judea." I favored attributing the migration to the Bar Kokhba Rebellion, partly because three different Bar Kokhba coins had been found at three widely separated sites, at quite different times, in the neighboring state of Kentucky. One of the coins might possibly be a modern copy, but the other two cannot easily be accounted for that way. There are traces of Jewish influence in pre-Columbian America. We may single out the Tepatlaxco (Veracruz) Stele (ca. 100-300) showing a Mayan wearing phylacteries; the arm windings are seven in number and are followed by finger windings. This monument is noteworthy because no scholar, in any field, has ever questioned its authenticity or pre-Columbian date. To be sure, the AMERINDIAN EXPERTS DID NOT DETECT THE OLD WORLD ORIGIN OF THE RITUAL DEPICTED AND VERY FEW ARE EVEN NOW AWARE OF IT. The Bat Creek Inscription is important because it is the first scientifically authenticated pre-Columbian text in an Old World script or language found in America, and, at that, in a flawless archaeological context. It proves that some Old World [NOT MERELY "OLD WORLD," BUT SPEAKING THE "OLD HEBREW" LANGUAGE!] people not could, but ACTUALLY DID, CROSS THE ATLANTIC TO AMERICA before the Vikings and Columbus ("A Hebrew Inscription Authenticated," 70-71, emphasis added).

That's pretty good "substantive" archaeology from Cyrus Gordon. In-

deed, it is scientifically proven and absolutely conclusive evidence of the actuality of ancient Hebrew marine excursions between Palestine and Tennessee around 100 A.D. But I'm concerned not only with the fact that in his view the 1889 Smithsonian expedition director, Cyrus Thomas, "had an ax to grind" against Gordon's (now dominant, we suppose) view of ancient and numerous marine excursions between Old World and New World continents. Not only did Thomas have such an anti-mariner bias in 1889, so also did the head of the Smithsonian Institution throughout most of the twentieth century, who likewise shared that (now conclusively destroyed—and wholly by non-Mormon scholars with impeccable credentials!) erroneous bias. Continues Gordon,

It is instructive to outline the CHANGES IN "AUTHORITATIVE" OPINION DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY. In the 1930's, leading anthropologists and historians were insisting that the earliest remains of man in the Western Hemisphere were less than two thousand years old. Now the evidence is pushing mankind in America further and further back into remote pre-Christian millennia. Between 1935 and 1938, when I was stationed at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, I often visited the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION in nearby Washington, where I met the elderly and influential dean of American archaeology, Ales Hrdlicka. His DOGMA was that Old World man entered Pre-Columbian America by ONLY ONE ROUTE: across the Bering Strait. UNLESS A YOUNG ANTHROPOLOGIST SUBSCRIBED TO THAT VIEW, IT WAS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO GET A MUSEUM OR UNIVERSITY JOB IN AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY OR AR-

CHAEOLGY. THIS EXPLAINS SOME OF THE INFLEXIBILITY IN THAT FIELD DOWN TO THE PRESENT. Gradually evidence for Pacific crossings found its way into respectable circles, but until now the denial of Atlantic crossings before Columbus and the Vikings is still common in academia. McCullough has demonstrated that AS LONG AS THE BAT GREEK INSCRIPTION WAS CONSIDERED CHEROKEE, NO ONE QUESTIONED ITS AUTHENTICITY. It was only after I found it to be Hebrew that the pundits began to brand it as a forgery. But the laboratory tests in 1988 show that all the contents of the undisturbed tomb were interred long before the Vikings and Columbus reached America, while the letterforms establish the Imperial Roman date of the script. Similarly, the lead content of the brass bracelets supports the Roman date, once the modern date is ruled out. ... Not long ago, New World civilization was regarded as quite independent of developments in the Old World. The fact that no pre-Columbian inscription in an Old World script or language was regarded as authentic in respectable academic circles enabled the independent inventionists to maintain that pre-Columbian civilizations in America had arisen in isolation from the rest of the world. The carbon-14 dating of the Bat Creek wood fragments ushers in a new era in which anyone who is not an obscurantist will have to accept not just the possibility but also the actuality of specific contact between the Eastern and Western hemispheres long before Columbus and the Vikings. THE FULL STORY MAY TAKE A LONG TIME TO UNFOLD, BUT THE FACT OF GLOBAL DIFFUSION IS HERE TO STAY. Moreover, interrelations are two-way streets. Apparent pre-Columbian influences of the Western Hemisphere on the Eastern have been pointed out

(mainly, but far from exclusively, by amateurish enthusiasts) and disregarded, if not discredited. THE HISTORIC FACTS OF WEST-TO-EAST AS WELL AS EAST-TO-WEST DIFFUSION ACROSS BOTH OCEANS WILL FORCE BLIND DENIAL TO GIVE WAY TO OPEN-MINDEDNESS. THE AUTHENTICATION OF THE BAT CREEK INSCRIPTION IS A MILESTONE IN THE PROCESS OF FORMULATING A CREDIBLE UNIFIED GLOBAL HISTORY (*ibid.*, 76-78, emphasis added).

I single out the "Smithsonian Institution" for criticism (as Gordon himself did) herein because most anti-Mormons have relied upon and used repeatedly (with or without the latter's knowledge and consent) a 1-page letter vintage 1950s, if recollection serves me, upon Smithsonian Institution letterhead exclaiming there to exist "no substantial archaeological" (I paraphrase) evidence in New World archaeology supporting Mormon Christian claims. In light of Gordon's scathing indictment of Smithsonian Institution structural bias against such Mormon Christian claims as mentioned above, we can now hardly take that criticism as accurate or valid.

New Manuscript Evidence Supporting Mormon Christian Claims of an Apostasy of Early Christianity. Let's begin with important revelations given to Joseph Smith in the 1840s, e.g., pre-existence of all humans as real pre-mortal, tangible, material "Children of Heavenly Father" (and his wife, we don't hear much about her in a patriarch-dominated Hebrew society, culture, and scriptures), then check back into the history of early Christian literature to see if in fact any literary evidence exists to corroborate "independently" what Joseph has revealed as purported

divine revelation to him, i.e., is there ANY early Christian documentary evidence to support Smith's purported revelation?

And when we check with the earliest Christian documents, what do we find, e.g., with respect to this important doctrine of human pre-birth pre-existence as tangible children of Heavenly Father? Interestingly we find TONS of early Christian literature precisely in point—early Christian literature which was intentionally EXCLUDED from the New Testament for reasons obvious to anyone not a Catholic or a believer in the Greek-dominated "creeds." Here are a few examples of Jesus' own words verifying his direct teaching of human pre-existence before such a doctrine was largely excluded from the formation process of the New Testament, ultimately excluding them from the Bible:

(49) Jesus said: Blessed (*makarios*) are the solitary (*monakos*) and elect, for you shall find the Kingdom; because you come from it, (and) you shall go there again (*palin*).

(50) Jesus said: If they say to you: "From where have you originated?", say to them: "We have come from the Light, where the Light has originated through itself. It [stood] and it revealed itself in their image (*eikon*)."
If they say to you: "(Who) are you?" [or "It is you"], say: "We are His sons and we are the elect of the Living Father".
If they ask you: "What is the sign of your Father in you?", say to them: "It is a movement and a rest" (*anapausis*).

(83) Jesus said: The images (*eikon*) are manifest to man and Light which is within them is hidden in the Images (*eikon*) of the Light of the Father. He will manifest himself and His Image

(*eikon*) is concealed by His Light.

(84) Jesus said: When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But (*de*) when (*otan*) you see your images (*eikon*) which came into existence before you, (which) neither (*oute*) die nor (*oute*) are manifested, how much will you [be able to] bear!

(19) Jesus said: Blessed (*makarios*) is he who was before he came into being. ...

WHAT WILL THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN "CREEDS" DO WITH ALL HUMAN BEINGS' HAVING A "PRE-EXISTENT LOGOS" BEFORE THEY WERE BORN INTO FLESH HERE BELOW? WHAT DOES THE LATTER DO TO THE PURPORTEDLY SINGULAR AND UNIQUE "LOGOS" OF CHRIST? (A DOCTRINE JESUS CONCURRED IN, by the way. SEE JOHN 10:34, QUOTING PS. 82:6. WE ARE ALL "CHILDREN OF THE MOST HIGH," JESUS INCLUDED.)

Now the really "interesting" part of this whole historical episode is the fact that the newly discovered Gospel According to Thomas was COMPLETELY UNKNOWN during Smith's entire lifetime, being first discovered in Coptic version at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945, over 100 years after Smith's death. Even the earliest Greek fragments of the Gospel of Thomas were not discovered until after Smith's death. Could Smith in truth have "restored" ancient Christian teaching from the mouth of Jesus which was ERRONEOUSLY EXCLUDED from the Bible? Yes. Otherwise, how does one explain Smith's remarkable prescience? How could Smith have "known" Jesus' important doctrine of "human pre-existence" unless God in fact had revealed directly

to Smith that “restored” doctrine once taught by Jesus himself, but almost completely omitted from the Bible?

Gerry L. Ensley
Los Alamitos, California

*Response to Brigham D. Madsen,
No. 3*

In the fall 1997 issue Brigham D. Madsen goes on at some length to demonstrate that the Nephites could not be the sole progenitors of all Native American populations. There is, however, nothing in the Book of Mormon that even suggests that the Americas were unpopulated when the Nephites arrived—indeed, just the opposite. The Lamanites went native—and very quickly were physically quite different in appearance from the Nephites.

The study of pre-Columbian history is fascinating, with more being learned every day. The Clovis culture, for instance, mentioned by Professor Madsen as the oldest known, has now been displaced by an unequivocally older culture (*Science*, 1997, 576, 754). I, for one, am not ready to dismiss the Book of Mormon based on the limited information that we currently have.

Douglass F. Taber
Newark, Delaware

*Response to Brigham D. Madsen,
No. 4*

Brigham Madsen’s article, “Reflections on LDS Disbelief in the Book of Mormon as History,” in the fall 1997 issue was quite a surprise. Doubt the LDS church because the Book of Mormon is not a history book? Then I must

doubt Christianity and Judaism because the Bible is not a geology text.

Like the Bible, the Book of Mormon certainly raises questions if we must twist logic and accept it for what it is not. Scripture is only intended to help people hold onto their faith in God and to convince others of the importance of that faith.

Because of this, we look the other way when the Bible shows us the science of the day—Joshua stopping the sun and corners to the Earth.

And while we’re at it, which Creation story do you like, Story A or Story B? Figure out exactly the length of the Flood from the various accounts, and, by the way, just how did Noah collect seals and walruses, whales and polar bears, anyway?

So if the Book of Mormon can be torn apart because it does not follow current scientific thought and findings, then rip it to shreds, along with the Bible. (Was there truly a census at the time of the birth of Jesus?)

The LDS church says the Book of Mormon is another witness for Christ, not another history book or science text or anthropology study. The Bible is the first witness, not a zoology textbook.

Yes, the Book of Mormon mentions horses before anyone can document horses in the area some believe the Book of Mormon people settled. The Bible has patriarchs riding camels long before they were domesticated. (Maybe the world’s first rodeo occurred when Jacob “set his sons and his wives upon camels.”)

One point about the horses. Lehi and Nephi certainly were aware of horses. Could they have brought a couple with them? Or maybe the scribe just wanted to add a dash of excitement to his tales.

And if the anti-Christ in the Book of Mormon all seem the same, how about the three she-ain't-my-wife-she's-my-sister routines in Genesis (chaps. 12, 20, and 26). Two of those fooled the same king. Yeah, right. That king, by the way, is identified as a king of the Philistines long before Philistines ever lived in the region.

But if the three Book of Mormon characters did come from one brain, perhaps it was the brain of the person who abridged the records. To him, they may have seemed enough alike that in shortening the record he created a blend and moved on. After all, this was less a character analysis than a documentation that these kinds of people exist and they all eventually suffer similar fates.

The other point that surprised me was Madsen's unwavering faith in his scientific information.

While he acknowledges that "the literature on the peopling of America is so enormous and highly specialized that even experts have a hard time time keeping up with the latest research," he quotes chapter and verse from books written ten years ago.

It may be generally accepted that people were enjoying the New Mexico sunshine 12,000 to 11,000 years ago, but a recent finding in Wisconsin may predate the Clovis sites by 1,000 years. And if all these people dropped in on North America through the door of our refrigerator up north, why has no one found any human bones up there older than about 9,000 years? We should find something older than the Clovis sites farther south, unless they all refused to die until they hit the promised (south) land. Also, what has been found in Alaska suggests the possibility that a sea route may have been preferred to an overland trek, a route Madsen says all experts agree on. Well, maybe all experts used to agree.

Does any of this make the Book of Mormon any more true? Of course not. Does it make it any less true? Not at all. Does it mean we dump all scientific thought into the Bering Strait? No.

One last point. I have never understood that the LDS church (although some members probably believe it) suggests that all native people in North, Central, and South America are accounted for in the Book of Mormon. (Officially, the church has never even said these are the lands referred to in the Book of Mormon.) Just as the Bible is not an account of all peoples, neither is the Book of Mormon. The Bible focuses on a covenant people and their downfall. The Book of Mormon is a record of another downfall.

I suspect that there were thousands of people outside the chapters of the Book of Mormon who arrived in the region at various times and from various places. To Old Testament writers, the Middle East was the world and the covenant people its only inhabitants except when those people interacted with others. A bit narrow-minded, perhaps, but they didn't want all those "others" to get in the way of a good story. Likewise, I believe the Old Testament-era writers who gave us the Book of Mormon were determined to relate a specific story and anyone else out there had to wait to be recognized.

Just a word about B. H. Roberts, a remarkable man and one who questioned, questioned, questioned. God bless him for that, and I'm sure he will. But questions by Roberts and conclusions by Roberts don't constitute dogma. Roberts would be the first to worry about people who worship at the feet of "experts."

Gary Rummeler
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Widow's Weeds

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

Black
is the absence of color
to which the eye adjusts.
Black magnifies the face of
the beloved.

Lavender
is the polite word for purple,
the color of bruises
the color of intoxication,
and of healing.

Grey
is the color of first light
and last light.
The next step after grey
is white.

Plural Marriage and Mormon Fundamentalism

D. Michael Quinn

INTRODUCTION

IN ONE SENSE IT IS CURIOUS that there is such a thing as Mormon fundamentalism—only 168 years have passed since the religiously “burned-over district” of New York state gave birth to the Book of Mormon in 1830. Despite its youthfulness, Mormonism is to mainline Christianity what early Christianity was to Judaism—a separatist Judeo-Christian movement of extraordinary growth.¹ The principal organization of Mormonism is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which has worldwide membership of more than 10 million people who look to Salt Lake City, Utah, with the reverence usually given to Rome, Jerusalem, and Mecca.

Because LDS membership has doubled every fifteen years or less since 1945, a non-LDS sociologist projects Mormonism will be a world religion of 265 million members within 90 years.² For more than a century the LDS church has dominated the Mountain West of America so completely that the area is known to geographers as “the Mormon cultural region.” Mormonism is the first or second largest church in nine western states, the fifth largest religious organization in America, and presently

Note: This essay was first published in 1993, is copyrighted by the University of Chicago Press, appears here in slightly revised form with their permission, but does not update source notes or data on fundamentalists.

1. Whitney R. Cross coined the phrase in his *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950). For a penetrating analysis of Mormonism as a new world religion, see Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985). For general understanding of Mormon history and beliefs, see also Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

2. Rodney Stark, “The Rise of a New World Faith,” *Review of Religious Research* 26 (Sept. 1984): 22. Five years later he found LDS membership growth actually ahead of his projection. Remarks of Stark at annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Salt Lake City, Utah, 27 Oct. 1989.

fields 57,000 full-time proselytizing missionaries throughout the world.³ This Mormon-dominated West is the home of Mormon fundamentalism, a twentieth-century response to changes in the LDS church that began with public abandonment of the practice of "plural marriage" (polygamy) by an 1890 "Manifesto" from the church president.

Which leads to the problem of offensive terms. Mormon fundamentalists have embraced the term "Fundamentalist,"⁴ but generally dislike the word "polygamy." First, many regard it as the disbeliever's way of mocking their faith that God sanctions and commands that righteous men of a divine latter-day Covenant marry more than one wife. Second, some object that "polygamy" could also refer to multiple husbands, and therefore "polygyny" (more than one wife) is the only outsider's term that is accurate. Mormon fundamentalists refer to their practice of multiple marriage as the "the Principle," or "Celestial Marriage," or "the New and Everlasting Covenant," or "the Priesthood Work," or (most commonly) "plural marriage." Some even resent an outsider saying "the practice of plural marriage," because this sacred principle is not something they practice at! Outside anthropology, even most academics are unfamiliar with the term "polygyny," and this essay therefore uses the general term "polygamy" because it is universally understood to refer to the marriage of a man to more than one living wife at a time. I hope this study demonstrates there is no disrespect in my use of "polygamy" and "polygamist."

STEREOTYPES

Like other fundamentalist movements, Mormon fundamentalism

3. D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Cultural Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *American Geographers Association Annals* 55 (1965): 191-200; *Deseret News 1991-1992 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1990), 6; LDS church statistical report for 31 Dec. 1991; D. Michael Quinn, "Religion in the West," in *Under An Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William J. Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: Norton, 1992); also D. Michael Quinn, "From Sacred Grove to Sacral Power Structure," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 9-34; "LDS 1997 Statistical Report," *Deseret News*, 5 Apr. 1998, A-13, for missionaries and members.

4. Mormon fundamentalists usually capitalize fundamentalism and fundamentalist when referring to themselves, but this essay will give this capitalization only in their quotes. "They are rightly called Mormon Fundamentalists, for they have not turned with [LDS] Church policy as the main body has, but have revered and upheld the founders." Louis J. Barlow's remarks on KSUB Radio, shortly after the Short Creek raid of 26 July 1953, copy in my possession; also Leroy S. Johnson's statement in 1977, "I was grateful when I heard that [LDS apostle] Mark E. Petersen branded us as 'FUNDAMENTALISTS.'" See Ken Driggs, "Fundamentalist Attitudes toward the Church: The Sermons of Leroy S. Johnson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Summer 1990): 51, and *The L. S. Johnson Sermons*, 6 vols. (Hildale, UT: Twin Cities Courier Press, 1983-84), 4:1491.

suffers from stereotypes fostered by the mainstream religious tradition and by the secular media. The most prevalent stereotype is that all adult Mormon fundamentalists are practicing polygamists, with the obligatory illustration of a bearded man surrounded by a bevy of young wives.⁵ Another common image in the popular mind and media is of Mormon fundamentalist females currently wearing hair in long braids, dresses to the ankle, and long sleeved blouses buttoned to the neck.⁶ Non-Mormons and mainstream Mormons often accept the view of the 1981 television drama *Child Bride of Short Creek* that a polygamist's teenage son may have to make a desperate escape to save his girlfriend from the matrimonial clutches of the young man's own father.⁷ Like all stereotypes, these distort our understanding of a diverse and complex people.

The 1988 Charles Bronson movie *Messenger of Death* used those polygamy stereotypes in a kinder way, but then portrayed the more recent image of wild-eyed Mormon fundamentalists engaging in murder and gun battles over rival claims to authority. This perception of Mormon fundamentalists as sectarian murderers is only twenty years old, and is based on the acts of a handful of deranged individuals.⁸ Even though the largest Mormon fundamentalist group at Colorado City, Arizona, prohibits possession of firearms "as a matter of religious faith," the equation of violence and fundamentalism is powerful enough to crop up in a 1987 scholarly examination of Mormon polygamous families.⁹

5. Pierre LaForet, "Ce Mormon. Heureux. 'Regne' Sur Ses Quatre Femmes," *Le Figaro*, 16 Apr. 1988; Bella Stumbo, "No Tidy Stereotype. Polygamists: Tale of Two Families," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Part I, 1; *Reason: Free Minds and Free Markets* 18 (Jan. 1987), photographs on the front page and table of contents page, as well as four illustrations in the same issue for Gerald M. King's article, "The Mormon Underground Fights Back," 23, 24, 26, 28, 29.

6. Example in *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 Mar. 1986, Sec. NV, p. 1.

7. *Sunstone Review* 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1982): 9. This was also a theme about nineteenth-century polygamy in Maurine Whipple's novel *Giant Joshua*, where a son failed to persuade his girlfriend against becoming his own father's plural wife. I watched *Child Bride of Short Creek* on late night television in mid-1991 in New Orleans, a decade after its original screening.

8. For the isolated, sensational murders that created this stereotype, see Ben Bradlee, Jr., and Dale Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood: The Untold Story of Ervil LeBaron and the Lambs of God* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1981), and Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 215-19. The film *Messenger of Death* was also televised more than once in 1990-91. Video store rentals will guarantee the continued circulation of its polygamy stereotypes, as well as those of *Child Bride of Short Creek*.

9. Ken Driggs, "After the Manifesto: Modern Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons," *Journal of Church and State* 32 (Spring 1990): 386; Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), xiii-xiv. Although there was also some non-fatal violence during 1990 involving the polygamist mayor of Big Water, Utah, the conflict involved a political and financial dispute within the community, not a dispute about polygamy or about fundamentalist claims. See Jerry Spangler, "Tidal wave of fury in tiny Big Water," *Deseret News*, 5 Sept. 1990.

NUMBERS

Then there is the problem of counting Mormon fundamentalists. The LDS church, the news media, and fundamentalists themselves have not always been helpful in giving accurate estimates.

Part of the LDS church's campaign for acceptance by non-Mormons has been to grossly underestimate the number of Mormon polygamists, both before and after the 1890 "Manifesto" declared an end to polygamous marriages. Church leaders and members usually claim that nineteenth-century polygamous practice was no more than 2 or 3 percent of the Mormon population in Utah, when it was ten times that rate.¹⁰ During a transitional period of fourteen years after the 1890 Manifesto, LDS leaders secretly authorized and performed about 250 new polygamous marriages, yet only acknowledged the occurrence of "a few," despite disclosures of the larger numbers by a muckraking press and a *three-year* investigation by the U.S. Senate.¹¹ After 1906 the LDS church's consistent battle against the performance of new polygamous marriages was char-

10. Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review* 10 (Summer 1956): 229-39, reprinted in *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Fall 1967); James E. Smith and Phillip R. Kunz, "Polygyny and Fertility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Population Studies* 30 (Sept. 1976): 465-80; Phillip R. Kunz, "One Wife or Several? A Comparative Study of Late Nineteenth Century Marriage in Utah," in Thomas G. Alexander, ed., *The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 53-73; Dean May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Mormon Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992); Larry Logue, "A Time of Marriage: Monogamy and Polygamy in a Utah Town," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 3-26; Lowell "Ben" Bennion, "The Incidence of Mormon Polygamy in 1880: 'Dixie' versus Davis Stake," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 27-42; Logue, *Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 44-71.

11. Congress, U.S. Senate, *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1907); H. Grant Ivins, *Polygamy in Mexico as Practiced by the Mormon Church, 1895-1905* (1970; Salt Lake City: Collier's Press, 1981); Kenneth L. Cannon II, "Beyond the Manifesto: Polygamous Cohabitation Among LDS General Authorities After 1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 24-36; Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4-36; Kenneth L. Cannon II, "After the Manifesto: Mormon Polygamy, 1890-1906," *Sunstone* 8 (Jan.-Apr. 1983): 27-35; D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 9-105; Jessie L. Embry, "Exiles for the Principle: LDS Polygamy in Canada," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 108-116; Fred C. Collier and Knut Knutson, eds., *The Trials of Apostle John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1987); Jessie L. Embry, "Two Legal Wives: Mormon Polygamy in Canada, the United States and Mexico," and B. Carmon Hardy, "Mormon Polygamy in Mexico and Canada: A Legal and Historiographical Review," in Brigham Y. Card et al., eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990).

acterized by similar distortion. LDS leaders publicly dismissed renegade plural marriages as few in numbers, whereas privately they exhibited a paranoia that new polygamous marriages were spreading like wildfire.¹²

On the other hand, the news media and some fundamentalists have joined in grossly inflating the numbers of twentieth-century Mormon polygamists. To embarrass the LDS church, as well as sell newspapers, early in this century the *Salt Lake Tribune* made the sensational claim that there were "thousands" of new polygamous marriages after the 1890 Manifesto.¹³ In like manner the fundamentalist publication *Truth* later claimed that about 2,200 men entered polygamy after the 1890 prohibition "through the blessings of the Authorities of the Church [i.e., to 1904]."¹⁴ This was ten times higher than the actual numbers.¹⁵

In recent years promotional exaggeration has merged with the perceptions of outsiders. In 1974 one fundamentalist wrote that "no less than 50,000 individuals are personally involved in the living of this law today."¹⁶ That figure is still easy to dismiss as inflated, yet law enforcement officials were soon stunned at the extent of polygamous practice in Utah. Solving the murder of fundamentalist leader Rulon C. Allred in 1977 required close cooperation with fundamentalists of various persuasions who gladly distanced themselves from the aberrant fundamentalists who committed the murder. The Utah attorney general said he was "astonished at the scope of the practice of polygamy" which involved tens of thousands. The Salt Lake County Attorney said: "I think that the immensity of the numbers of people right there in Salt Lake County that were practicing polygamy really did shock me. I didn't think that there were that many people that were committed to the Fundamentalist ideas and actually actively practicing the Fundamentalist theories."¹⁷

By the late 1980s, it was customary to claim a minimum of 30,000 people living in polygamy. For example, a 1986 study of three suburban

12. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 195-98; D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 183-85.

13. For example, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 Aug. 1909, 4.

14. *Truth* 15 (Oct. 1949): 133-134. Mormon fundamentalists, like LDS members, capitalize "Church" when referring to the LDS church. In another example of this exaggeration, the fundamentalist periodical claimed that Anthony W. Ivins performed more than 400 polygamous marriages in Mexico from 1895 to 1904, when in fact he performed 43 verified plural marriages. *Truth* 5 (Apr. 1940): 246; compare Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," 80n281.

15. See n11.

16. Dennis R. Short, *Questions on Plural Marriage* (Salt Lake City: By the Author, 1974), 94. *Newsweek*, 19 May 1975, also estimated a total of 35,000 people living in polygamy, which this study regards as too high an estimate even now, and certainly an inflated figure then.

17. Paul Van Dam, Utah State Attorney General, interview by Ken Verdoia on 6 Dec. 1989; David Yocum, Salt Lake County Attorney, who prosecuted Ervil LeBaron in 1980, interview by Ken Verdoia on 7 Dec. 1989. Copies in my possession.

polygamist families began by claiming "30,000 people living in polygamous families in Utah today," and the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1988 reported the estimate of a geographer at Utah State University that "30,000 to 40,000 people could be practicing polygamy in the West from southern Canada to northern Mexico. He estimated that 20,000 to 30,000 of those live in Utah alone." During that same year the *Los Angeles Times* cited an estimate of 60,000 polygamists.¹⁸ In 1989 *The Encyclopedia of American Religions* article on polygamous Mormon groups estimated "approximately 30,000 polygamists," and the *New York Times* claimed 50,000 people living in polygamous households as of 1991.¹⁹ Fundamentalist publisher Ogden Kraut publicly stated in 1989 that "there are probably at least 30,000 people who consider themselves as Fundamentalist Mormons, espousing at least the belief in the doctrine of plural marriage."²⁰ Although he kept the 30,000 figure of earlier claims, this was actually a major reduction in the estimated number of polygamists because Kraut included people who merely believe in plural marriage.

That figure is still a third too high. Even after accepting higher-end estimates on a group-by-group basis, this study finds about 21,000 men, women, and children are Mormon fundamentalists from northern Mexico through the far western United States into southern Canada. These numbers do not include members of the LDS church who accept fundamentalist doctrines without giving allegiance to the movement. In one interview Ogden Kraut observed that there are "professors of religion that I'm acquainted with who believe all the doctrines of Fundamentalism, and yet they're teaching at BYU, seminaries, and institutes" of the LDS church. He added in another interview that these fundamentalist sympathizers include "high councilmen, bishops, and in some cases stake [diocese] presidents."²¹ That may be so, but this study restricts the scope of Mormon fundamentalism to those who demonstrate actual commit-

18. Carolyn Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," *Utah Holiday*, May 1986, 36; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 Apr. 1988, B-2. See also King, "The Mormon Underground Fights Back," 22; *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Part I, 24.

19. J. Gordon Melton, *The Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 3rd ed. (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1989), 579; Dirk Johnson, "Polygamists Emerge From Secrecy, Seeking Not Just Peace but Respect," *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 1991, A-22.

20. Ogden Kraut, "The Fundamentalist Mormon: A History and Doctrinal Review," paper presented to the Sunstone Theological Symposium, Salt Lake City, Utah, Aug. 1989, published by Kraut as *The Fundamentalist Mormon*, 23. In 1986 Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, iii-iv, also estimated "30,000 Fundamentalists."

21. My interview with Kraut on 26 July 1989; Kraut interview by Ken Verdoia on 17 Dec. 1989, copy in my possession. After I arrived at this 21,000 figure, I read the estimate of "twenty thousand or more adherents," in Driggs, "After the Manifesto," 388.

ment.²² Contrary to common wisdom, *many of these committed fundamentalists are living in monogamous relationships, and about three-fourths of Mormon fundamentalists today have never been members of the LDS church.*

THE MORMON MAINSTREAM AND PLURAL MARRIAGE

If living polygamy is not necessary to be a Mormon fundamentalist, how are they different from the currently non-polygamist Mormon mainstream? That definition requires some discussion of Mormon theology, practice, and history.

Even basic theology evolved during the fourteen-year leadership of Mormon founder Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805-44), but the single most important characteristic of Mormonism has been its claim to the Old Testament tradition of prophetic leadership within an apostolic church of Christ. The LDS church claimed to have living apostles like those of the New Testament, but more important was the church president's claim to be a prophet like Moses—able (if called upon by God) to challenge the authority of any secular pharaoh, to reveal new commandments, to announce new words of God as revelation and scripture, to hold priesthood that bridged the authority of Old and New Testaments, and to lead God's people as a self-sustaining, theocratic community. In fact, it was this reinvoking of Old Testament norms within a Christian context that almost immediately alienated Mormonism from traditional Christianity and Protestant-dominated American society.²³

In the mid-nineteenth century Mormonism became "Uncle Sam's abscess," as one book title put it. Using biblical references to a pre-millennial "restoration of all things," Joseph Smith restored in practice (sometimes secretly) Old Testament forms, and Brigham Young institutionalized them after the founding prophet's murder by a mob in 1844. Polygamy was the most sensational, but equally disturbing to outsiders were Mormon migration to a central place, political hegemony, theocratic ideals and practices, economic cooperation and communalism, anti-pluralism, and speculative theology that included doctrines that Adam was

22. For that reason, this definition does not include a Mormon schism called the Order of Aaron, the Aaronic Order, or Levites. Its founder, Maurice Glendenning, officially condemned plural marriage shortly after the group's organization in 1942, even though (or perhaps because) about 20 percent of his early followers believed in continued polygamy. This group defines itself as separate from Mormon fundamentalism. Hans A. Baer, *Recreating Utopia in the Desert: A Sectarian Challenge to Modern Mormonism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), x, 61-63.

23. For a discussion of these issues from different perspectives, see Mario S. DePillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 68-88; Shipps, *Mormonism*; and Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

God, that Christ was married, and that both God and Christ were polygamists.²⁴ These were flash points in the conflict between Mormonism and American society, and from 1862 to 1890 the federal government waged a campaign to attack Mormonism through anti-polygamy legislation (which was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1879 and 1890). Polygamy was the easiest weapon for nineteenth-century anti-Mormons to use in attacking everything else they abhorred about Mormonism.²⁵

As the government increased its anti-polygamy crusade, Mormon leaders defensively countered that the abandonment of plural marriage was theologically impossible. Jan Shipps, the pre-eminent non-Mormon interpreter of the Mormon experience, has observed that because polygamy alienated Mormons from mainstream America for decades, "the practice of plural marriage gave the Latter-day Saints time to gain an ethnocultural identity that did not entirely rest on corporate [church membership] peculiarity."²⁶ Mormon leaders gave many rationales for

24. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 3-69; Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Klaus J. Hansen, "The Political Kingdom of God as a Cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict," *BYU Studies* 2 (Spring-Summer 1960): 241-260; D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163-197; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976); Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Kenneth H. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830-1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 4-5, 53-54, 64-73, 218-26; David John Buerger, "The Adam-God Doctrine," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 14-58; *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 1:345-46, 2:82, 210, 3:365, 4:259, 11: 328. An excellent one-volume compendium of Mormon fundamentalist doctrine is Robert R. Openshaw, *The Notes* (Pinesdale, MT: Bitterroot Publishing Co., 1980).

25. Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases," *Utah Law Review* 9 (Winter 1964/Summer 1965): 308-70, 543-91; Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1970); Joseph H. Groberg, "The Mormon Disfranchisements of 1882 to 1892," *BYU Studies* 16 (Spring 1976): 399-408; Richard L. Jensen and JoAnn W. Bair, "Prosecution of the Mormons in Arizona Territory in the 1880s," *Arizona and the West* 19 (Spring 1977): 25-46; Kimberly Jensen James, "'Between Two Fires': Women on the 'Underground' of Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 49-61; Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Hide and Seek: Children on the Underground," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (Spring 1983): 133-53; Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience*, 145; Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 2, 23; Ken Driggs, "The Mormon Church-State Confrontation in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Church and State* 30 (Spring 1988): 273-89; Ken Driggs, "The Prosecutions Begin: Defining Cohabitation in 1885," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Spring 1988): 109-121; Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Carol Cornwall Madsen, "At Their Peril: Utah Law and the Case of Plural Wives, 1850-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (Nov. 1990): 425-43.

26. Jan Shipps, "The Principle Revoked: A Closer Look at the Demise of Plural Marriage," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 67.

practicing polygamy (including its role in producing a larger number of righteous children), but always subordinated those explanations to the affirmation that revelations of God required the Latter-day Saints to live this "Holy Principle." A frequent advocate of that theme was Apostle Wilford Woodruff who sermonized on one occasion that if Mormons gave up polygamy, "then we must do away with prophets and Apostles." He told the Mormons a decade later, "Were we to compromise this principle by saying, we will renounce it, we would then have to renounce our belief in revelation from God."²⁷ Nevertheless, because of the LDS church's official defiance of federal anti-polygamy laws since 1862, its very existence hung in the balance by the summer of 1890. To survive, the church either abandoned or redefined all of these radicalisms, beginning with polygamy. Wilford Woodruff himself, as recently sustained LDS church president, announced the "Manifesto" in September 1890 to end the practice of plural marriage.²⁸

FUNDAMENTALIST ORIGINS AND DEFINITIONS

During a forty-year transition after 1890, many LDS church members looked wistfully back at Mormonism's old time religion. The reasons were larger than polygamy, for as a Brigham Young University historian observed: "The political, social, religious, and economic world [of Mormonism] that emerged after the Manifesto of September 1890 was vastly different from the one that had existed before."²⁹ Nevertheless, only a few Mormons concluded that the church had corrupted itself in the process of accommodating to American society. Those who regarded these beliefs and practices as non-negotiable merely had to read the pre-1890 published statements of the church leader who issued the 1890 Manifesto. These Latter-day Saints regarded pre-1890 Mormonism as pristine, and defined the post-Manifesto church as compromised in theology and authority. By the 1930s Mormonism's fundamentalist movement resulted

27. *Journal of Discourses*, 13:166, 22:147-48. A massive collection of doctrinal statements and historical events concerning Mormon polygamy appears in Gilbert A. Fulton, Jr. [pseud.], *The Most Holy Principle*, 4 vols. (Murray, UT: Gems Publishing Co., 1970-75).

28. Lyman, *Political Deliverance*; Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), esp. 60-73; Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," 9-50; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Coming of the Manifesto," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5 (Autumn 1975): 11-25; Thomas G. Alexander, "The Odyssey of a Latter-day Prophet: Wilford Woodruff and the Manifesto of 1890," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 169-206.

29. Thomas G. Alexander, "The Manifesto: Mormonism's Watershed," *This People* 11 (Fall 1990): 23. Jan Shipps had earlier referred to the Manifesto as "a disconfirming event that profoundly altered the character of Mormonism," in her "In the Presence of the Past: Continuity and Change in Twentieth-Century Mormonism," in Alexander and Embry, *After 150 Years*, 24.

from those perceptions.³⁰

Being a Mormon fundamentalist involves three essentials. First, a conviction that the LDS church is “out of order”—in other words, has strayed off its divinely instituted path by abandoning or changing various practices and beliefs. Second, a conviction that plural marriage is a divine revelation and commandment that should be practiced today by those who are willing and worthy. Third, an acceptance of priesthood authority and officiators not sanctioned by the LDS church. These are the three pillars of Mormon fundamentalism.³¹

But nearly all fundamentalists retained the essential Mormon views of prophetic leadership and authority, and could not simply advocate as a matter of conscience the return to practices and beliefs abandoned by the LDS church. Thus they needed a claim of authority that could counter the fact LDS president Heber J. Grant (as acknowledged prophet, seer, and revelator in the 1920s) was leading a full-scale retreat from the radical past.

Plural marriage was the central issue of the LDS church’s accommodation, and by necessity was also the foundation of the fundamentalist claim to authority beyond that of the changing church. According to excommunicant Lorin C. Woolley, the main fundamentalist exponent in the 1920s, the president of the church who was living in 1886 (John Taylor) conferred special priesthood authority upon Woolley and others to continue performing plural marriages even if the church abandoned “the Principle.” As the last survivor of those men, Lorin Woolley in 1929 conferred that apostleship upon others, a “Council of Friends” or “Priesthood Council” (most of whom had already been excommunicated from the LDS church). Among Woolley’s council were John Y. Barlow, Joseph W. Musser, and Louis A. Kelsch, Jr., who will be discussed later. More than 90 percent of fundamentalists center their authority on Lorin Wool-

30. This transition is briefly discussed in Alexander’s *Mormonism in Transition* and in Van Wagoner’s *Mormon Polygamy*, but deserves more detailed study of how Mormon fundamentalism really developed and why it was shunned by most who secretly entered new plural marriages from 1890 to 1907 with church authority. See also Ken Driggs, “After the Manifesto: Modern Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons,” *Journal of Church and State* 32 (Spring 1990): 367-89; Driggs, “Twentieth-Century Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons in Southern Utah,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1991): 44-58; Martha Sonntag Bradley, “Joseph W. Musser: Dissenter or Fearless Crusader of Truth?” in Roger D. Launius and Linda Thatcher, eds., *Differing Visions: Biographical Essays on Mormon Dissenters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

31. Kraut’s *Fundamentalist Mormon*, 9-20, discusses the following “Doctrinal Differences”: 1. Plural marriage, 2. Missionary work, 3. Office and Calling of the Seventy, 4. Priesthood Confirmation and Ordinations, 5. Gathering of Israel, 6. United Order, 7. Adam/God, 8. Persecution and world friendship, 9. One Mighty and Strong, 10. Zion, 11. Blacks and the Priesthood, 12. Kingdom of God. In his original talk, Number 11 was Gifts of the Spirit.

ley's Council of Friends.³² The fundamentalists who do not trace their authority through Lorin Woolley either claim the charismatic authority of a vision or trace their "patriarchal priesthood" in some way to Joseph Smith.

The easiest division among Mormon fundamentalists to understand is the split between "groups" and "independents." About 90 percent of fundamentalists belong to organized groups. This study identified their numbers after inquiries on a group-by-group basis. Each has a history and character which also need at least some discussion. Even though American society and the LDS church gave Mormon fundamentalists every reason to distrust outsiders, the contours of Mormon fundamentalism are gradually coming into focus for the outside world because fundamentalists are more willing to talk with the media and academics.³³

32. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 190-98; Joseph W. Musser autobiography, "Patriarchal," 4, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Musser diary, 22 Apr., 14 June, 7 Aug. 1922, 14 May 1929, archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives); *Truth* 1 (Jan. 1937): 117-20; Jerold A. Hilton, "Polygamy in Utah and Surrounding Area Since the Manifesto of 1890," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965, 31; Lynn L. Bishop and Steven L. Bishop, *The Keys of the Priesthood Illustrated* (Draper, UT: Review and Preview Publishers, 1971); Kraut, *Fundamentalist Mormon*, 1-4. Dean C. Jessee, "A Comparative Study and Evaluation of the Latter-day Saint and 'Fundamentalist' Views Pertaining to the Practice of Plural Marriage," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959, was restricted by BYU for several years due to Jessee's relatively even-handed presentation. Paul E. Reimann, *Plural Marriage, Limited* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1974), seeks to refute Lorin Woolley's claims in a legalistic analysis that is flawed by Reimann's historically inaccurate understanding of post-Manifesto polygamy. J. Max Anderson's relentlessly historical analysis of Lorin Woolley's claims is *Polygamy Story: Fiction and Fact* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1979), which was reviewed by Fred C. Collier, "Tanning Fundamentalism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 13 (Summer 1980): 130-32, and expanded in his *Re-Examining the Lorin Woolley Story* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1981).

33. As an outsider, I find some fundamentalists express suspicion and unwillingness to talk, but many have been patient with my ignorance and curiosity, and have been candid about their experiences. The mayor of the polygamist commune of Colorado City, Arizona, has provided interviews to more than a hundred reporters. In addition, fundamentalists of various factions have recently invited to their polygamous households such diverse outsiders as a Jewish psychologist and anthropologist, a feminist historian, an LDS legal historian, newspaper reporters from the *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Le Figaro*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and television crews from local news stations, the University of Utah's public station, the nationally syndicated *Current Affair*, and Italian television. Mormon polygamists have also appeared on nationally televised talk shows of Phil Donahue, Oprah Winfrey, and Sally Jessy Raphael. For example, *Le Figaro*, 16 Apr. 1988; *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, 24-25; Dan Njgomir, "Border Towns Embrace Polygamy," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 11 Dec. 1988, 1; Kathryn Casey, "An American Harem," *Ladies' Home Journal*, Feb. 1990, 117ff; Dirk Johnson, "Polygamists Emerge From Secrecy, Seeking Not Just Peace but Respect," *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 1991, A-22. Ken Verdoia (senior producer of KUED-TV in Salt Lake City) to D. Michael Quinn, 16 Oct. 1989; my interview with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 27 Oct. 1989 about her fieldwork in Colorado City, Arizona; Dan Barlow (mayor of Colorado City) interview by Ken Verdoia on 27 Nov. 1989, copy in my possession; Irwin Altman (of the University of Utah's psychology department) to D. Michael Quinn, 1 Mar. 1990, concerning his Mormon fundamentalist fieldwork with Israeli anthropologist Joseph Ginat; Ken Driggs (of University of Wisconsin's Law School) to D. Michael Quinn, 14 Mar. 1990; my telephone interview with Leslie Fagen, reporter for television's *Current Affair*, on 29 Mar. 1990.

THE GROUPS: FUNDAMENTALIST CHURCH (COLORADO CITY)

The small town of Short Creek (now Colorado City), Arizona, is the centerpiece of the largest fundamentalist group. The town was also the focus of an unprecedented effort by American law enforcement to destroy a peaceful community, eradicate family relationships, and scatter a people to the winds. Its only American parallel is the federal actions against Native Americans in the nineteenth century.³⁴

For thirty years after Leroy S. Johnson and other polygamists settled at Short Creek in the late 1920s, the community was the target of outside repression. First, the LDS church conducted wholesale excommunications of Short Creek residents in 1935, the same year the church's behind-the-scenes encouragement resulted in a Utah law defining unlawful cohabitation as a felony. This law exceeded the repressiveness of the Victorian federal government which defined polygamous cohabitation as a misdemeanor. Later that same year Arizona convicted two "Short Creekers" of polygamy, one of them Johnson's brother. After more attempted prosecutions of town residents in 1939, law enforcement bided its time until 1944, when federal and local officers conducted early morning arrests of fifty people from Arizona and Utah. This resulted in the imprisonment of more than twenty men, including Short Creek's leader John Y. Barlow. An original member of Woolley's Priesthood Council, he was now senior president. Barlow lived only a few years after his release, and was spared the sight of Arizona police and the national guard making a pre-dawn raid on Short Creek in 1953 to arrest its entire population.³⁵

It is difficult to overstate the trauma of the 1953 Short Creek raid on family life of its 400 residents. Arizona's governor "said that they intended to put the men in prison, put the women in detention homes, take our children and adopt them out and destroy the records so that no stigma would ever be on our children, and take our lands and use them to pay for the costs of the raid."³⁶ Arresting officers segregated the older teenage boys, told them to scatter wherever they chose (even though legal minors), and then left the unattended youths in a town of empty

34. Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 241, 247, 248; Jack Norton, *When Our Worlds Cried: Genocide in Northwestern California* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1979); Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1980), 229.

35. Elizabeth M. Lauritzen, comp., *Hidden Flowers: The Life, Letters and Poetry of Jacob Marinus Lauritzen and His Wife Annie Pratt Lauritzen* (Brigham City, UT: Bradbury Print, 1982), 101-105; Ken Driggs, "After the Manifesto," 367-69, 378-84; Driggs, "Twentieth-Century Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons in Southern Utah," 44-58; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 195-205, and my interview with Sam S. Barlow on 30 Jan. 1990. For the church's quiet encouragement of legal prosecution of fundamentalists, see Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark*, 184-86.

36. Dan Barlow, mayor of Colorado City, interview by Ken Verdoia.

houses that had been ransacked without search warrants for evidence. Leroy Johnson eventually sought out and relocated nearly all of these dispossessed youths back to the community.³⁷

Polygamous mothers and their young children were a special target of Arizona and Utah officials in the 1953 raid and its aftermath. Arizona made the children wards of the state and placed them in foster homes.³⁸ Utah authorities sought to complete the pincer assault on Short Creek and Mormon fundamentalists by defining polygamist children as neglected and abused children, and sending police cars to take them from polygamous parents. The LDS church's newspaper applauded that action, and encouraged government seizure of every polygamist child who could be found. It was two years before 161 young children were allowed to return to their mothers and fathers at Short Creek, and polygamists elsewhere hid their children and lived in dread of having them "taken" on any pretext.³⁹

Although the shocks of 1953 reverberated among polygamists of every persuasion, the raid encouraged understandable clannishness in the people of Short Creek (now incorporated as Colorado City, Arizona, and its cross-border "twin city" of Hildale, Utah). In 1977 its Priesthood Council president Leroy Johnson cataloged the collective memory and heritage that bind his group together: "I have been through the '34 raid, raid of '41, when they had Uncle Rich and Uncle Fred arrested, the raid of '44, and the raid of '53. We are still fighting for our liberty." Colorado City's mayor comments, "When people are under persecution from the outside, they always stick tight. They always hold way better together."⁴⁰ Often called Short Creekers no matter where they live, this group's economic

37. My interview with Sam S. Barlow.

38. An "outsider" historian of the Short Creek raid describes a young plural wife who delivered while in detention, and, at the moment of birth, Arizona authorities "took the baby away from her and wouldn't let her see it for a week." Martha Sonntag Bradley interview by Ken Verdoia on 5 Dec. 1989, copy in my possession. Also, Bradley's "The Women of Fundamentalism: Short Creek, 1953," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Summer 1990): 23-31, her "'We Remembered Zion': The 1953 Raid on the Polygamous Community of Short Creek," paper at Western History Association on 20 Oct. 1990, and her *Kidnapped From That Land: The Government Raids on the Polygamists of Short Creek* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

39. Previous note; Driggs, "After the Manifesto," 384-85; my interview with Sam S. Barlow; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 201-205. Utah's test case was Vera Black and her children. See their interview by Ken Verdoia on 28 Nov. 1989, copy in my possession; Maureen Barlow interview by Ken Verdoia on 5 Dec. 1989, copy in my possession; Mabel Allred interview by Katherine Lundell on 6 Jan. 1990, copy in my possession; my interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch on 20 Jan. 1990; Dorothy Allred Solomon, *In My Father's House* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1984), 82, 125-26; Ken Driggs, "Who Shall Raise the Children?: Vera Black and the Rights of Polygamous Utah Parents," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Winter 1992): 27-46.

40. Leroy S. Johnson sermon at Colorado City on 6 Mar. 1977, *L. S. Johnson Sermons*, 4:1352; Dan Barlow interview by Ken Verdoia.

co-operative was incorporated as the United Effort Plan in 1942. Incorporated by Johnson's successor Rulon Jeffs, the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is also called the Johnson-Jeffs group.⁴¹

The Colorado City group has grown in numbers and geographic distribution since the attempted destruction of its small community in 1953. Born as a polygamous child in 1958 and raised in the group's Salt Lake Valley community, one woman observes, "The Johnson group is very low profile," and therefore difficult to count.⁴² Recent court documents list 4,600 beneficiaries of the United Effort Plan in Colorado City-Hildale, which corresponds to the population reported for the school board. The Colorado City group has its only foreign settlement in the farming community of Lister, Canada (near Creston, British Columbia). One Colorado City leader says that 500-600 persons in Lister are fundamentalists, and some also live in Creston. Inside sources agree on an estimate of 2,000 Johnson group members in the Salt Lake Valley. There are also multiple-family dwellings of group members in Cedar City and Manti, Utah, and scattered families and individuals elsewhere, which probably add no more than 400 men, women, and children. This adds to a total of about 7,600 people in the Johnson-Jeffs group.⁴³

These numbers include a recent split (amounting to 20 percent of the total) originally led by Marion Hammon and Alma Timpson from the

41. In common Utah pronunciation, it is Short "Crick" and Short "Crickers." Ken Driggs, "Fundamentalist Attitudes toward the Church," 51, quotes a sermon by Leroy Johnson that their group was "the Fundamentalist group of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." However, after President Johnson's death in 1986, the leaders of the group adopted the unincorporated title of "Fundamentalist Church," as indicated in my interview with Sam S. Barlow, and in Louis J. Barlow, Director of Colorado City Seminary Program of the Fundamentalist Church, interview by Ken Verdoia, 27 Nov. 1989, copy in my possession. The Colorado City group legally incorporated on 6 February 1991 as a religious corporate sole, "The Corporation of the President of The Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" in Utah (#149,512).

42. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley on 28 Jan. 1990.

43. "United Effort Plan's Supplemented Response [as of 27 Nov. 1989] to Order of Court dated July 28, 1989," in Case 87-C-1022J, Roger E. Williams et al. vs. United Effort Plan et al., United States Court for the District of Utah; my telephone interview with Jeff Swinton on 14 Apr. 1990; telephone interview with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 27 Oct. 1989; Caroline Dewegeli Daley interview; Sam S. Barlow interview; Lister's population was 586 in the 1986 Canadian census, according to my telephone interview on 17 April 1990 with Mr. McRae, manager of Population and Social Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Corporate Relations, Province of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. In my telephone interview on 18 April 1990 with a former member of the group in Lister, Aloha Boehmer says a couple of the Colorado City group's families live nearer Creston and a couple of families are in Cardston. She estimates a lower population for Lister and for the group there than reported by sources in the Canadian government and in Colorado City, whose higher estimates are used here. After arriving at the 7,600 total, I learned in a telephone interview with Ken Verdoia on 26 April 1990 that Colorado City's seminary program director Alvin Barlow estimates the group has "close to eight thousand total members."

Priesthood Council at Colorado City. This split has divided families in the tightly-knit community, but is permanent because both groups have filled vacancies in their respective priesthood councils. The Hammon-Timpson group (also called "The Second Ward") often lives in co-residence with the main body of Short Creekers, and is difficult to segregate in such statistics as beneficiaries of the United Effort Plan and in Colorado City's school board records of community population. The split has resulted in on-going lawsuits between the two groups.⁴⁴

THE GROUPS: APOSTOLIC UNITED BRETHREN

Of comparable size is the Allred group ("Apostolic United Brethren"). After a stroke, Joseph W. Musser (a member of Lorin Woolley's Priesthood Council and at this time its president) put his physician Rulon C. Allred into the council in 1951, which its other members resisted. In January 1952 the Short Creek members of the council repudiated Allred's position, which split the movement into two groups, each with a rival Council of Friends. This schism has always been peaceful, but it divided families. For example, Rulon Allred had brothers-in-law among the Barlows in Short Creek. Allred's group tended to be urban-oriented and more easy-going than the Johnson group with its population primarily centered in an isolated commune. Allred and other Salt Lake men had spent seven months in jail in 1945, and he and his families frequently moved out of state in the 1950s to avoid arrest. Still, the Allred group did not directly experience Short Creek's sense of trauma until 1977. In that year Rulon Allred was murdered and became a martyr for his people, as Short Creekers of 1953 are for the Johnson group. His funeral attendance was the largest ever in Utah up to that time.⁴⁵

The Allred group (Apostolic United Brethren) has about 7,200 total members. In 1989 its current presiding elder Owen Allred reported 700 adults in the Salt Lake Valley, 200 adults in Cedar City, Utah, 500 adults in its commune at Pinesdale, Montana, as well as 300 Mexican fundamentalists in Ozumba, D.F., Mexico, and scattered families in England, Germany, and the Netherlands.⁴⁶ The figures were not provided for the

44. In my telephone interview on 28 Jan. 1990 with the attorney for the Hammon-Timpson group, Jeff Swinton said that about 20 percent of former Johnson group members from Arizona to Canada have joined the so-called "Second Ward" which has 150-200 male heads of household. Although most members of the Hammon-Timpson group live at Colorado City-Hildale, in 1986 the "Second Ward" also founded a small residential division of Centennial Park, less than a mile from Colorado City, during the centennial of the 1886 revelation.

45. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 196-98, 207, 210, 215-16; Lyle O. Wright, "Origins and Development of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times," M.S., Brigham Young University, 1963, 61-62; Lynn L. Bishop and Steven L. Bishop, *The Truth About John W. Woolley, Lorin C. Woolley and The Council of Friends* (Draper, UT: By the Authors, 1972), 33-37; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 12, 27-29, 47-48, 70-100, 310.

46. My interview with Owen Allred on 29 July 1989; my interview with Roy Potter on 26 July 1989.

total number of children in the Allred group, but it is safe to assume that three-fourths of these 1,700 adults are married, and of that number more than half are women with children. Interviews and other sources indicate that it is reasonable to expect these women to have an average of seven children. This yields an estimated 5,500 children, or a total of approximately 7,200 members in the Allred group.

THE GROUPS: CHURCH OF THE FIRSTBORN

Next in size, but by less than one-fourth, is the combined total of various LeBaron churches. These organized Mormon fundamentalists bypass Lorin C. Woolley's Council of Friends. Instead, the LeBaron churches claim authority through a patriarchal priesthood conferred from Joseph Smith to his polygamous brother-in-law Benjamin F. Johnson to his grandson Alma Dayer LeBaron and through one of Dayer's sons. Still, from the 1920s to 1955, Dayer, most of his children, and some other LeBaron relatives had been entering into plural marriages performed by Joseph W. Musser and Rulon C. Allred whose authority derived from Lorin C. Woolley. Until 1955 most of the LeBaron family did not discuss the significance of the family's blessings, and instead divided their loyalties among the LDS church, the Allred group, and two LeBaron brothers who had unsuccessfully claimed for twenty years to be the prophetic "One Mighty and Strong" of Mormonism.

When Joel F. LeBaron suddenly incorporated the Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times in 1955, his brother Verlan (before converting) was "convinced that we had another false prophet loose in the family." However, most of Joel's immediate family converted after the formal organization of the Church of the Firstborn on 3 April 1956. Joel was "First Grand Head," even though he was a monogamist at the time, in temporary violation of the traditional Mormon fundamentalist requirement of polygamy for leadership. He turned his family's ranch in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, into Colonia LeBaron, a fundamentalist haven with communal laundry, kitchen, and dining area.⁴⁷

47. The above perspective on the LeBarons comes from Verlan M. LeBaron, *The LeBaron Story* (Lubbock, TX: Keels & Co., 1981), esp. 122, 134, 170, and 179; also 4-5, 20, 29, 42, 60-61, 64, 71, 99, 105, 112, 115, 117-35. His book states the preference for calling the church over which Joel (and later Verlan) presided by the shortened title Church of the Firstborn. This essay follows that preference, even though there is possible confusion with an alternative Church of the Firstborn organized by their brother Ross Wesley LeBaron. Also see discussion of the claims of various sons of Alma Dayer LeBaron in these outsider studies: Wright, "Origins and Development of the Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times," esp. 89-98, 254-56; Reimann, *Plural Marriage, Limited*, esp. 232-34; Bradlee and Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood*, 45-48, 52, 56, 63-123; Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 575; and Fred C. Collier, *Independent Fundamentalists and Their Claims to the Fulness of the Priesthood: An Open Letter to All Independent Fundamentalists* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1990), 4.

Subsequent activities of LeBaron churches seized the attention of other fundamentalists, the LDS church, and eventually the nation itself. First, unlike other Mormon fundamentalist groups, the LeBarons sent missionaries to proselytize. They churned out pamphlets which they shoved under dormitory doors at Brigham Young University and passed out at the gates of Temple Square in Salt Lake City. They made inroads on other fundamentalist groups which responded with published arguments. After the conversion of a dozen LDS missionaries in 1958, followed by defections of local LDS leaders throughout the West, the LDS church began its first publishing crusade against any fundamentalists.⁴⁸ Then a schism—the Church of the Lamb of God led by Joel’s brother Ervil LeBaron—murdered Joel in 1972, fire-bombed the LeBaron colony at Los Molinos, killed about twenty other family members and dissident followers, threatened the U.S. and LDS presidents, and then assassinated Rulon C. Allred at his Salt Lake office in 1977. In the decade after Ervil LeBaron’s death in the Utah penitentiary, some of his family and followers committed another twelve sectarian murders within the LeBaron groups. These incredible events reversed the momentum of the Church of the Firstborn, and disenchanted all but the most devout.⁴⁹

This murderous violence has poisoned outside perceptions about Mormon fundamentalists generally, and also stigmatized the overwhelmingly non-violent fundamentalists who still traced their authority through Alma Dayer LeBaron. One of the principal law enforcement investigators of the LeBaron murderers affirms that there are fewer than fifty persons responsible for this sectarian violence.⁵⁰ In 1990 a tele-journalist from New York City spent two weeks in the polygamous commune

48. Previous note, and *Los Angeles Times*, 18 June 1967, A-11; Kahile Mehr, “The Trial of the French Mission,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Autumn 1988): 27-45; Bruce R. McConkie [an LDS general authority], *How to Start a Cult or Cultism As Practiced By The So-Called Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times Analyzed, Explained, And Interpreted ...* (Salt Lake City: By the Author, ca. 1961); Hector J. Spencer, *Why I Returned to The LDS Church* (Colonialia Dublan, Mex.: By the Author, ca. 1963); Henry W. Richards [member of the LDS church’s “Special Affairs Committee,” then chaired by Apostle Mark E. Petersen], *A Reply to the “Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times”* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965). For arguments against the LeBarons by mainstream fundamentalists, see Harold Allred, *The Scepter, The Church of the Firstborn, John The Baptist: A Defense of Truth, Peter’s Authority* (Fruitland, ID: By the Author, 1958); Francis M. Darter, *Francis M. Darter versus Joel F. LeBaron* (Salt Lake, UT: By the Author, 1964).

49. LeBaron, *LeBaron Story*, 137-307; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 214-17; Bradlee and Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood*, 135-350; my interview with Richard W. Forbes, Assistant Chief Investigator of the Salt Lake County Attorney’s office, on 26 July 1989; Richard W. Forbes interview by Ken Verdoia on 7 Dec. 1989, copy in my possession; Solomon, *In My Father’s House*, 88, 92-93, 150, 250; Rena Chynoweth [acquitted of Rulon Allred’s murder, but now publicly admits it], *Blood Covenant* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1990).

50. My interview with Richard W. Forbes; Forbes interview by Ken Verdoia.

of Colonia LeBaron and reported that its population of about 1,000 is divided among the Church of the Firstborn and other LeBaron churches, with an added 300 LeBaron followers in an unnamed location (probably the LeBaron colony of Los Molinos in Baja California).⁵¹ Followers of LeBaron's patriarchal authority are also scattered from San Diego, throughout the West, and in Central America, and now add probably another 400 hundred men, women, and children outside the two LeBaron communes in Mexico.⁵² Therefore, the LeBaron churches now have about 1,700 people as the third largest organized form of Mormon fundamentalism.

THE GROUPS: DAVIS COUNTY CO-OPERATIVE

Then there is the financially diversified Kingston group, incorporated as the "Davis County Co-operative." One fundamentalist described it as "the most outstanding example in all Mormondom of patriarchal family effort to establish [an economic] united order."⁵³ Outsiders know a general outline of the Kingston group. Charles W. Kingston was initially aligned with Lorin C. Woolley's fundamentalist authority, but in 1935 his son Eldon Kingston received an angelic commission to begin strict economic communalism with the Kingston family and their followers in Davis County, Utah, immediately north of Salt Lake City. In the early years these ascetic people wore a uniform: blue bib-overalls for males and blue dresses for females, with no pockets and tied at the waist with string.

Fifty years later outsiders knew the Kingstons had given up uniforms, still lived austere as individuals, and were led by Eldon's much married brother John Ortell Kingston. The group had financial holdings in Utah that attracted front page attention of the *Wall Street Journal*: a 300-acre dairy farm in Davis County, a cattle ranch and coal mine in Emery County, the Bobco Discount Store, the United Bank, a restaurant equipment business, a clothing factory, wholesale distributors, shoe-repair

51. My telephone interview with Leslie Fagen; LeBaron, *LeBaron Story*, 228, 250-54, 293-94, 297, 299. Also my telephone interview with Fred Collier on 7 Apr. 1990; *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Pt. 1, pp. 1, 24.

52. LeBaron, *LeBaron Story*, v, 228, 294, 299, referred to families living in San Diego and Central America in the early 1980s. In a telephone interview on 7 April 1990, Fred Collier in Utah says he is presiding patriarch of a Church of the Firstborn that has less than one hundred total members in Utah, California, Oregon, and Washington. Although Collier's ordination came through Ross Wesley LeBaron, Ross has had a different organization in Utah which is described along with a Colorado splinter from Ervil LeBaron's church, in *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Part I, 1, 24.

53. Harold Woolley Blackmore, *Patriarchal Order of Family Government* (Hurricane, UT: By the Author, 1974), 94. Owen Allred, presiding elder of the Apostolic United Brethren, expressed similar praise in my interview with him on 29 July 1989.

stores, as well as a 1,000-acre farm in Idaho.⁵⁴ Beyond that, the Kingston group is so secretive that even other Mormon fundamentalists regard it as virtually impenetrable.⁵⁵

More details about the Kingstons have come from a plural wife within its inner circle and a man involved in the economic operation of the Davis County Co-operative.⁵⁶ Among the faithful, it was first known as the "New Order," and each of its male heads of household was identified by number, with "Number One" for the descendant of Jesus Christ who leads the group: initially Eldon Kingston and later Ortell Kingston. Only the inner circle used these numbers, but "Ortell Kingston [as "Number One"] was absolutely the dictatorial [leader], in other words, what Ortell Kingston said, went. He was a very wise economic manager. But there wasn't any council—although there was a [priesthood] council—but there wasn't any council that he needed to meet with. He made decisions. Whatever decision he made, it happened." After Ortell's death, his sister provided functional direction for the Co-operative, in concert with Merlin Kingston as religious leader.

The group has abandoned some of its early practices, but not essential ones. In addition to the long-discarded blue uniforms, in its early years the Kingstons were also the only fundamentalists to control the diet of the faithful: only one designated food (such as squash) each day in unlimited amounts. Although non-fundamentalists and even the Allred group's presiding elder have assumed that the Kingstons have also abandoned plural marriage along with the distinctive dress and dietary rules,⁵⁷ polygamy is still alive within the inner circle. It is restricted primarily to the Kingstons and their kin. "However, there are a lot of interests that draw away from the interest toward plural marriage, especially the emphasis on economic success."

In fact, the Davis County Co-operative is far more extensive than previously understood. In addition to the already identified holdings, the Kingston group owned Murray First Thrift until it was absorbed by another bank. Through a variety of wholly-owned subsidiaries and a maze of company names, the Davis County Co-operative has published tele-

54. Above information on the Kingstons comes from Blackmore, *Patriarchal Order*, 94-95; Hilton, "Polygamy in Utah," 38-41; Wright, "Origins and Development of the Church of the Firstborn," 58-59; Bradlee and Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood*, 167; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 212; *Wall Street Journal*, 12 Feb. 1985, 1; interview with Richard W. Forbes. In the years since this publicity, the Kingstons have disposed of some of these businesses and acquired others.

55. My interviews with Ogden Kraut, Owen Allred, and Ann _____ (this last one on 28 July 1989).

56. The following comes from "Jane Doe Kingston," information submitted in writing on 25 Apr. 1989, and my interview with "George Mason" on 26 Jan. 1990.

57. Hilton, "Plural Marriage," 38; interview with Owen Allred.

phone directories, screen prints T-shirts and sports shirts, owns a trucking company, hardware stores, pawn shops, and clothing stores in Utah, and distributes a variety of products (including video games) to local chain stores and other businesses. In addition, this Mormon fundamentalist organization began doing business with Communist China before it was fashionable in America to do so, and became the exclusive distributor to stores throughout the United States of work gloves and clothing manufactured in the People's Republic of China.

Without stating the full extent of the Kingston group's revenues, the source for this economic information indicated that the Co-operative's income is far more than a million dollars a month. Until recently computerized, the accounting for these businesses and their thousands of employees was done by hand in a warehouse-size office staffed by women, primarily plural wives: "Now, all of these women that did all of this accounting, they brought all of their kids. In the next area, there was a yard and fence and things. And they brought all their kids, and they took turns babysitting each other's kids. Or their older children came [after school] and babysat the children."

The far-flung economic empire of the Davis County Co-operative also creates problems for numbering membership in the Kingston group because there are various levels of participation. Those at the lowest level of trust—numbering in the thousands—are employees who may not even realize that they are employed by a Mormon fundamentalist organization. In the second level, employees agree with the Co-operative to reduce their paychecks to the amount necessary to pay for such things as rent, mortgage, utilities, government taxes, etc. At this level the Co-operative withholds the balance of salary, and each month gives the employee a special card redeemable for all goods and services in Co-operative enterprises, with discounts from 10 percent to 50 percent or more. The discounts are calculated monthly according to the Co-operative's profit margin for each item or service, and applied to the next month's card.

The Kingston inner circle refuses to discuss religion with those at this second level, even if the special cardholders are polygamists from other fundamentalist groups. At the third level of trust in the Davis County Co-operative, the participant receives an even smaller paycheck, but now receives an apartment or house from among the Co-operative's widely dispersed real estate holdings. Some participants at this third level become assistant managers or managers of Kingston enterprises, and because of this trust, religion may enter the relationship, at last. But not necessarily, because "the only people they trusted to really know what was going on were those that were in the family." The Kingston group's children move through the second and third levels with inside knowledge and equal unwillingness to discuss religion with outsiders in those levels of the Co-op-

erative.

Once the Davis County Co-operative became successful, it stopped seeking converts, and now even a trusted outsider may take years (if ever) to finally gain membership at the Kingston group's center. For some, this may come only through polygamous marriage into one of the families at the core. "Those that go to church together are the Kingstons and their families, and a few people of the Fundamentalist point of view." Even here, economic and business matters dominate Sunday meetings for a people who continue to live in austerity despite the cooperative wealth of their organization. This inner circle is really the only level of the Kingston group where participants can be considered Mormon fundamentalists, because "the Davis County Co-operative isn't really a religious organization." Dominated by descendants of the original core of Kingstons, kin, and early converts, the Kingston group's inner circle is made up of about 1,000 persons who can be considered fundamentalist members.⁵⁸ This is the last fundamentalist group of significant size.

THE GROUPS: MISCELLANEOUS

Ogden Kraut observes that there is a wide assortment of tiny groups—"splinters of splinters"—some with half a dozen followers.⁵⁹ A generous estimate is that no more than 1,000 men, women, and children belong to this collection of small organizations of Mormon fundamentalists.

The larger groups duplicate many functions of the LDS church. They have sacrament (Communion) meetings, Sunday school classes, and separate meetings for children, youth, women, and ordained men. In addition, fundamentalist groups accept tithing, have incorporated, and obtained tax-exempt status. Nevertheless, in such groups as Allred's Apostolic United Brethren, the priesthood leadership receives no salary, stipend, or living allowance.⁶⁰

58. As indicated earlier, all the above data on the Kingston group comes from "Jane Doe Kingston," information submitted in writing on 25 Apr. 1989, and my interview with "George Mason."

59. My interview with Kraut. For brief discussion of fundamentalist groups of even small size, see Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Restoration Research, 1990), and Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 573-79.

60. My interview with Owen Allred; Owen Allred interview by Ken Verdoia on 18 Dec. 1989, copy in my possession; interview with Sam S. Barlow; LeBaron, *The LeBaron Story*, 123-28, 137-82, 297-300. By contrast, in the LDS church there is an ample monthly living allowance provided to its lifetime general authorities and also to church officers in full-time service temporarily. This amounts to fewer than 500 salaried ecclesiastical officers at one time in a church of 10 million, compared with literally hundreds of thousands of unsalaried LDS church officers.

OUTSIDE THE GROUPS: THE INDEPENDENTS

This duplication of church functions alienates independent fundamentalists who believe that Lorin C. Woolley's commission of authority was limited to keeping plural marriage alive, and nothing more. They affirm that before his death in 1934, Woolley said fundamentalists should not collect tithing, congregate, colonize, or proselytize. Louis A. Kelsch, Jr., was the youngest member of Woolley's Council of Friends, and is regarded as "the first independent," because he dissented from these developments as early as 1941. Independents share a pessimism that Mormon fundamentalism has also gone "out of order."

The only meetings conducted by independents are private discussions in a family's home, where the sacrament is administered by those with priesthood. If unrelated families gather on Sundays, meeting places rotate, so that a different head of household conducts each week to avoid the appearance of leadership.

Independent fundamentalists estimate their own diverse numbers as two or three thousand. This is supported by the fact that fundamentalists in the Kelsch family alone currently amount to three hundred people.⁶¹ Therefore, it is safe to estimate the total number of independent fundamentalists as approximately 2,500 men, women, and children who live in urban centers like Salt Lake City, Boise, Las Vegas, Denver, Phoenix, and Los Angeles, as well as rural areas throughout the Far West.⁶²

Although they might not define themselves this way, independent fundamentalists are anti-institutional, frequently anti-authoritarian, and very pluralistic. Their lack of orthodoxy and hierarchy accommodates such diverse independents as Ernest Strack and Alex Joseph. Strack was a 1970s hippie communalist who continued his Sufi Islamic philosophy as a Mormon fundamentalist. When this gentle individualist and polygamist died of cancer at age thirty-seven during the centennial year of the Manifesto, the funeral motorcade in Utah was almost a mile long.⁶³

On the other hand, Big Water, Utah's, polygamist mayor Alex Joseph says: "I'm not an LDS Fundamentalist, but I personally subscribe to too many Mormon doctrines to deny I'm a Mormon Fundamentalist." His polygamist wives include two Catholics, a Methodist, and a Presbyterian,

61. Above information on independents comes from Bishop and Bishop, *The Truth about John W. Woolley, Lorin C. Woolley and The Council of Friends*, 11, 85; my interviews with Kraut, Potter, Albert E. Barlow (on 27 July 1989), Ann _____, and Barbara Owen Kelsch.

62. *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Part I, 24, estimated that in the Los Angeles area alone there are 1,200 polygamists. This is a wildly inflated estimate, even though my interviews indicate that Southern California is home to some independent fundamentalists and some members of various groups.

63. Ernest Strack to D. Michael Quinn, 17 June 1989; Mary Hak Strack to D. Michael Quinn, 7 Apr. 1990.

and neither he nor his wives observe the LDS Word of Wisdom's prohibition of alcohol and tobacco. This is contrary to the practice of other Mormon fundamentalists.

At the vernal equinox in 1977, Alex Joseph helped found the Confederate Nations of Israel. *The Encyclopedia of American Religions* classifies it as one of the "Polygamy-Practicing Groups" of Mormonism. Actually, by fundamentalist definitions, this is a *non-group* confederation of independent "patriarchs" (including Ogden Kraut, at first). A fourth of its 400 members are living in polygamous families throughout the United States, yet few of them have ever been part of any Mormon tradition. Catholics, Protestants, Eastern religionists, atheists, and sexually-active homosexuals join independent Mormon fundamentalists as patriarchs in the Confederate Nations of Israel.⁶⁴ Independent Mormon fundamentalists include political liberals and conservatives, religious conservatives and ecumenicals, as well as social conservatives and liberals.

GROWTH BY BIRTH AND CONVERSION

How then have approximately 21,000 men, women, and children become part of Mormon fundamentalism? First, primarily through birth into fundamentalist families. Second, since fundamentalists do not actively proselytize, the relatively few converts actually seek out fundamentalism.

As much as three-fourths of current membership in the organized groups were born into fundamentalism. Many fundamentalists today are members of families that have an unbroken pattern of polygamy which extends well before the 1890 Manifesto. For example, Louis J. Barlow of Colorado City was the fourth generation to be born in plural marriage, and Morris Jessop in the Allred group was the third generation of his family to be born in the Principle. Both these men were born to fundamentalist parents, and now have grandchildren themselves. This pattern of three or four generations of affiliation with fundamentalism is true of the Colorado City, Allred, LeBaron, and Kingston groups, and is even true of independents like the Louis A. Kelsch, Jr., family. Since the groups account for 90 percent of the movement, few current Mormon fundamentalists have ever been baptized members of the LDS church.⁶⁵

64. My interview with Alex Joseph on 29 Mar. 1990; *Deseret News*, 5 Sept. 1990. Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 576, gives the organization date as 1978, but this essay follows the 1977 date given in Joseph's interview. For his earlier view of himself and his activities, see Alex Joseph, *A Nickel's Worth: Channel 4 Television Interview with Polygamist Alex Joseph, aired May 22, 1977* (Salt Lake City: Dennis R. Short, 1977). See also Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 236, where she discusses Alex Joseph under the name of Ronald Ellison.

65. Morris Jessop interview by Ken Verdoia on 20 Jan. 1990 (copy in my possession), and Louis J. Barlow, interview by Verdoia; my interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch; also my interview with Ann _____, and my interview with "Jane Doe Allred" (on 29 July 1989).

What of the converts to Mormon fundamentalism? In the early years of the movement, virtually everyone was a convert directly from the LDS church, for which the church excommunicated most of them sooner or later. A plural wife, who has known many converts to independent fundamentalism in the last decade, notes that most of the converts from the church are in their thirties and forties.⁶⁶ My own fieldwork indicates that recent converts to Mormon fundamentalism come from two directions: previous converts to the LDS church from other faiths, and LDS church members with polygamous ancestry. There seem to be few conversions by those with strictly monogamous Mormon ancestry.

No fundamentalist group now actively proselytizes, and so potential converts seek out fundamentalist writers, leaders, or friends. Owen Allred says he is aware of only fifteen or twenty couples annually who convert from the LDS church to fundamentalism.⁶⁷ Ogden Kraut's fundamentalist publications cause many investigators to seek him out, and he observes that fundamentalist conversions rise sharply after every change the modern church makes in LDS doctrine and policy. Those changes in the LDS church occur frequently enough that fundamentalism does not suffer by refusing to send out missionaries. Kraut also says, "Actually there's a lot of people who are not Mormons who become interested in Fundamentalism."⁶⁸ Therefore, growth in the groups is primarily through the birthrate, but conversions add significantly to the smaller numbers of independents.

THE APPEAL OF MORMON FUNDAMENTALISM

Contrary to popular assumptions, polygamy is not what attracts most converts to Mormon fundamentalism. For example, as a convert to the LDS church, Roy Potter sought out fundamentalists in 1979 after being censured by church authorities for inquiring about Brigham Young's Adam-God teachings. He regarded current ecclesiastical denial of the church's past as evidence that the LDS church "is out of order." Plural marriage was a later consideration.⁶⁹ A few years ago, about six English families began reading nineteenth-century teachings of the LDS church, sent a representative to Utah, and eventually joined the Allred group. Again, for these men and women in England, polygamy became significant afterwards.⁷⁰

Interviews with fundamentalist youth indicate that a major appeal of

66. My telephone interview with Ann _____ on 27 Mar. 1990.

67. My interview with Owen Allred.

68. My interview with Kraut.

69. My interview with Roy Potter.

70. My interviews with Ann _____ and Owen Allred.

fundamentalism is the intensity of its doctrinal emphasis, compared with the primarily social emphasis of the LDS church. A fifteen-year-old girl in a plural family does not like the LDS services she has attended because "it was like they would announce all the sports things, announce all the picnics they were going to, and maybe they had a short verse and a song." Then after a general meeting with too little doctrine, she found she was the only one in her LDS Sunday school class who could answer questions, "just simple stuff that you'd think all the kids in the class would know, but nobody knew it."⁷¹ A nineteen-year-old fundamentalist has joined the LDS church just to go on a full-time mission, and reported back to his friend in the Allred group that "there wasn't really any doctrine presented to the people in their [LDS] meetings." To the LDS rebuttal that its church meetings emphasize faith, repentance, and baptism, fundamentalist teenagers reply, "But not deep doctrine."⁷² For these fundamentalist teenagers, the LDS church is too shallow in doctrinal emphasis compared with the sermons and class discussions they are accustomed to.

A young man who converted to fundamentalism at eighteen comments on this from a different perspective. He had been a strict Mormon since childhood, was the leader of his teenage priesthood quorums, and kept doing more than was required, but felt something was missing. "In the Mormon church when I would sit through a meeting I would feel depressed and bored as though I had learned nothing." In LDS classes and release-time seminary, he was always asking questions: "How come this? and How come that?—and they were telling me 'Don't worry about it,' and I told them, 'Well, I've gotta worry about it, because it's buggin' me.'" Two years after his conversion to fundamentalism, this young man no longer pesters teachers or speakers with questions, but instead generally sits quietly in fundamentalist meetings, listening to presentations of "deep doctrine" which he ponders long after the meetings.⁷³

The observations of these teenage fundamentalists are consistent with statements by adults who leave the LDS church for fundamentalism. Converts to Mormon fundamentalism do not hunger for polygamy—they thirst for a greater doctrinal and spiritual emphasis than they have known in the LDS church. In particular, interest in Brigham Young's Adam-God doctrine leads many church members to feel that there is a chasm between the free-wheeling Mormon doctrines of the nineteenth century and the orderly, sanitized theology of the twentieth-century LDS church.

In fact, polygamy can sometimes be the most difficult part of a Mor-

71. My interview with Sarah _____, age fifteen, on 16 Jan. 1990.

72. My interview with Jeremy Thompson, age seventeen, on 17 Jan. 1990.

73. My interview with Damon Cook, age twenty, on 26 Jan. 1990.

mon's conversion to fundamentalism. The teenage convert's first interest in fundamentalism was the Adam-God doctrine. His second question was whether people should follow "a prophet or was it to be Jesus who we were supposed to follow." This young convert finally got around to polygamy, saying "that was tough for me to accept at first because I'd always been taught that it was wrong and wicked, and things like that." With the church's exponential conversions in recent decades, relatively few Latter-day Saints have a polygamous heritage, and so polygamy is a social and religious obstacle for most church members. "Except for descendants of pioneer polygamists with a sense of history," notes a feminist expert on Mormon fundamentalism, "polygamy is as foreign to the contemporary Mormon as it might be to someone outside the Church. For some it is barely part of their mythic past."⁷⁴

This teenage convert to Mormon fundamentalism explains his slow acceptance of polygamy. "When I heard that people were taking two or three, I felt that wasn't being very faithful to the first wife, and it took a while to accept it. I had to do a lot of praying, a lot of fasting over it. ... Gradually I just started accepting it."⁷⁵

However, there are exceptions to this reluctant acceptance of plural marriage. One plural wife says that in her conversion in Colorado from the United Church of Christ to the LDS church, she read Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132, and became converted to the necessity of plural marriage as part of her conversion to the LDS church. Shortly after her LDS baptism, she was stunned to learn that the church now prohibits plural marriage. A year later, as a transfer student at Brigham Young University, she became a fundamentalist and plural wife at age twenty-one.⁷⁶

FUNDAMENTALIST RELATIONS WITH THE LDS CHURCH

Many mainline Mormons do not understand the fundamentalist attitude toward the LDS church, which has certainly not tried to endear itself to Mormon fundamentalists. From the 1930s until recently, LDS church leaders established surveillance teams for fundamentalist meeting places and homes, denied baptism to children of fundamentalists, prohibited fundamentalist children from attending Primary classes, and excommunicated adults on the basis of guilt by association, for beliefs rather than acts, and for refusing to deny rumors or sign loyalty oaths. LDS surveillance teams copied down license plate numbers in order to identify those

74. Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Changed Faces: The Official LDS Position on Polygamy, 1890-1990," *Sunstone* 14 (Feb. 1990): 32. See also "Monogamous Triumph," in Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, 336-62.

75. My interview with Damon Cook.

76. My interview with Carla Foster on 16 Jan. 1990.

visiting the homes of fundamentalists, and a Brigham Young University professor was once discovered using a telephoto lens to photograph license plates of cars at meetings of the Allred group. There were even some fake conversions, so that LDS spies could operate within fundamentalist groups. Beyond ecclesiastical harassment and punishment, LDS church leaders have encouraged punitive legislation, turned over surveillance information to law enforcement, pressured public libraries to remove fundamentalist publications, urged the postal service to deny mailing privileges to fundamentalists, and supported the forced adoption of all polygamous children into monogamous homes.⁷⁷

From the earliest years of the fundamentalist movement to the present, LDS leaders have also encouraged an informer-syndrome that sometimes poisons family relationships. One plural wife was excommunicated in 1970 after her sister reported her to church authorities. "This was not at all vindictive," the plural wife says, "just the involvement of circumstances which we anticipated—to be excommunicated—but even when you expect it, it's still a real heartache." Then she adds, "The whole life you love is the church."⁷⁸ That love drove one LDS mother to initiate criminal proceedings against her own son for polygamy, and his polygamous daughter comments of her grandmother: "I think she did that mostly because she was really angry that my dad had gone ahead and entered into polygamy, and she wanted him to stay in the Mormon church. So my Mom was in hiding, and I was raised in hiding until I was five."⁷⁹ Church leaders were mistaken if they expected fundamentalists to repudiate the LDS church in the face of these assaults.

Whether excommunicated or never LDS, nearly all fundamentalists (outside the LeBaron churches) regard the LDS church as the only true church—divinely instituted, with God's full authority to receive revelations, perform saving ordinances, proselytize, and teach. Until recently, the leaders of Colorado City's Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints insisted that this title did not refer to a separate church, but only distinguished their Priesthood Work from the "monogamous church," and that they revered the LDS church as God's only true church. The Fundamentalist church legally incorporated in 1991 due to an on-go-

77. Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark*, 183-85; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 195-98; Driggs, "After the Manifesto," 381; my interviews with Albert E. Barlow, Kraut, Barbara Owen Kelsch, and Larry McCurdy (on 21 Jan. 1990); Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 12, 97, 244; Rhea Allred Kunz, *Voices of Women Approbating Celestial or Plural Marriage*, Vol. 2 (Draper, UT: Review and Preview Publishers, 1985), 482-87; Bradley, "Changed Faces: The Official LDS Position on Polygamy, 1890-1990," 29, 30, 31.

78. My interview with "Jane Doe Allred."

79. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

ing lawsuit by its separatist Hammond-Timpson group.⁸⁰

Like many who were hounded by church repression, Rulon C. Allred felt resentment and pain, but taught his children that the LDS church "was our church—the One True on the face of the earth, he said, although it was currently out of order." Meetings of the Apostolic United Brethren are canceled during the semi-annual general conferences in Salt Lake City so that the Allred fundamentalists can listen to talks by LDS general authorities. In the Allred academies of Salt Lake and Montana, each morning students pray facing the direction of the Salt Lake temple, to which Mormon fundamentalists are denied admission by the LDS church.⁸¹

Owen Allred, excommunicated in 1942, says, "Yes, I love the church—I still do to this day. I believe it is God's church," even if it "has drifted" in order to be accepted by the world.⁸² One excommunicated plural wife (an independent) admits: "I still like it. They have a skeleton of what was given them. It's true that the services are pretty boring, and you jump for joy if you hear anyone give a speech on Christ."⁸³ Most Mormon fundamentalists so thoroughly indoctrinate their children to revere the LDS church that teenagers even express their love for a church whose meetings they have never attended.⁸⁴

In fact, before the groups developed their own church-like functions, fundamentalists participated in the activities of the LDS church until church authorities discovered this duality and excommunicated them. LeGrand Woolley remained active in the LDS church even after he became a member of Lorin Woolley's Priesthood Council in 1929.⁸⁵ In a fundamentalist ordinance in 1941, B. Harvey Allred, Jr., conferred the Melchizedek priesthood on his son, after which unknowing LDS church authorities ordained Owen Allred to the office of elder. Owen remained both a fundamentalist and church member until excommunicated twelve

80. My interview with Sam S. Barlow; my telephone interview with Ken Verdoia on 28 Mar. 1990; also Louis J. Barlow, Director of Colorado City Seminary program of the Fundamentalist Church, interview by Ken Verdoia; Driggs, "Fundamentalist Attitudes Toward the Church," 51-52. Information on the incorporation of the Fundamentalist church was obtained in my telephone interview with Ken Driggs, 16 July 1991. See n41.

81. Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 95; Dorothy Allred Solomon interview by Ken Verdoia on 6 Jan. 1990, copy in my possession; Mabel Allred, plural widow of Rulon C. Allred, interview by Katherine Lundell; my telephone interview with Ken Verdoia on 28 Mar. 1990. Rulon Allred's ambivalence of reverence and resentment is clear in the contrasting obituaries he wrote for LDS church president Heber J. Grant in *Truth* 11 (June 1945): 17, and (July 1945): 41.

82. My interview with Owen Allred.

83. My interview with Carla Foster.

84. For example, my interview with Jeremy Thompson.

85. Jesse B. Stone, "Jewish Influence on Mormon Church" (Salt Lake City, ca. 1940), by a former Mormon fundamentalist turned pro-Nazi.

years later.⁸⁶ Ogden Kraut served a mission for the LDS church in 1948 after being ordained to the office of seventy for that mission by Joseph W. Musser, fundamentalist leader and publisher of *Truth*. Kraut continued as an active elder in the LDS church and as a fundamentalist seventy and publisher until his excommunication for apostasy in 1972.⁸⁷

Living a dual church-fundamentalist life remains an individual choice today, even for teenagers. A fifteen-year-old fundamentalist girl (an independent) says: "I've kind of dropped out from being active in the church, because I think it's kind of compromising for me because my mom was a member of the church and they excommunicated her."⁸⁸ On the other hand, some teenage boys among the independents today receive ordinations within the LDS church if possible, while those in groups rarely do.⁸⁹ A teenage boy in the Allred group says, "They do urge us to go on missions [for the LDS church] but it's not a real common practice,"⁹⁰ and the youths I interviewed from the Allred and Colorado City groups have no interest in serving a mission for the LDS church. However, one of these boys has a fundamentalist friend who joined the church for no other reason than to preach the basic principles of the LDS gospel to non-Mormons. This nineteen-year-old is serving a two-year mission (during which he supports himself with savings or family assistance). LDS church leaders do not realize this missionary is a believing fundamentalist.⁹¹

This study's teenage convert to fundamentalism is not as fortunate. He admitted to local LDS leaders that he believed Mormonism's old-time religion, and they refused to allow him to serve a mission. They rejected his solemn promise to preach only the Book of Mormon and other basic principles expected of LDS missionaries today. Now at age twenty, he can hardly contain his sorrow at this disappointment. He had planned and saved since early childhood to serve a full-time mission for the church he still regards as God's own.⁹²

MONOGAMY AND POLYGAMY AMONG MORMON FUNDAMENTALISTS

Even less understood is the relationship between the actual living of polygamy and the affirmation of each Mormon fundamentalist that plu-

86. My interview with Owen Allred.

87. My interview with Kraut.

88. My interview with Ruth Foster on 16 Jan. 1990.

89. My interviews with Ann _____, Owen Allred, Jonathan D. Robinson (age sixteen, on 26 Jan. 1990), and James _____ (age nineteen, on 30 Jan. 1990).

90. My interview with Jeremy Thompson.

91. My interviews with Jeremy Thompson, Jonathan D. Robinson, and James _____.

92. My interview with Damon Cook.

ral marriage must be allowed today. For example, Albert E. Barlow delayed marrying a plural wife for more than twelve years after his conversion to fundamentalism in 1922. He had the distinction later of serving two prison terms for unlawful cohabitation with his wives.⁹³ Ogden Kraut was a fundamentalist for twenty-one years as an adult before he married a plural wife in 1969, and says he knows many independent fundamentalists who are bachelors "of all ages, for one reason or another."⁹⁴

Some independent fundamentalists are so disillusioned that they discourage their families from entering polygamy. Roy Potter was dismissed from the police department of Murray, Utah, because of his polygamy. Eventually he took his case all the way to the Supreme Court.⁹⁵ Due to the strain on his wives of his legal battle to regain a policeman's badge, Roy Potter is now a monogamist. He is not planning to marry again, and has turned down proposals from several women. He also reports that independents who entered polygamy decades ago are now encouraging their children and grandchildren "not to enter into polygamy" because Mormon fundamentalism is "so out of order that you can't possibly do it properly."⁹⁶ Nevertheless, such disillusioned independents do not reject Mormon fundamentalist essentials or suggest acceptance of the current LDS church position on those essentials.

Owen Allred reports that only a small minority of his group's adults have married polygamously. Only 10-15 percent of the adults are living polygamously in the Allred group in Salt Lake Valley, Cedar City, Utah, and Pinesdale, Montana. Only 5 percent of the Mexican fundamentalists at Ozumba are polygamous. The Allred fundamentalists in Germany and the Netherlands are monogamous, but several English fundamentalists are polygamous. As presiding elder of the Apostolic United Brethren, Allred says, "Actually I discourage it ... if you're not ready for Celestial Marriage, if you're not qualified to live it, if you do not have a testimony that it is a law of God and not something to satisfy your own personal whims ..." When a man or woman comes to him seeking permission to court polygamously, Owen Allred usually responds, "Now wait a minute, dear brother or sister, let's be careful."⁹⁷

On the other hand, leaders of the Johnson-Jeffs group actively pro-

93. My interview with Albert E. Barlow.

94. My interview with Kraut.

95. King, "The Mormon Underground Fights Back," 24-25; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 219-22; Royston Potter, *An Offender for a Word: The Polygamy Case of Royston Potter vs. Murray City, et al.* (Salt Lake City: Pioneer Press, 1986).

96. My interview with Roy Potter.

97. My interview with Owen Allred; also his interview in *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Part I, 25.

mote plural marriage among their followers in Colorado City, Arizona, and Hildale, Utah, the Salt Lake Valley, and elsewhere. The bachelorhood among independents is virtually unknown after the mid-twenties in the Colorado City group, since unmarried young men can expect intense, personal persuasion from family and the Priesthood of the Johnson-Jeffs group. On-site fieldwork indicates that a majority of the adults in Colorado City and Hildale have entered polygamous marriages, and that nearly everyone in these communities is either living in polygamous households and/or was born to polygamous fathers.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, married men of great devotion (and real interest in plural marriage) may not be allowed to marry a plural wife in the Colorado City group.⁹⁹ The extensive plural marriage in the Johnson-Jeffs group contrasts with near-reticence among independents and the Allred group.

DATING AND COURTSHIP

Which leads to how Mormon fundamentalists enter into marriage, both monogamous and polygamous. This is approached differently by fundamentalists, and the most marked contrast is between the Allred group and independents on one hand, and the Colorado City group on the other.

For the independents and the Allred group, youth activities and dating come before a marriage proposal. A sixteen-year-old boy in the Allred group says, "They have dances for the youth, kind of ballroom dances, but like Virginia reel and stuff like that."¹⁰⁰ A young woman adds that the Allred group's Youth of Zion organizes firesides with speakers, snow tubing parties at Park City, kite-flying parties, treasure hunts, volleyball, basketball and baseball games, and rents rinks for ice-skating and roller-skating parties.¹⁰¹ Teenagers in independent fundamentalist families do not usually join these organized activities of the Apostolic United Brethren, even if they have friends in the group.

Independent youth and the Allred youth also have activities on their own for group dates or couple dates. Contrary to outsider assumptions about the barrenness of fundamentalist social life, these teenage funda-

98. My telephone interview with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 17 Oct. 1989, concerning her fieldwork in Colorado City; also estimate that "70 percent of the adults in Colorado City and Hildale engage in the practice of plural marriage," according to dissident Carl Fischer's deposition, 90, on 23 Aug. 1988, Fifth Judicial District Court for Washington County, Utah, in re Probate No. 3023, copy in my possession.

99. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley. Contrary to his own desires, her father has been a monogamist in the Colorado City group since his plural wife left him nineteen years before our interview. As discussed below, the Priesthood Council arranges marriage.

100. My interview with Jonathan D. Robinson.

101. My interview with Heather _____, age twenty-two, on 17 Jan. 1990.

mentalists play Nintendo at home, play tennis, go water skiing and bowling, and see popular movies, including a few R-rated movies. In the Salt Lake Valley, teenagers from independent families and from the Allred group also go to the Lagoon amusement park in Davis County, to the 49th Street Galleria (now Utah Fun Dome), to the Raging Waters water park, and to dance clubs in Salt Lake City such as The Bay and Palladium where they can dance to the rock and modern music unavailable at Allred group dances.¹⁰² A sixteen-year-old boy in the Allred group says, "My dad was never very strict so I really could go and do anything I wanted, really, unlike most of the kids in the group." He has played the electric guitar in a rock band, but adds, "I'm trying to get off it, because I shouldn't be."¹⁰³

Dating in the Allred group is a serious matter, though. A twenty-two-year-old young woman says that in monogamous dating, young men can ask the girl directly, but usually ask her father first. Her own polygamist father tells the shy young men, "Well, don't ask me; you're not taking me out!" She and a teenage boy from the group both express disapproval of kissing before marital courtship. He also observes that there is no rule for a young man to follow if he learns (as this seventeen-year-old did) that a married man wants to court the teenager's girlfriend: "There's not really any certain way to go about it other than to follow your priesthood head, and by that I don't mean blindly do whatever he says. ... You need to find out by yourself by prayer and fasting what the proper channel is to take." He continued dating his girlfriend in spite of the older man's polygamous overtures, but "we kind of drifted apart mostly because I found out for myself that it was just too early for me and we needed to be friends." Monogamous courtship can last a year or more for young fundamentalists among the Apostolic United Brethren and the independents.¹⁰⁴

In the Allred group and among independents, polygamous courtship can begin early but is usually of short duration. A fifteen-year-old girl in an independent family comments: "In the fundamentalist environment—this isn't true all the time—but a lot of men just think that when a girl turns fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, that she's going to get married." She adds that a married man thinks a girl will marry him if she goes out with him more than once.¹⁰⁵ A young woman in the Allred group points out that, unlike monogamist dating, a married man is expected to ask the father's permission to court his daughter who has the right to turn down the request without ever talking to the prospective suitor. "If the girl feels like she wants to go out with them, she can. If she doesn't want to, she

102. My interviews with Ruth Foster and Heather _____.

103. My interview with Jonathan D. Robinson.

104. My interviews with Heather _____, Jeremy Thompson, and Sarah _____.

105. My interview with Sarah _____.

doesn't have to," and this twenty-two-year-old young woman adds that she has told her father to turn down "quite a few married men" who asked him.¹⁰⁶ When one girl joined the Allred group at age seventeen, she had seven polygamous proposals in two weeks, and the first "date" was always a discussion of what the man and his wife (wives) hoped for in a new wife.¹⁰⁷ Some fundamentalist men have their other wife (wives) join the first "date" with a prospective new wife.¹⁰⁸ Neither independents nor Allred group members seem to notice the irony that their patterns of courtship give enhanced status to monogamy through prolonged courtship as compared to brief, business-like polygamous courtship.

ARRANGED MARRIAGE

The Colorado City group eliminates that disparity between long monogamous courtship and brief polygamous courtship. As tersely put by one of its young men: "In our group we don't date."¹⁰⁹ Aside from attendance at classes and youth firesides, the Johnson group authorizes only one kind of close interaction between unmarried boys and girls: ballroom dances. These occur, for example, several times a month in Colorado City, where the waltz is a favorite among the youth.¹¹⁰ A plural wife raised in the Johnson group's Salt Lake Valley community observes that dating is absolutely prohibited because "we were raised believing that the Priesthood [Council] would choose our mate and that we were not to allow ourselves to fall in love with anybody." Predictably, some youths at Colorado City try to "get what they called 'sneaky dates.' I mean they'd sneak off and go places and talk." When a seventeen-year-old friend of hers got caught on a "sneaky date" with an eighteen-year-old boy, "they were called into the Priesthood. They were told they were not allowed to see each other again."¹¹¹

Therefore, in the Johnson group, boys alone or girls alone participate in a variety of unsponsored activities. In Colorado City those are primarily outdoor activities like hiking, camping, horseback riding, but can also include trips across the border to movie theaters in St. George, Utah. If they live in the Salt Lake Valley, the group's same-sex youth go out together and enjoy fast-food restaurants, bowling, miniature golf, Lagoon amusement park, movies such as *Indiana Jones* and *Batman*, and "what-

106. My interview with Heather ____.

107. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

108. Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 57.

109. My interview with James ____.

110. My interviews with James ____ and Sam S. Barlow.

111. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley. She left the Johnson group at age seventeen, to become a plural wife in the Allred group.

ever's fun."¹¹²

Although they enjoy the recreational fun of most teenagers, youth in the Johnson-Jeffs group anticipate with faith and solemnity the decision of the Priesthood Council regarding the most important event of their young lives: the selection of a marriage companion. Arranged marriage in the Colorado City group has three main perspectives: that of the Priesthood leaders, of the prospective husbands, and of the prospective wives.

Whether in Colorado City, Salt Lake Valley, Canada, or elsewhere, the president of the Priesthood (or a fellow member of his Council) in the Johnson group seeks divine inspiration to know God's will as the Priesthood selects worthy spouses.¹¹³ Just days after the 1953 raid, Louis J. Barlow (now director of the teenage release-time seminary program in Colorado City) gave a radio address that included a denial of hostile assumptions about arranged marriages at Short Creek: "There have been no forced marriages. Everyone is free to leave or stay as he chooses."¹¹⁴ His brother further explains that the Priesthood of the Colorado City group arranges marriages to give greater assurance of their stability and permanence, and also to be sure that the couples are not closely related in the tightly knit community. He affirms: "The first consideration, as I've known it, is to make sure the individuals feel free and at liberty to make their own choices."¹¹⁵

A young man in the Colorado City group indicates that males also defer to the marital decisions of the Priesthood. At age nineteen, he has never dated a girl, and when asked how he expects to know a girl, he replies, "Basically through the Priesthood. ... They basically decide who you're gonna marry. You can have a little a bit of your say. It's not just totally that they tell you. You have your say. ... You go to them. They won't come to you." This nineteen-year-old adds that it is most common for men to be twenty to twenty-one years old when "[you tell the Priesthood] you want to get married. Basically, they'll set it up." These are the marital expectations of young men in the Colorado City group.¹¹⁶ In first marriages the husband and wife are usually close in age.¹¹⁷

There are some differences in arranged plural marriages of the Colo-

112. My interview with James _____.

113. My telephone interview with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 17 Oct. 1989, concerning her fieldwork in Colorado City, Arizona; also Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 14-15.

114. His KSUB talk shortly after 26 July 1953; for the negative assessments, see Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 12-13; U.S. Senate, Committee of Judiciary to Study Juvenile Delinquency, Plural Marriage, 28 Apr.-2 May 1955, 84th Congress, 2d Session.

115. My interview with Sam S. Barlow.

116. My interview with James _____.

117. Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 15.

rado City group. The young man says that, unlike the decision for a first marriage, a man does not announce his interest in marrying polygamously: "The Priesthood decides. Basically, they ask you if you would like to do it. You say yes or no." And the man is free to indicate he is not interested in plural marriage "at the time." Then the nineteen-year-old repeats: "At the time." A faithful male may delay polygamous marriage, but cannot be considered faithful if he refuses the decision of the Priesthood for him to marry polygamously.¹¹⁸ However, married adults in Colorado City and a young woman who was there in the 1970s agree that men who wish to enter plural marriage can also state that interest to the Priesthood which then advises the men who to marry as a plural wife. In this case, even middle-aged men defer to the choices made by the Priesthood.¹¹⁹

Females in the Colorado City group are no more deferential to the Priesthood Council's choice of a mate than males are, except that the female's deference is mediated by her father. "Like if I was sixteen and I wanted to get married," a woman observes, "I would go to the Priesthood and I would say, with my father [there], that I'm ready to get married. Please tell me who I should get married to." In this case, however, her authoritarian father went to the Priesthood without her and obtained the name of a man for her to marry. After he admitted to her that the husband was an "old man," his teenage daughter said she was not even interested in knowing what the Priesthood told him. She eventually left the Johnson group, and became a plural wife in the Allred group. There she married a man of her own choosing, but eventually left him. Her five sisters continue in stable plural marriages that were arranged by the decision of Colorado City's Priesthood Council.¹²⁰

Members of the Colorado City group have assured outsiders that "romantic love [is] a frequent element in the courtship,"¹²¹ but that is supposed to happen *after* the Priesthood selects the partners, not before. This is the whole purpose of prohibiting dating. The discomfort with romantic attachments before the Priesthood's decision is indicated in a comment by one leader of the Colorado City community that if young people "make commitments to each other, then those are respected sometimes."¹²² The young woman who lived there in the early 1970s agrees

118. My interview with James _____.

119. Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 14; my interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

120. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley. About a year after she formally separated from him, he and his first wife were divorced, and he asked Caroline to remarry him as his legal wife. She did.

121. Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 15.

122. My interview with Sam S. Barlow.

that females could indicate their choice for a husband, but the Priesthood did not welcome such preference: "And then after that, they would call you and ask you if there was anybody you had in your mind. ... And your father would be sitting there, so you were automatically disgraced if you had someone in your mind. And the father would get very angry, because he felt like somebody who hadn't done his job—he hadn't kept his daughter away from other boys properly. So there was quite a bit of disgrace if you actually did fall in love with somebody who you really did want to get married to." Only a couple of her friends expressed the desire to marry young men prior to the Priesthood's choice, in which case the marriage occurred only after much contrary counseling and a long waiting period.¹²³

AGES OF WIVES AND HUSBANDS

This plural wife's family history raises the question of the age difference between husbands and plural wives in fundamentalist marriages. Her mother became a plural wife at fourteen, when her father was about thirty-seven. This plural wife herself married in the Allred group at seventeen to a man who was twenty years her senior, and shortly afterward introduced her seventeen-year-old friend as a new plural wife to her husband. This woman's sister married at nineteen to one of Colorado City's middle-aged priesthood leaders, Marion Hammon, who led the dissident "Second Ward." The 1953 raid and investigation showed that "the average age at first marriage for fundamentalist women in Short Creek was sixteen, though fourteen and fifteen were not uncommon."¹²⁴ Based on her observations twenty years later, this woman (who left the Johnson group and has now abandoned polygamy) says that for the females there "it's personal preference," with most choosing to accept an arranged marriage between the ages of sixteen and nineteen: "By the time you're twenty-one, you're an old maid." Despite her own mother's marriage at fourteen in the Salt Lake community of the Colorado City group, this woman disagrees with the 1953 court findings at Short Creek, and says it is "*uncommon* to be married at fourteen" in that group.¹²⁵

This is not always the case, but plural wives are often teenagers and sometimes twenty years younger than their polygamous husbands. On the other hand, when a fundamentalist male marries his first wife, she is usually close to his own age. This pattern holds true in all the groups, as

123. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

124. Ibid.; Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 14.

125. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley. Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 56, also comments, without source citation, that "In Colorado City many girls marry at fourteen," and that unmarried females there are "old maids" at age twenty.

well as among independent fundamentalists. Rulon C. Allred himself was middle-aged when he married two fifteen-year-old brides.¹²⁶ An independent plural wife in this study is twenty-seven years younger than her husband who is twenty-five to twenty-two years older than his other plural wives.¹²⁷ Independents like Ogden Kraut express discomfort at such age differences, and some fundamentalist men marry only wives their age or older.¹²⁸ On the other hand, the plural wives I interviewed for this study do not regret their youthful decisions after fifteen to twenty years of marriage.

There are LDS church and Utah state perspectives on fundamentalist teen brides. Joseph Smith himself in his mid-thirties married a seventeen-year-old and a fifteen-year-old as plural wives, and their marriages were not platonic.¹²⁹ In Utah 23.5 percent of females who married monogamously in 1986 were teenagers, compared with 13.1 percent of females nationally who married that year.¹³⁰ "Well, in Utah the age of consent for marriage is fourteen, if the parents agree," observes the director of the Utah Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. "But if they do it for religious reason, then people get upset."¹³¹

One such upset person is the director of Utah Children. This child advocacy group has filed *amicus curiae* briefs in the Fischer adoption case against the right of polygamist families to adopt any children, including orphaned polygamous children: "We also note that young women are frequently given very early in marriage. And we do not think to give girls in marriage is in their best interest." Such opponents regard teenage monogamous marriage as regrettable, but see teenage polygamous marriage as evil. Although Utah Children and others deny that religion is the issue, they actually regard polygamous religious conviction as inherently coercive for teenage girls.¹³²

126. Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 47, 79. Of the three polygamist families featured in Campbell "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," only one man had married teenage brides.

127. My interview with Carla Foster.

128. My interview with Kraut. Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 38, 39, gives examples of this alternate pattern of same-or-older-aged plural wives.

129. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1977), 313, 355; Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 146-47.

130. *Marriage and Divorce: 1987* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Vital Records and Health Statistics, 1987), 10.

131. Michelle Parrish-Pixler interview by Ken Verdoia on 6 Dec. 1989, copy in my possession.

132. Rosalind McGee interview by Katherine Lundell and Ken Verdoia on 15 Jan. 1990, copy in my possession; also "Utah Children Files Amicus Brief Opposing Adoption of Six Children By Polygamist Couple" (Salt Lake City: Press Release by Utah Children, 31 May 1989). The specific instance is the Fischer family adoption case, *In the Matter of Wayne Allen Thornton et al.*, Number 890053, Priority Number 7 (Utah Supreme Court). This family is featured in *New York Times*, 12 June 1989, 10, and in *Ladies' Home Journal*, Feb. 1990, 116ff.

MARRIAGE DYNAMICS

Fundamentalists also disagree on the question of whether it is necessary to have a minimum number of wives. One author implies that a righteous family "quorum" has a minimum of two plural wives.¹³³ Ogden Kraut observes that the organized groups regard an increase in the number of wives as requirement or reward for each level of presiding office. Even though Kraut himself now has five wives, he waited two decades to marry polygamously, and says, "Personally, I don't just don't think that they ought to be running around looking for a bunch of wives. Some of the groups kind of have the idea that the more wives you have the more power, authority, whatever."¹³⁴ Rulon Allred's daughter says that is often true among the Apostolic United Brethren.¹³⁵ In the groups and among independents, some regard the number of wives as a status symbol for men, whereas other husbands are appalled at such a concept.

Polygamist husband-wife dynamics in fundamentalist families vary as much as in monogamist families outside Mormonism, but polygamy obviously adds to the complexity. Psychologist Marvin Rytting notes, "What you have in polygamy is basically an intensification of what you see in all sorts of families."¹³⁶ Fundamentalist men say they fall in love with each wife in sequence, and argue that this is no more difficult to understand than a father in any family loving each new child as much as he loves his older children.¹³⁷ Unless the marriage is arranged (as at Colorado City), a female can propose polygamous marriage, but usually the man does so. Technically, he requires the permission of his first wife to enter polygamy, but that is not necessary if she is opposed.¹³⁸ A plural wife in the Allred group observes that a prospective plural wife meets with the first wife and polygamous wives, if any, to "relate with them and take whatever time is necessary. Everybody is very free about their

133. Short, *Questions On Plural Marriage*, 77. Compare with D. Gene Pace, "Wives of Nineteenth Century Mormon Bishops: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of the West* 21 (Apr. 1982): 49-57.

134. My interview with Kraut.

135. Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 249.

136. Quoted in Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 58, but mistakenly identified there as a psychiatrist. Rytting presented his intensive study of the polygamous husband, wives, and children in a single household in his unpublished "Between Three Cultures: A Polygamous Marriage," paper at the meeting of the Mormon History Association at Omaha, Nebraska, May 1983, and in his unpublished "Persecuting and Prosecuting Polygamists: Perplexing Public Policies," paper at the meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex at Madison, Wisconsin, June 1986.

137. For example, my interview with Owen Allred, and Owen Allred interview by Ken Verdoia.

138. Short, *Questions On Plural Marriage*, 10, 39.

feelings and expressions."¹³⁹ Although optional, the first wife's cooperation is essential for a congenial polygamist family, which the first wife traditionally begins by placing the hand of the new plural wife in her husband's hand at the marriage ceremony.¹⁴⁰

A teenage boy in the Allred group describes the social customs following the marriage ceremony of fundamentalist couples within the group. "You don't see the marriage performed, but they have a reception with cake and ice cream, entertainment, and all this kind of stuff," including religious testimonials. He adds that "the first wife usually has quite a big reception in proportion to the other wives," as a precaution against attendance at a polygamous reception by someone unfriendly to the Principle.¹⁴¹ Even though social/legal necessity may require a rule of small (or no) receptions for polygamous brides, this inevitably gives greater status to the monogamous marriages of Mormon fundamentalists. Likewise their tradition of longer monogamous courtship. Preeminence of the first wife is deeply ingrained even within families that have been fundamentalist for generations.¹⁴²

JEALOUSY

Even the first wife's approval does not eliminate problems with jealousy, which is clearest from the plural wife's point of view. A plural wife in the Allred group says that with her husband's other wives she had a congenial relationship which "was a very easy, wonderful amalgamation" but quickly adds, "That's not necessarily standard."¹⁴³ Some plural wives, like one of Rulon Allred's widows, do not acknowledge jealousy: "it was no different for me, really, sharing my sister-wives with my husband than it had been sharing my sisters with my father." One of his daughters says, "The mothers would sooner die than admit to jealousy or any form of rivalry."¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, plural wives I interviewed volunteered comments on jealousy.

The youngest and last plural wife in an independent household says that "everyone was all threatened" when their husband married her, and it took a year for the other wives "to calm down" as they grew to love

139. My interview with "Jane Doe Allred"; also Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 22.

140. My interview with Potter and "Jane Doe Allred." Although traditional, the presence of the first wife has often been eliminated at the ceremony, especially when fear of arrests has made it necessary to reduce witnesses to polygamy. In the law polygamy is the ceremony, not the living arrangement.

141. My interview with Jeremy Thompson.

142. Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 45.

143. My interview with "Jane Doe Allred."

144. Mabel Allred interview by Katherine Lundell; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 185.

her. After sixteen years "we're all still real possessive of [him] and his feelings," she says. "[He] is one of those creative people who write you love letters and poems, you know, and I always look at us as having an individual relationship with him, you know, like a love affair with our husband. We just had to handle sometimes if we were a little jealous, but we'd rather be passionate than, you know, put all your feelings in a closet so you don't ever feel jealous. I'd rather just be honest, you know, and if we're jealous, deal with it at the time."¹⁴⁵ Louis Kelsch's widow acknowledges that among his six plural wives, "I have to admit that there are feelings like that, but since we believe that this is a higher principle that we are supposed to live, we believe that we are to control those feelings. And we find out that if we do learn to control those feelings, we become closer than sisters, and we have peace in the family."¹⁴⁶ Girls raised in a fundamentalist family anticipate this necessity, as a fifteen-year-old acknowledges: "I'll probably feel jealousy. I'll have to overcome that." She adds, "It doesn't really matter if you're the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, whatever."¹⁴⁷

Still, jealousy can be corrosive even for the most devoted fundamentalist families. Raised as a polygamous child in the Colorado City group, one plural wife praises her father's first wife who had a daughter the same age as the new plural wife. "[She was] very non-jealous, a very giving person. And very many times she would sacrifice her own needs for the needs of my mother or the needs of my father." Yet when this polygamous child became a plural wife in the Allred group, she found the first wife to be very jealous: "If you have a lot of jealousy between you, somehow you can't get along. And that jealousy factor really does have to be minimized." After five years this plural wife decided to "eliminate the middle man in our relationship, and [the first wife] was the middleman." She stopped communicating with the first wife and persuaded the other plural wife to do the same. Since all the wives lived in the same large house, the entire family life disintegrated. After years of unrelieved tension that she is sure caused her husband's heart attack, this plural wife took her children and left. After she established a life alone with her children, her former husband told her the other plural wife also had left him, and that the first wife obtained a civil divorce. This plural wife is now legally married to the husband in the LDS church. The first wife and other plural wife have both become plural wives of other men.¹⁴⁸

145. My interview with Carla Foster.

146. My interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch. One plural wife tells another researcher how she controls jealousy: "But when I felt most hateful I went into my room and closed the door." See Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 20.

147. My interview with Ruth Foster.

148. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

DIVORCE

Although divorce is a painful topic, fundamentalists do not avoid discussing it. "You have to have a society, if you're going to be civilized, that accommodates for the human error that may occur, and allows for a remedy that is progressive and civilized, and allows for productive things," says Sam S. Barlow of Colorado City. Of the arranged marriages there, he adds, "I don't think anybody's expected to be married to somebody they don't want to be married to."¹⁴⁹ A woman raised in the Colorado City group observes that often there is no formal divorce: "If you were a problem wife you had your own home somewhere else—across the town, preferably. And your husband did not come to see you unless it was a necessity. I mean she was basically just to raise her own family almost like a divorced person, but not quite."¹⁵⁰ Morris Jessop of the Allred group's Priesthood Council says that many polygamists "have lost their families—divorces, breakups, heartaches, you name it—because they fooled themselves to think they could live this way of life and not put an effort to it," but Owen Allred estimates that within his group there is only one divorce for every thirty-seven plural marriages.¹⁵¹ Ogden Kraut estimates a slightly higher divorce rate for plural marriages among independents: one in thirty.¹⁵²

The estimates by Allred and Kraut translate to 2.7 percent to 3.3 percent of polygamist marriages ending in divorce, which fundamentalists define simply as the permanent dissolution of a plural marriage, since there is no civil divorce for polygamy. Standardized divorce rates (crude and refined) based on per thousand of population are not a workable basis of comparison for the small numbers of Mormon fundamentalists. However, fundamentalist estimates show that current polygamist marriages are far less likely to end in divorce than civil marriages within the LDS church, Utah, and the United States. In 1981 a representative of the LDS bureaucracy and a sociologist conducted a random survey of 7,446 members of the LDS church and found that 5.4 percent of men and 6.5 percent of women divorced after LDS temple marriage. For total marriages (non-temple and temple), 14 percent of married men and 19 percent of married women in the LDS church divorced. In Utah there is one new divorce annually for every 2.2 new marriages performed, and the percent of divorce for ever-married men is 21.1 percent, and for women is 22.0 percent. Nationally, the percent of divorce reported for ever-married

149. My interview with Sam S. Barlow. For the nineteenth century, see Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 14-23.

150. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

151. Morris Jessop interview by Ken Verdoia; Owen Allred interview by Ken Verdoia.

152. Ogden Kraut interview by Ken Verdoia; my interview with Kraut.

men is 22.3 percent, and for women is 23.3 percent.¹⁵³ Fundamentalists have almost a tenth that rate in polygamist divorce.

However, Mormon fundamentalists contribute to the civil divorce rates through the break-up of their first marriages, particularly for couples who convert to fundamentalism. First wives obtained civil divorces from some of fundamentalism's earliest leaders: Joseph W. Musser, Louis A. Kelsch, Jr., Charles F. Zitting, Rulon C. Allred, and Rulon Jeffs. In some cases the divorce came after the mere suggestion of polygamy; in other cases after the first wife had tried for years to share her husband with sister-wives and with the fundamentalists over whom he presided.¹⁵⁴ A girl in an independent family reports that the divorce of a first wife is "kind of common" among independents.¹⁵⁵ This is true because first wives in the groups are now likely to be socialized to polygamy through growing up in fundamentalist homes,¹⁵⁶ whereas independents have a higher proportion of converts confronting polygamy for the first time in their lives. Nevertheless, a first wife's divorce does not always mean she has rejected polygamy—in two of the families of this study the first wives were converts from the LDS church who obtained civil divorces from polygamists, and then became plural wives to other men.¹⁵⁷

Unhappiness and divorce are part of fundamentalist polygamy, just as dysfunctional families are widespread among LDS and non-LDS monogamists. Of greater interest are the dynamics of polygamous living among Mormon fundamentalists. Polygamous families today manifest several adaptations in the relations of husband and wife, wife with wife, children with parents, children with children, and children with outsiders. Mormon fundamentalist adaptations are sometimes as individual as

153. "LDS Rank High in Marriage, Low in Divorce, Study Says," *Ensign* 14 (July 1984): 79; Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Graduate School of Business, *Statistical Abstract of Utah: 1990* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 46; Thomas K. Martin, Tim B. Heaton, Stephen J. Bahr, eds., *Utah In Demographic Perspective: Regional and National Contrasts* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 126.

154. Joseph W. Musser and Hugh B. Brown family group sheets in Family History Library of the LDS church, Salt Lake City; Hugh B. Brown interview, 12-13 Nov. 1969, transcription, 24-25, in Edwin B. Firmage papers, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah; Laura Tree Zitting, *The Life of Charles Frederick Zitting: One of God's Noble Men* (N.p., By the Author, 1988), 27; my interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 39. A published autobiography of a first wife's gradual disillusionment with fundamentalist polygamy and return to the LDS church is Melissa Merrill [pseud.], *Polygamist Wife* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Press, 1975), which was published by this devotional press as a warning to its LDS clientele. The narrative is true, however, and her husband was a prominent publisher in the Allred group.

155. My interview with Ruth Foster.

156. Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 22-23, comments on this socialization of daughters in fundamentalist families.

157. My interviews with Jonathan D. Robinson and Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

the persons involved, but the fundamentalist group can also shape family life in prescribed ways. These dynamics can only be sketched briefly here.¹⁵⁸

STATUS OF FEMALES

The question of subservience of females to a polygamous patriarchy is one reason the Utah Children advocacy group has legally battled the right of Mormon fundamentalists to adopt children. This organization's director says that fundamentalist teachings that "women were considered property, that women were expected to be submissive ... are outside of the norms of general society, and we do not believe are in the interest of healthy children growing up to be healthy and normal adults." Thus one argument against the right of polygamists to adopt is that they teach their sons to be patriarchal and their daughters to be subservient.¹⁵⁹ "But," counters the feminist director of the ACLU's Utah Chapter, "the truth of the matter is that not very many religions in this country support the full equality of women. So if we were going to outlaw every religion that didn't promote equality for women, I think that there would be a lot fewer religions in this country."¹⁶⁰

Among fundamentalists that debate may be more relevant to the Colorado City group. One plural wife raised in the group believes that the husband typically "controls the family, controls the wives, controls the income, controls the discipline," and that wives in the Colorado City group are "expected to submit themselves to their husband in all things." However, she admits that her father was stricter than others.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, the third of five wives in one Colorado City family argues for their domestic power: "Anyone who thinks a plural wife is weak and submissive can't imagine the strength it takes to manage a large home filled with children."¹⁶² But even that seems to be praise for the endurance of wives,

158. Compare the following discussion to Vicky Burgess-Olson, "Family Structure and Dynamics in Early Utah Mormon Families, 1847-1885," Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1975; Lawrence Foster, "Polygamy and the Frontier: Mormon Women in Early Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1982): 268-89; Kahile Mehr, "Women's Response to Plural Marriage," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 84-98; Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families*; and Douglas R. White, "Rethinking Polygyny: Co-Wives, Codes, and Cultural Systems," *Current Anthropology* 29 (Aug.-Oct. 1988): 529-72.

159. Rosalind McGee interview by Katherine Lundell and Ken Verdoia; also "Utah Children Files Amicus Brief Opposing Adoption of Six Children By Polygamist Couple" (Salt Lake City: Press Release by Utah Children, 31 May 1989).

160. Michelle Parrish-Pixler interview by Ken Verdoia.

161. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 15, does not specifically address this question of actual living dynamics, but does show that subservience was the normative value presented in Mormon fundamentalist literature such as *Truth* 14 (Oct. 1948): 134.

162. Anonymous wife, quoted in Ken Verdoia, "A Matter of Principle," *Utah Holiday* 19 (May 1990): 21.

not an argument for female autonomy at Colorado City. This group practices closed communion for priesthood holders only, thereby administering the sacrament only to males above the age of twelve. Females do not receive the sacrament in meetings of the Johnson-Jeffs group in Colorado City, the Salt Lake Valley, or elsewhere, whereas females and males have equal access to the sacrament in the Allred group and among independents.¹⁶³

Deference, not subservience, seems to be the rule for women elsewhere in Mormon fundamentalism. "Pregnant and chained to the kitchen sink is pretty much the image, but that isn't so at all," explains a plural wife in the Allred group. "Our counsel is sought for in the decisions, but we are encouraged to be ourselves. It is not restrictive." "However," she adds, "when you have a head of a family who has four wives, there has to be some system or you have chaotic daily activities constantly. So we do believe in order." Her view of family order is that the husband makes final decisions after consultation with the wives.¹⁶⁴ This is echoed by a plural wife among the independents: "I feel like the husband and the father of the family is definitely the patriarch in that family and should be honored as such."¹⁶⁵ An Allred Council member's plural wife describes her relationship to him as non-subservient: "And he will say, 'Maybe this would be the better way to do it, but that's up to you, you know.' He usually leaves the final choice up to me."¹⁶⁶

In fact, plural wives often have a practical autonomy that counters stereotypes of fundamentalist patriarchy. This is especially true when the wives have separate residences and the husband is absent for days or weeks at a time. One plural wife of more than fifty years comments, "Well, when you are in different homes, like we were—we had three different establishments—he is only there a third of the time. So you have two-thirds of the time when you do have to run your own affairs and you are independent in a small way. ... We would always consult him about things, but still we had to handle the problems that would come up with the children and with our cars and so on." She admits that her autonomy has sometimes bruised her husband's ego, and so plural wives "have to play dependence one time and independence another."¹⁶⁷ Some fundamentalist wives do not play dependence very well. One plural wife in the

163. My telephone interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley on 9 Oct. 1990; my interviews with Ann _____, Heather _____, James _____, and Jonathan D. Robinson; my observations of a sacrament meeting of the Apostolic United Brethren on 21 Jan. 1990.

164. My interview with "Jane Doe Allred." This is echoed in Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 58.

165. My interview with Ann _____.

166. June Jessop interview by Ken Verdoia on 20 Jan. 1990, copy in my possession.

167. Maureen Barlow interview by Ken Verdoia.

Allred group vetoed every choice for a new house her husband proposed, which exasperated her sixteen-year-old son who helped his father pick out one house after another.¹⁶⁸

In fact, the residential pattern for fundamentalist families tends to be decided by wives among the independents and Allred group and by husbands or the leadership in the Johnson group and Kingston group.¹⁶⁹ Co-residence is common for financial reasons, and sometimes is preferred by the wives. One independent plural wife says, "We were all close. Susan and I lived together for twelve years. Karen, Susan, and I lived together maybe six years," although they now choose to live in separate residences with their large families.¹⁷⁰ Co-residence can involve each wife having a separate section of the building for herself and children, or it can involve the more complex arrangement apparently standard in the Colorado City group: "All the bedrooms for the children would be on the top floor, and then all the wives' areas, their bedrooms would be on the middle floor. And then maybe on the main floor just one or two wives that basically didn't have children, and the husband's office and bedroom would be on the main floor."¹⁷¹ Wives can also be in different states, or separate cities, or across town, or a few blocks from each other, or in a specially constructed polygamous "compound" of adjacent buildings.¹⁷²

Even though co-residence of wives in a large house eliminates the *de facto* independence of wives in separate residences, a fundamentalist husband may actually encourage autonomy for his plural wives living under one roof. When the wives in one household expected their husband to make decisions, he usually replied, "You can handle this, dear, I know you can." One of his plural wives comments: "So he was always encouraging us to be our best selves, to always push forward. And I appreciated that in him." He also handled finances for all the wives, until they decided to control their own income and budgets.¹⁷³ At the far end from female subservience is one of Alex Joseph's wives who explains: "Polygamy is a feminist lifestyle. I can go off 400 miles to law school, and

168. My interview with Jonathan D. Robinson.

169. My interviews with Ann _____, Caroline Dewegeli Daley, and "George Mason."

170. My interview with Carla Foster.

171. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley. This seems to be a more detailed explanation of the "master bedroom wife" system practiced by one polygamist and rejected by another in Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 36, 38.

172. My interviews with Ann _____, Carla Foster, Heather _____, Jonathan D. Robinson, Jeremy Thompson, Owen Allred, and Barbara Owen Kelsch; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 67.

173. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

the family keeps running," to which this plural wife adds: "I am a monogamist. My husband is a polygamist."¹⁷⁴

This discussion risks creating another fundamentalist stereotype—plural wives as feminists. Nevertheless, husband-wife dynamics can be as diverse in Mormon fundamentalist marriages as in the monogamous marriages of outsiders. In current polygamist marriages, husbands vary from patriarchal controllers to partners in decision-making, and wives from subservient to feminist. No marriage exists in a social vacuum, and all the plural wives in this study volunteered comments about feminism, women's liberation, and society's expectations of the male role in marriage. "But I'm not a feminist or women's libber" was almost a cliché among these plural wives as they described their occupational independence and family autonomy. In fact, American society intensifies the female autonomy that is latent in modern polygamy. Many polygamous couples feel a desire to disprove the stereotype of polygamist wife subservience, and they unconsciously turn to feminist-influenced models of partnership-marriage rather than to biblical models of patriarchal marriage. That process is common among the independents and in the Allred group, less so in the Colorado City group, but is always influenced by the personal preferences of polygamous husbands and wives.

Those differences affect the division of housework in a polygamous household. Louis Kelsch's widow says that for the first few years the wives lived together and decided among themselves what they would do. Later Kelsch himself "would divide up the household duties, and then we would take turns, so that no one had the unpleasant jobs forever."¹⁷⁵ In some families a dominant wife (usually the first) takes charge and assigns everything (including weeks free from housework).¹⁷⁶ In other families the wives permanently specialize in particular household duties.¹⁷⁷ In many families this is a multiple version of "women's work," but some polygamist husbands are very domestic. "When I was a [university] student," observes one plural wife, "he always made breakfast and did dishes at night."¹⁷⁸ Another plural wife adds, "I'm not one that likes to spend five hours in a kitchen all day long, and have a hot meal ready for my loving husband when he gets home. He likes to cook and I'm more than glad to let him."¹⁷⁹

Whether in co-residence or in separate residences, a man's plural

174. King, "The Mormon Underground," 30; also her similar statements in *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 1991, A-22.

175. My interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch.

176. Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 46.

177. Bradley, "Women of Fundamentalism," 21.

178. My interview with Carla Foster.

179. My interview with Ann _____.

wives usually take care of each other's children. Louis Kelsch's widow says, "If some of us left, the others babysat voluntarily. We would say, 'I'm going. Would you watch the children?'"¹⁸⁰ One employed plural wife explains that babysitting by a sister wife "gives the woman much more freedom to go out and work if she chooses, to stay home if she chooses, to do both."¹⁸¹

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCIAL STRESS

Whether by necessity or personal preference, most polygamous wives are employed outside the home. Traditionally, plural wives in the Kingston group work outside the home, often as accountants for the extensive financial transactions of the Davis County Co-operative.¹⁸² The majority of Colorado City's plural wives work in its public schools, its community college, or its Danco clothing factory which manufactures uniforms for medical facilities and for such national chains as Thrifty Drugs and Sizzler restaurants.¹⁸³ Many plural wives work in teaching, in clerical positions, or in Utah's service-industry economy. "In the early years it was necessity," one woman says. "We cried when we left our babies, and the sister wife would hold the baby up at the window and wave good-bye as we left." As a marked advantage over secular society, this sister-wife babysitting leaves children with a trusted adult family member, while allowing their mother to pursue educational or occupational goals. Now this plural wife is preparing for a career as a physician.¹⁸⁴ Although Owen Allred prefers that the wives in his group remain with their families, most wives work outside the home, including two of his daughters who are registered nurses.¹⁸⁵ Alex Joseph's wives include a newspaper editor, attorney, fire fighter, and real estate agent.¹⁸⁶

Separate incomes can give plural wives economic autonomy if they manage their own occupational income. However, very often (especially in co-residence households) each wife's income becomes part of a family budget administered by the husband, and each wife manages only her allotted portion. On the other hand, wives in separate residences (particularly if long distances from each other) tend to manage their own

180. My interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch.

181. My interview with Ann _____.

182. My interview with "George Mason."

183. My telephone interview with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 17 Oct. 1989; my telephone interview with Ken Verdoia on 28 Mar. 1990.

184. My interview with Carla Foster.

185. My interview with Owen Allred.

186. King, "The Mormon Underground Fights Back," 26. For the diversity of employment by nineteenth-century Mormon wives, see Michael Vinson, "From Housework to Office Clerk: Utah's Working Women, 1870-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Fall 1985): 326-35.

occupational income, in addition to what their husband provides them from his income.

In fact, outside work for plural wives is common because polygamist families in an urban-suburban setting almost always struggle financially. Polygamous husbands frequently have more than one job, and children grow up with a constant awareness of the family's limited resources.¹⁸⁷ Louis Kelsch's widow comments about the general inability of most polygamous families to buy their children a lot of fashionable clothes and to pay for college education. Most of the children in her extended family begin working full time as teenagers.¹⁸⁸ One of the boys in this study quit school at fifteen to work full time, and a girl began working at the same age so she could pay for her orthodontia. One of the high school boys is in college preparation courses and works part time, but did not go out for track because he could not afford the cost of track shoes, uniform, etc. The high school coach frequently identified polygamist children in classes, and loudly tried to hand him money in front of the other boys. This young man walked away in angry humiliation. So polygamist families are working families for young and old, male and female.

CHILD INTERACTION WITH SISTER-WIVES, FATHER, AND SIBLINGS

Sister-wife babysitting also increases the interaction of plural children with the women they call "aunts" and "the other mothers." Teenagers in this study come from large polygamous families representing Colorado City, the Allred group, and the independents. For example, one has twenty-one siblings (ten by one mother), another is from a family of five wives and twenty-six children, and another from a family of three wives and thirty-seven children. Two plural wives point out difficulties in disciplining the other children—resentment between wives if a wife is too severe with a sister-wife's child, and confusion for the children who confront different rules when they enter another wife's "area" in the large house.¹⁸⁹ By an interesting contrast, all the teenagers in this study reported that the other wives disciplined them the same as their own mothers. Their experiences are typical of this boy's: "My other mothers have always just shown all the love that they could give to me, and I'm always welcome at any of their houses at any time. You don't have to knock to go into their houses, because it's pretty much your house, too. And I'm always sleeping over there ... and I can eat there or whatever." A teenage

187. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 109, 135, 155; Verdoia, "A Matter of Principle," 21.

188. My interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch.

189. My interviews with Barbara Owen Kelsch and Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

girl adds, "Sometimes we even call the other moms our Mom."¹⁹⁰

In practical terms, it is difficult for polygamous children to have the kind of closeness with the father that they have with his other wives. This is a result of his heavy work schedule, numerous children, and (for separately housed families) his visitation to his other families. A wife in Colorado City notes, "A father may only spend a few minutes each week with each child."¹⁹¹ One plural wife in the Allred group admits "he was too busy helping his wives and not doing the fatherly things—not hugging them, and not helping them, and not going to the PTA meetings, and the kids got to where they didn't like their Dad. They just didn't because he was too busy. He wasn't a dad to them." Likewise Rulon C. Allred's daughter published a family memoir that expresses her adoration for him as well as her resentment against his emotional distance.¹⁹²

One teenage boy suggests that polygamy simply intensifies a difficulty some fathers would have in parenting even a few children. "My father's father was quite abusive ... and because he didn't receive that kind of love and attention as a child from his own father, it was very hard for him to learn how to be a good father to us. And I'm not saying he wasn't a good father. No way. I'm saying that he's had to learn because he wasn't taught. He's had to learn on his children how to be a family man. ... I've never had any bad experiences with him at all. I've never seen him argue with any of my mothers or with any of the kids for that matter. ... He doesn't get too much involved with the personal affairs of the children because he's not there as much." Then this teenager looks up with glistening eyes, "But he's the best father in the world, and I can say that about him, and I wouldn't choose anybody else."

Despite the logistical problems of parenting a polygamous family, some fundamentalist men are Super-Dads to their children. A teenage daughter reports: "I have a really good relationship with my dad, as far as relationships go. ... It's incredible having so many children, but he can get around and make us all feel special, and he's helped so much in our upbringing. I think it's really neat that he's been able to make us each feel important. ... I mean, he's busy. He has a lot of things to do, but he always has time to sit down and talk with us separately, and then if we have any questions for him, he's always there for us ... just boppin' from house to

190. My interviews with Jeremy Thompson, Ruth Foster, also Sarah _____, Heather _____, Jonathan D. Robinson; and James _____. Compare with Solomon, *In My Father's House*.

191. Anonymous plural wife, quoted in Verdoia, "A Matter of Principle," 21. This did not appear in the television documentary of same title, broadcast nationally by PBS on 29 Nov. 1990.

192. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 62, 98, 190, 237, 252.

house."¹⁹³ Some polygamous children have unavailable fathers, but others have fathers as emotionally connected as the best monogamist is to his children.

Another side of polygamous family dynamics is the relationship among children of different wives. All the polygamous teenagers in this study report that they regard their siblings as full brothers and sisters, just with different mothers, and the children generally have been in close association all their lives. Similar-aged children by different mothers often report being "best friends," sometimes their only close friends. One plural wife comments that in large polygamous families "they don't have the need for a lot of outside friends because they've got somebody their own age. They've probably got three or four their own age."¹⁹⁴ However, the eldest children of the first wife are less likely to feel this same closeness, since they are often ten to twenty years older than the oldest children of the first plural wife. Estrangement among half-siblings is common when the first wife obtains a divorce, but there are always exceptions. A plural wife reports that after polygamy caused her husband's first marriage to end in divorce, the first wife's children drew names each year to send Christmas gifts to their growing number of polygamous brothers and sisters.¹⁹⁵ The "best friend" relationship of polygamous siblings raises the question of their interaction with outsiders.

EDUCATION

Public school is traditionally the primary agent in the socialization of outsiders, but that is only partly true for the children of Mormon fundamentalists. There is no consistent pattern for the education of these children (even within the same families). They can be found in public schools, private academies, and home schools. Also, distinctions blur between public education and fundamentalist schools.

The educational mode of lowest socialization is the home schooling favored by some fundamentalists. Out of dozens of independent fundamentalists participating home schooling, the John Singer family alone refused school board supervision of the instruction and engaged in an increasingly bitter conflict with authorities in Utah. This resulted in an armed stand-off and John Singer's death in 1979.¹⁹⁶ Neither Utah state authorities, local school boards, nor fundamentalist families have repeated the errors of that unfortunate confrontation over fundamentalist

193. My interview with Ruth Foster.

194. My interview with Ann _____.

195. My interview with Carla Foster.

196. David Fleischer and David M. Freedman, *Death of an American: The Killing of John Singer* (New York: Continuum, 1983).

education.

Still, some independent fundamentalists are critical of the quality of education that can result from home schools. Ogden Kraut says home schools are fine where wives have good training, but in some fundamentalist home schools "the poor kids never get any training. It had been better for them to go to public schools, than to stay home and to do nothing."¹⁹⁷ A fifteen-year-old girl in a home school agrees that "most Fundamentalists do an awful job educating their children. I mean a lot of their children can't even write their names," but in her case her mother and the sister-wives were college graduates with teaching certificates. To get course work beyond the abilities of their home schools, students take correspondence courses or enroll in selected courses at the high schools. This teenage girl is planning on a pre-med program when she enters college.¹⁹⁸

After decades of operation, the private academy at Colorado City (formerly Short Creek Academy) closed in the 1980s. It had offered instruction through the twelfth grade. A transfer student found the curricula more difficult than those of public schools she had attended in Salt Lake Valley up to her move to Colorado City in her mid-teens.¹⁹⁹

Today all the children in the Colorado City-Hildale polygamist commune attend tax-supported public schools. But these "public schools" (two elementary schools larger than many in Salt Lake City, a middle school, and a high school) are operated and staffed completely by fundamentalists for the fundamentalist children of the community. These schools also are rigorously secular and, aside from a moment of meditative silence each morning, have no religious content. Daytime religious instruction comes through the release-time seminary program of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Colorado City. It is almost indistinguishable from the instruction in LDS church release-time seminaries in Utah on the Mormon "standard works" of scripture: Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price.²⁰⁰ Likewise at Colonia LeBaron and Los Molinos, Mexico, fundamentalist children first attended private schools and then government-supported schools within their own communities.²⁰¹

About 85 percent of the Johnson group's young men and women attend college. Most graduate from Mohave County Community College (also staffed by fundamentalists) right in Colorado City. Many go on to

197. My interview with Kraut.

198. My interview with Ruth Foster, also with Sarah _____.

199. My interviews with Caroline Dewegeli Daley and Sam S. Barlow.

200. My telephone interviews with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 17 Oct. 1989, and Ken Verdoia on 28 Mar. 1990; my interview with Sam S. Barlow.

201. LeBaron, *LeBaron Story*, 169-70, 254.

the nearby University of Northern Arizona at Flagstaff or Southern Utah University at Cedar City, Utah. Some attend the University of Utah at Salt Lake City, and a few even go to the LDS church's Brigham Young University in Provo. In consultation with the Priesthood, the Colorado City's graduates go into occupations that reflect traditional gender roles.²⁰²

The Allred group and the Kelsch family of independents currently have private academies. The Apostolic United Brethren operates its certified Mountain Valley School in Bluffdale, Salt Lake Valley, but the school board restricts enrollment to about 200 students because of the facility's size. Most children in the Allred group attend regular public schools, and only a fourth of the presiding elder's own grandchildren attend his group's school. The Allred commune of Pinesdale, Montana, also has an academy. Aside from opening prayer, the general instruction is secular in the Allred academies which are also attended by non-fundamentalist and non-LDS children. The academies use the Montessori method, and students graduate on a mastery-level at about seventeen or eighteen years of age.²⁰³ The Kelsch family of independent fundamentalists owns and operates the Silver Creek Academy for the benefit of the children who live in a compound of Kelsch brothers and a brother-in-law near Park City, Utah. It also is licensed, but its graduates rarely attend college.²⁰⁴

Independent fundamentalists, the Kingston group, many Allred families, and Johnson group families in Salt Lake Valley send their children to public schools. Statistics of higher education are not available for these fundamentalists, but high proportions of males and females attend college in the Allred group and among some independents. Although the independent Kelsch children near Park City have their own academy, most of the children of Kelsch fundamentalists attend public schools, but end their schooling at or before high school graduation in order to work. In fact, if they do not attend a university, fundamentalist boys usually work in the building trades, which Mormon fundamentalists dominate in Salt Lake Valley and elsewhere in Utah. Likewise, the Kelsch family's cabinet factory is one of the largest in the Mountain West. The Kingston group's children also attend public schools, and the Davis County Co-operative may encourage some of its children to attend college and even professional schools in order to provide expert service to the Kingston

202. My telephone interviews with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 17 Oct. 1989, and Ken Verdoia on 28 Mar. 1990; my interview with Sam S. Barlow.

203. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 Mar. 1986, Sect. NV, 1; Campbell, "Private Place of Plural Marriage," 44; my interview with Owen Allred on 29 July 1989; Owen Allred interview by Ken Verdoia; my interview with Heather _____.

204. My interview with Barbara Owen Kelsch.

group as trusted insider-professionals.²⁰⁵ Despite reservations about the social environment, the majority of urban fundamentalists send their children to public schools, where they interact with outsiders, usually with some discomfort.

HARASSMENT BY OUTSIDERS

Many polygamous children have been taunted as “polygies” by neighborhood children or in elementary school.²⁰⁶ For some, the situation gets uglier during adolescence. When one of Ogden Kraut’s families moved to a new neighborhood recently, someone smashed their windows and threw severed duck heads on the porch.²⁰⁷ One teenager reports that a few years ago students threw darts at his older sister in the halls of her high school, and a young woman tells of nineteen-year-old neighbors yelling, “We know you, blankety-blank polygamists!” and then “would flip me off and things like that.”

All the teenagers in this study are very reluctant to talk about the religion of those who engage in such harassment of polygamists. They finally acknowledge that this harassment comes from LDS church members, but then quickly add that such behavior is not true of all LDS people. Fundamentalist youth find that most non-LDS children and adults shrug when they learn of polygamists in their midst. However, one teenage fundamentalist explains that even in the heavily LDS high schools there has been almost no harassment in recent years “because there are so many weird people in the school, a polygamist is just another weird group of person.”

Converts and their children suffer the most because they have suddenly entered a category feared by their LDS friends and neighbors. The teenage convert to fundamentalism found his LDS friends suddenly stopped talking to him. Their parents were “my second parents,” but after his conversion, “they didn’t want their kids to have anything to do with me.” He had been a youth leader in his LDS ward but finally stopped attending church meetings because, “I’ll go and [offer to] shake someone’s hand, and they won’t even shake my hand, and they’ll just walk away.” Aside from a fundamentalist girl he has dated for a year, this

205. My interviews with Roy Potter, Albert E. Barlow, Ann _____, Owen Allred, Barbara Owen Kelsch; “Jane Doe Kingston,” information submitted in writing on 25 Apr. 1989.

206. My interview with Jeremy Thompson; Utah children used a doggerel taunt that was both racially and religiously insulting in Solomon, *In My Father’s House*, 15. Although I did not ask them how they spelled the nickname, all the teenagers in this study seemed to pronounce it as given here, rather than the “plyggie” pronunciation in Solomon’s book and in the film *Child Bride of Short Creek*.

207. My interview with Kraut.

teenage convert has not developed any fundamentalist friends his own age. Now at age twenty his friendships are with the middle-aged men and women of the independent meetings he attends.²⁰⁸

"PASSING" AS MONOGAMISTS

Outside the communes, teenagers from polygamous families lead dual social lives. They have many LDS acquaintances who are unaware of their status, but for most their only close friends are other fundamentalist children. Polygamists' children (particularly independents and those in the Allred group) are proud of blending in. One polygamous boy says of his high school friends: "None of them even know that I am. They just think I'm just another kid." All the teenagers in this study say they would not deny their status if LDS friends asked, but the dual life goes deeper. To avoid questions concerning their families' polygamous status, most fundamentalist teenagers avoid associating at school with each other.²⁰⁹ This is not a pattern they will grow out of, either, because their parents are rarely known as fundamentalists to outsiders. Aside from their religious meetings, most urban and suburban fundamentalists do their best to be unrecognizable to outsiders.²¹⁰

Which brings up the matter of dress. In its early decades, the Colorado City group "wore fundamentalist Mormonism like a badge: severe buns, long skirts, black suits, faces scrubbed and plain, persisting in old-fashioned dress even for the children."²¹¹ In Colorado City this posed no problem, but elsewhere the Johnson group attracted stares. Such pioneer-type dress invited taunts for their children in school: "I resented the fact that I had to be punished for what my parents did," says one woman born and raised as a polygamist child in the Johnson group's Salt Lake Valley community.²¹² This has relaxed a bit in Colorado City, but the door of the community's only restaurant (the Early Bird Cafe) displays a sign: "Cover your elbows, knees, shoulders, and toes, or out this door you goes."²¹³ In Salt Lake City some fundamentalist children of all ages still wear such distinctive dress, including obviously home-made shirts and trousers for the boys. However, that is a rarity which embarrasses children and teenagers in the Allred group and among independents, and is

208. My interview with Damon Cook.

209. Even where teenagers wanted to be known by their real names in these interviews, I have not identified them here and in other sections of this essay where I felt their disclosures were too personal.

210. Verdoia, "A Matter of Principle," 22; also specific examples in Campbell, "The Private Place of Plural Marriage," 38-39.

211. Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 27.

212. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley.

213. My telephone interview with Ken Verdoia on 28 Mar. 1990.

even uncomfortable for those youths in the Johnson group who wear modern clothes.

These young people have their own dress code. A leader in the Allred's Youth of Zion prefers Reebok high tops, gray acid-wash Levis, and designer-label shirts. A young woman in the Allred group wears high-tops, 900-series Levis, and a sweatshirt. A teenage girl from a family of independent fundamentalists sports black pants, black blouse, high black soft-leather boots, and a white patent-leather jacket. These fundamentalist girls also use make-up consistent with their secular peers. Owen Allred's grandchildren at his family compound wear the blouses, shirts, shorts, jeans, and surfer jams typical of any teenagers. "I am opposed to it," their grandfather says, "but it's awful hard because of peer pressure from everywhere."²¹⁴ It is not so much peer pressure as it is a determination on the part of most urban fundamentalist youth to be inconspicuous: "We act like normal kids and everything," one boy grins. "We don't dress like polygies, or anything."

Hair is another matter. Raised in the Johnson group, a woman says, "I was always trained that it [the hair] was my crowning glory, that according to the Bible, that one of these days I would get to wash the Savior's feet with it, at least if I lived righteous enough. So to cut it to me was a huge disgrace." Rulon Allred would not allow his wives to cut their hair.²¹⁵ Most females in both groups still have long hair, but in the Allred group (and to some extent the Colorado City group) those with long hair now style it in contemporary fashion, and avoid the long braid and hair bun. By contrast, women in independent families often have stylishly-cut short hair. Most fundamentalist men now avoid beards, and the Colorado City group expects army-style haircuts for all males. The young man interviewed from this group apologized because his hair was just over his ears.²¹⁶ On the other hand, teenage boys in the Allred group tend to have collar-length hair, but if short hair is the style for outsider friends of an Allred group or independent boy, then his hair will be short.

DISAFFECTION OF YOUTH

This desire for outsider approval by youth within the relatively easy-going Allred group and among independents often leads to disaffection. One father observes: "There is no middle ground for Fundamentalist youth. Either they're very dedicated or they choose to be completely out of the movement. We respect their choice in the Allred group. We don't try to force them one way or the other. On the other hand, the LDS

214. My interview with Allred.

215. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley; Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 32.

216. My interviews with Caroline Dewegeli Daley and James _____.

church provides a middle ground for youth because the church is primarily social."²¹⁷ Owen Allred volunteers that alcohol, drugs, delinquency, and sexual experimentation are problems among the Allred group's youths, and that twice as many young men leave the group as females.²¹⁸ One teenage boy says, "I've had a lot of influences in the world, and sometimes I wonder why I'm even still here [in the Allred Group]." Many of Rulon Allred's children, and sons of his group's current leadership, have abandoned fundamentalism for the LDS church or no religion.²¹⁹

Defection of independent children from fundamentalism is especially understandable since independents feel estranged from the groups, the church, and the secular society. Ogden Kraut observes that "the percentage is not very high" for keeping their children in the movement that many independent parents also regard as "out of order." He adds, "I know of some men who have large families and almost none of them get back into Fundamentalism."²²⁰ A twenty-three-year-old son in an independent family says, "I don't think that you should believe in just one thing, in one way like Christian or Mormonism or anything."²²¹

At the other end of the fundamentalist scale, the strict demands of the Colorado City group and the Kingstons are too much for many of their youths, again primarily young men. In 1953 the present head of Colorado City's youth seminary program claimed that there was no juvenile delinquency or profanity there,²²² and this is a result of rigid social control according to Colorado City's mayor: "If somebody's kids get out of order, you know a man gets some hot breath down his back. It isn't necessarily the police hammering on them. But they get some pressure from the other families and from the people [i.e., the Priesthood] to do something and to take care of them."²²³ Many young men leave this control behind as soon as they can.

Raised in the Johnson group until she left it in the mid-1970s, one plural wife says: "There was a very high turnover of young men who left the group." This perception is also supported by recent fieldwork.²²⁴ The

217. My interview with Larry McCurdy.

218. My interview with Owen Allred; also Solomon, *In My Father's House*, 236.

219. Solomon, *In My Father's House*; my interview with "Jane Doe Allred"; Owen Allred interview by Ken Verdoia; Morris Jessop interview by Ken Verdoia.

220. My interview with Kraut.

221. My interview with Brad _____ on 30 Jan. 1990.

222. Louis J. Barlow talk on KSUB Radio within a few days of the Short Creek raid on 26 July 1953.

223. Dan Barlow interview by Ken Verdoia; also similar observation in my interview with Sam S. Barlow.

224. My interview with Caroline Dewegeli Daley; my telephone interview with Martha Sonntag Bradley on 17 Oct. 1989.

disaffection is usually total. One man raised in the commune and now in his twenties recently told me, "I've done my best to put it all behind me and live a different life." Of such boys, one Colorado City leader observes, "Percentage wise there's not a whole lot of them who come back and affiliate religiously. There's quite a high percentage that don't."²²⁵ A plural wife in the Davis County Co-operative says that 50 percent of its young people (especially males) abandon the ascetic Order.²²⁶

THE GUARANTEE OF NEW PLURAL MARRIAGES

Since fundamentalists report that twice as many young men abandon fundamentalism as young women, this is the reason that polygamy can continue among fundamentalists with few conversions from the outside. In other words, the rigorous conformity required in the Colorado City group, for example, winnows away the majority of the group's young men. This radically alters the gender ratio of faithful fundamentalists, and leaves a disproportionate number of young women free to become plural wives. This pattern of higher religious persistence for fundamentalist females also allows demographic opportunity for polygamy among independents and the Allred group which promote it less.

Even though polygamy is less common among the Allred group and the independents, there is no evidence that it is dying among those who remain faithful. In Owen Allred's family, all of his daughters and more than half of his sons have entered polygamy. One independent, Albert E. Barlow, reports that all but two of his first plural wife's eight children married polygamously, as did all but one of the twelve children by his second plural wife. A third of Louis Kelsch's family is living in the Principle.²²⁷

Among the believing fundamentalist teenagers in this study, attitudes vary from cautious to enthusiastic about entering plural marriage in the future. One boy remarks, "I believe it's a true principle, but I don't know if it's for me to live, either. I just have to wait and see." This is echoed by another teenager who says he does not expect to look for a plural wife because "I don't want to have all that responsibility," even though he believes in it. On the other hand, all the married sisters of another teenage boy have married polygamously, and he says, "I definitely do want to live plural marriage because I have a testimony of it." One young woman responds, "It's a big part of my plans. I mean, I don't know, I

225. My telephone interview with "John Doe Johnson" on 28 Jan. 1990; my interview with Sam S. Barlow. Also dissident Carl Fischer's deposition, 59-60, 105, on 23 Aug. 1988 in the Fifth Judicial District Court for Washington County, Utah, in re Probate No. 3023.

226. "Jane Doe Kingston," information submitted in writing on 25 Apr. 1989.

227. My interviews with Owen Allred, Albert E. Barlow, and Barbara Owen Kelsch.

can't imagine life without it," and the other teenage girls in this study agree. Even in this small group of faithful teenage Mormon fundamentalists, the commitment to marry polygamously is four times higher for females than for males. Such a gender-skewed trend guarantees that Mormon fundamentalism will continue to thrive as a polygamous subculture in America.

LIVING WITH ALTERED SOCIAL AND LEGAL REALITIES

These young fundamentalists will enter plural marriage in a more hospitable world than when their parents married polygamously. The 1953 Short Creek raid was a climax of government prosecutions of polygamists, and it backfired in a storm of public criticism for its perpetrators and in enormous financial costs to the government.²²⁸ Prosecutorial interest has sharply declined since then. There was a conviction in 1974 for polygamy, but it was due to a formal complaint by the father of one of the man's plural wives.²²⁹ A polygamist husband expresses the view of Mormon fundamentalists today: "We're taking the position that plural marriage is not prosecutable because of so many deviant practices that the Supreme Court has said are justifiable. ... Because we take that position and because we've had far less persecution over the years, we've become more open." Then he adds, "Some say we'll pay some day. We shouldn't be so open."²³⁰

Several law enforcement officials explain the lack of prosecutions under anti-polygamy statutes. The assistant chief investigator of the Salt Lake County attorney's office says, "I really doubt that we'll ever see prosecution of those people for the multiple marriage." He explains that because Mormon fundamentalists marry only one wife civilly, the bigamy statutes do not apply. Prosecutors are reluctant to charge fundamentalists with adultery or unlawful cohabitation because of society's acceptance of sexual cohabitation by unmarried persons.²³¹ Utah's attorney general agrees, and adds that there is not enough prison space to hold all polygamists, so there is "an uneasy truce" between law enforcement and polygamists.²³² The Salt Lake County attorney says the polygamy laws should be taken off the statute books because Mormon fundamentalists in all other respects "are not violating the law." His as-

228. Bradley, *Kidnapped From That Land*.

229. Kraut, *Fundamentalist Mormon*, 22; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 201-207.

230. My interview with "George Mason." Fundamentalists, however, have an exaggerated perception of the judicial acceptance of "deviant practices," which have been decriminalized by several states but not by the U.S. Supreme Court.

231. My interview with Richard W. Forbes.

232. Paul Van Dam interview by Ken Verdoia, and quoted in Verdoia, "A Matter of Principle," 23; also quoted in *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 1991, A-22.

sistant chief investigator adds, "The vast majority of those people are peace-loving. They want no problems with outsiders. They want to be left alone to practice their religion as they best see fit, and we respect that."²³³ An FBI agent adds: "At least 99 percent of all polygamists are peaceful, law-abiding people."²³⁴

These remarkable expressions by senior law enforcement officers are symptomatic of dramatic changes that occurred in less than fifteen years. The murder of Rulon C. Allred in 1977 brought law officers in close contact and cooperation with his successor Owen Allred, as well as with representatives of most other fundamentalist groups anxious to distance themselves from the small band of murderous schismatics connected with Ervil LeBaron. The urgency and intensity of this communication and cooperation broke down walls of suspicion that had previously seemed unbreachable. Owen Allred says, "But as far as the state and the officials of the state—the police departments, head people—they just treat us wonderfully. I am so thankful for that. Right from the governor's office down, they have been very respectful to us."²³⁵

A renewal of armed stand-offs and bloodshed involving the Singer family and their polygamous son-in-law Addam Swapp in 1988 again placed the local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies in the position of seeking cooperation with fundamentalists, this time with the independents.²³⁶ After the Singer-Swapp family bombed an LDS chapel and barricaded themselves at their family compound, Ogden Kraut's efforts at defusing the situation endeared him to the law enforcement agencies. When the resulting publicity of Kraut's polygamous status endangered his position as a civilian employee of the U.S. Army, the local FBI chief and the Utah attorney general intervened with the post commander to protect Kraut's position.²³⁷ It is a long way from the Short Creek raid.

Nevertheless, such developments infuriate powerful elements of Utah and western American society. The *Salt Lake Tribune* printed an editorial in 1988: "Utah officials presumably have tolerated polygamy to keep the peace and to avoid making the dependents of polygamists wards of the state. However, when the state makes special allowances for polygamy, it tacitly approves the practice and scorns its own constitution.

233. David Yocum interview by Ken Verdoia; my interview with Forbes.

234. *Los Angeles Times*, 13 May 1988, Part I, 24.

235. My interview with Owen Allred; also Robert G. Dyer, "The Evolution of Social and Judicial Attitudes Toward Polygamy," *Utah State Bar Journal* 5 (Spring 1977): 35-45.

236. "The Return of the Patriarch," *Time*, 1 Feb. 1988, 21; Jean Bucher, "Inside Addam Swapp," *Utah Holiday* 18 (Oct. 1988): 31-40, 47; Ogden Kraut, "The Singer/Swapp Siege: Revelation or Retaliation?" *Sunstone* 12 (Nov. 1988): 10-17; an account of the Singer-Swapp stand-off will appear in the forthcoming second edition of Fleischer and Freedman's *Death of an American*.

237. My interview with Kraut.

Such double-dealing cannot continue indefinitely without generating greater contempt for Utah laws and standards."²³⁸ Although LDS church leaders may wish Utah to be as repressive *de facto* as it is *de jure* toward Mormon fundamentalists, the society is in transition and not dictated by church headquarters or its allies.

Mormonism has passed the century mark of its public abandonment of polygamy. The Manifesto saved the church from destruction in 1890, and allowed Utah to become a state in 1896. Now government agencies have entered into a *de facto* gentlemen's agreement with Mormon fundamentalists about their continued living of polygamy. Some law enforcement officials are even looking forward to a *de jure* resolution: a test case before the U.S. Supreme Court that will reverse the 1879 *Reynolds v. the United States* decision allowing criminal prosecution of religiously-based polygamy.²³⁹

In this instance, disenchanted law officials are joined by legal historians who regard the Reynolds decision as an anachronism that could not be upheld if the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to rule on a challenge to the century-old precedent.²⁴⁰ In 1988 an Arizona superior court judge fired the first shot of what may be a siege to overturn *Reynolds*: "The court holds, in essence, that the [Arizona] constitutional proscription of polygamy may be applied except where it would interfere with genuine religious practices ..." ²⁴¹ Those words sounded like the beginning of a judicial battle to fulfill Justice William Douglas's dissent against the 1972 *Wisconsin v. Yoder*: "in time Reynolds will be overturned." Still, the Supreme Court may nullify that effort since its neo-conservative majority used the Reynolds decision in 1990 to deny the use of peyote in Native American religion.²⁴² The Supreme Court will never relinquish the essential constitutional principle of *Reynolds v. the United States* that there are limits to protected religious practice.

238. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 Dec. 1988, A-22. See also *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 June 1989, A-26.

239. My interview with Richard W. Forbes; James L. Clayton, "The Supreme Court, Polygamy, and the Enforcement of Morals in Nineteenth Century America: An Analysis of *Reynolds v. United States*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Winter 1979): 46-61.

240. Laurence H. Tribe, *American Constitutional Law* (Mineola, NY: Foundation Press, 1978), 853-54; G. Keith Nedrow, "Polygamy and the Right to Marry: New Life for an Old Lifestyle," *Memphis State University Law Review* 2 (Spring 1981): 203-49; Penelope W. Salzman, "Potter v. Murray City: Another Interpretation of Polygamy and the First Amendment," *Utah Law Review* (1986): 345-71; Ken Driggs, "Lorenzo Snow's Appellate Court Victory," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Winter 1990): 93.

241. Decision of Judge J. D. Howe in *Samuel S. Barlow v. John A. Blackburn et al.*, on 6 June 1988, Superior Court of Arizona, Maricopa County; copy in my possession.

242. *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205, 92 S. Ct. 1526, 32 L. Ed. 2d 15 (1972); Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 221-22; Bradlee and Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood*, 34; *New York Times*, 18 Apr. 1990, A-10.

However, the *Reynolds* decision is ripe for circumvention. It atavistically defines a non-normative family relationship as deprived of legal protections, even though this family relationship is at least as stable as normative monogamy. If religiously motivated polygamists ever have success with the U.S. Supreme Court, they will do so in an appeal that does not use the First Amendment to challenge *Reynolds*, but instead uses the "equal protection" provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to challenge laws and policies that discriminate against non-monogamous family life.

That is the constitutional potential of the *Fischer* adoption case. In an unappealed decision in 1991, the Utah Supreme Court ruled: "The fact that our [Utah] constitution requires the state to prohibit polygamy does not necessarily mean that the state must deny any or all civil rights and privileges to polygamists." The Utah Supreme Court then ruled that a polygamist family has the legal right to adopt children.²⁴³ This 1991 decision established a precedent for future petitions to obtain judicial recognition of all family rights for polygamous marriages.

TRIANGULAR IMPACT: FUNDAMENTALISTS, THE LDS CHURCH, AND THE THIRD WORLD

For its part, the LDS church strenuously resists reversing any policy, and enforcement of the 1890 Manifesto is a big one. In fact, the LDS church applies the Manifesto to countries and cultures where polygamy is legal. For example, Nigerian law allows polygamy, but the LDS church refuses to baptize polygamous husbands or wives in Nigeria unless the husband divorces the plural wives by taking them back to their villages. When the LDS church first sent a representative there, "A Nigerian priest, to become a member of the Church, was told that he could not be baptized unless he sent away one of his wives. He slept on it over night and came the next morning and told Brother Williams that he had decided to let one of his wives go back to her father." Of this, LDS church president David O. McKay lamented: "That is a cruel thing to do." Yet thirty years later that is still the church's policy toward legal polygamists. Nor will the church baptize children of polygamists in Africa, until the children

243. *In the Matter of the Adoption of W.A.T., V.E.T., J.T.T., J.S.T., J.L.T., and B.D.T., Minors*, 808 P.2d 1083 (Utah 1991): 1085; also *New York Times*, 29 Mar. 1991; Ken Driggs, "Utah Supreme Court Decides Polygamist Adoption Case," *Sunstone* 15 (Sept. 1991): 67-68; T. R. Reid, "The Adoption Case That Shook Utah," *Washington Post* (15 Mar. 1989): B-1; Chris Jorgensen, "Could Adoption Case Affect Polygamy's Future?" *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 Apr. 1989, B-1; "Custody Battle in Utah's Top Court Shines Rare Spotlight on Polygamy," *New York Times*, 12 June 1989, 10; "Polygamy Battle: Man Fights Utah over 3rd Wife's Children," *Milwaukee Journal*, 12 June 1989, A-5; *Ladies' Home Journal*, Feb 1990, 116ff.

are old enough to convincingly renounce polygamy.²⁴⁴

African polygamy (the normative practice in 78 percent of sub-Saharan tribes) is a challenge for Catholic and Protestant churches as well. Although they lack the LDS church's polygamous scripture and heritage, several Christian churches baptize polygamists. A survey shows that polygamists in Nigeria's capital account for 17.3 percent of Catholics and 23.3 percent of Protestants.²⁴⁵ Moreover, since polygamy is legal in Nigeria (where there are tens of thousands of Mormons), its polygamists are in compliance with the 1890 Manifesto's wording to "refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land."²⁴⁶ What African polygamists are not in compliance with is U.S. and Utah laws. Thus people who marry legally within African culture are now defined as sinful by a church that once advocated polygamy in defiance of U.S. laws. This contradicts the LDS church's Twelfth Article of Faith as it applies to sub-Saharan Africa: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates and in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law." Moreover, a church that defines family life as eternal has a policy that requires the break-up of Third World families as a pre-condition for Mormon conversion.

These ironies will become demographically unbearable once Africa's black LDS population increases significantly beyond its current 100,000. Black African Mormons are in Angola, Cameroon, Botswana, Cameroon,

244. Discussion by members of LDS First Presidency on 19 Sept. 1962, LDS archives, transcript in my possession; my telephone interview on 4 Apr. 1990 with Mark and Elma Bradshaw, a married couple who were LDS missionaries in Nigeria in 1980-81 and again from 1988 to April 1989. Mrs. Bradshaw knew of two Nigerian polygamists who received LDS baptism from another missionary shortly after they divorced their wives in this traditional manner, but her husband Mark said he would never baptize a man in such circumstances unless the divorce had occurred long before the baptism request. He could not countenance a man divorcing wives for the purpose of becoming a Mormon, but that ethical scruple is not shared by all LDS leaders or their representatives in Africa. On the other hand, in the mid-1970s a Christian missionary in Africa wrote that "very few people today advocate a break up of a polygamous household and even conservative pastors in Africa prefer to postpone baptism rather than do such a thing." See Aylward Shorter, "Review," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 8 (1976): 150.

245. Eugene Hillman, *Polygamy Reconsidered: African Plural Marriage and the Christian Churches* (Mary Knoll, NY: Orbis, 1975), 34, 94, 96; also G. E. Currens, "A Policy of Baptizing Polygamists Evaluated," *Africa Theological Journal* 2 (Feb. 1969): 71-83; Alan Tippet, "Polygamy as a Missionary Problem: The Anthropological Issues," *Church Growth Bulletin* 5 (Mar. 1969): 60-63; Edward G. Neuing, "The Baptism of Polygamous Families: Theory and Practice in an East African Church," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 2 (1970): 130-41; E. Dale LeBaron, "Africa: The Church In," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992), 1:23.

246. *Deseret News* 1991-1992 *Church Almanac*, 153. In the Doctrine and Covenants the Manifesto is included at the back of the volume. It is Document 1 in recent editions.

Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In the 1990s black LDS population increased 50-250 percent in various countries.²⁴⁷

As early as 1962, church president David O. McKay was inclined to allow wholesale baptisms of Nigerian polygamists on humanitarian grounds, and LDS temple marriages for those loyal polygamists. He was supported by his lawyer-counselor Henry D. Moyle, who argued that the Manifesto was inapplicable to Third World polygamy. They were dissuaded by Counselor Hugh B. Brown's concern that this would confuse the church's policy toward illegal polygamy in the United States. Brown, also a lawyer and a lifelong opponent of the fundamentalists, had drafted the 1935 law that made unlawful cohabitation a felony in Utah.²⁴⁸

Again, about 1979, Apostle LeGrand Richards reported that a meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve had just debated whether to sanction legal polygamy in Nigeria and elsewhere. However, this temple meeting tabled the discussion, thereby continuing by default the policy of requiring legal polygamists to become monogamists. Apostle Richards explained, "The problem is that if we allow it in other places [such as Africa], the people could argue that it should be allowed here [in Utah], too."²⁴⁹

African polygamists who seek admittance into the LDS church are not fundamentalists, but are tarred with the same brush by current application of the 1890 Manifesto. For the past three decades, members of the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles have considered changing the scope of the Manifesto without discarding the document itself, which is now regarded as virtual revelation by LDS church members. Although this will be a wrenching administrative change, the LDS church will eventually open the doors of Mormonism to millions of legal polygamists in Africa, the Near East, and Asia by defining the Manifesto to prohibit only marriages that are illegal in the country of their origin.

The change in LDS church policy toward Third World polygamists will also transform the situation of Christianity in Africa. There, Catholic

247. *Deseret News* 1991-1992 *Church Almanac*, 119, 145, 328-29. Compare to LDS population for Ghana, Nigeria, and Zaire in *Deseret News* 1989-1990 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1988), 86. Le Baron, "Africa," 23. Excluding South Africa, where the vast majority of Mormons is white, there were 31,900 black Mormons in Sub-Saharan Africa as of January 1991. In 1993 I estimated converts. As a recent update, the total LDS church population in sub-Saharan Africa was 108,000, as of "Missionaries in Africa Grow As They Seek New Converts," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 Apr. 1998, C-2.

248. Transcript of First Presidency meeting, 19 Sept. 1962; Joseph W. Musser diary, 28 Mar. 1935; *Truth* 10 (Nov. 1944): 144.

249. Richards described the meeting and made that statement to Paul and Margaret Toscano, according to their letter to me, 16 Sept. 1990.

polygamists realize they live in violation of the church's canon law and theology. African polygamists are also second-class Christians even in the few Protestant churches which baptize polygamists, because these churches have simply made a grudging exception to their marital theology in order to accommodate African realities. When the LDS church redefines the scope of the Manifesto, African polygamists for the first time will be able to experience a Christian fellowship whose theology, scripture, and heritage glorify honorable polygamous marriage. The LDS church is the only Christian fellowship that can offer African polygamists more than second-class status as Christians, and the Mormon population in Africa will experience explosive growth if the LDS church combines vigorous proselytizing with a redefined Manifesto.²⁵⁰

Mormon fundamentalism is the only obstacle preventing the LDS church from making that humanitarily necessary, theologically consistent, and administratively logical acknowledgement of the sanctity and legitimacy of Third World polygamous family life. The LDS hierarchy is understandably reluctant to do anything that would strengthen the position of its polygamous schismatics, who would demand to receive the same dispensation as African, Near Eastern, and Asian polygamists. But the North American situation is completely different because polygamy is illegal (even if the laws are unenforced) in Canada, Mexico, and most of the United States. The LDS church will never repeal the 1890 Manifesto and accept illegal polygamy, just to allow about 21,000 Mormon fundamentalists to become Latter-day Saints.

Nevertheless, because the 1890 Manifesto's prohibitions were defined in terms of the "law of the land" in the United States, changes in U.S. jurisprudence are undermining the document's relevance to Ameri-

250. This requires a comment about the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, headquartered in Independence, Missouri, with a world population of 250,000. Since 1860 the RLDS church officially denied that the founding prophet Joseph Smith had anything to do with polygamy, and the RLDS church defined polygamy as a disgusting aberration from Christian values. However, because of proselytizing among polygamist Africans, in 1972 the RLDS Book of Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 150:10, stated "Monogamy is the basic principle on which Christian married life is built. Yet, as I have said before, there are also those who are not of this fold to whom the saving grace of the gospel must go. When this is done, *the church must be willing to bear the burden of their sin, nurturing them in the faith, accepting that degree of repentance which it is possible for them to achieve ...*" (emphasis added). Non-RLDS readers, including me, understood the emphasized words to mean that this revelation allowed the RLDS church to baptize African polygamists without requiring an end to their existing plural marriages. However, the RLDS church historian writes that monogamy was ultimately required of these polygamist converts: "The RLDS church baptized polygamists in India and Africa during the 1960s, and then took measures to help these families to make the necessary social and economic adjustments to extricate themselves from polygamous arrangements. This was achieved during the 1970s, and the RLDS church has not baptized polygamists since that time" (Richard P. Howard to D. Michael Quinn, 19 Dec. 1990).

can fundamentalists, just as Third World polygamous realities demand the Manifesto's redefinition. The Manifesto's "law of the land" prohibition ceased to apply to federal law as soon as Utah became a state in 1896, because federal anti-polygamy laws are legally void within all states of the Union. That is why Congress required Utah's state constitution to prohibit polygamy. On the other hand, even if the U.S. Supreme Court continues to uphold *Reynolds*, that 1879 decision's application to polygamists is ironically null in every state that has "consenting adult" statutes which have decriminalized polygamous cohabitation by default. Therefore, the 1890 Manifesto is based upon criminal laws that no longer apply in "consenting adult" states where fundamentalist polygamy exists in ironic compliance with the legalistic definitions of the Manifesto.

In addition, even in Utah and other western states with anti-polygamy statutes and polygamous families, there is judicial change. The grim hostility of law enforcement officials against continued polygamy has now all but vanished into a live-and-let-live attitude. The numbers of polygamists already make enforcement of these anti-polygamy statutes virtually impossible. Mormon fundamentalists have achieved a remarkably successful *modus vivendi* with the United States, its curiosity, and its laws. If the U.S. Supreme Court eventually rules that non-monogamous families have legal rights, then the legalistic basis for the Manifesto will crumble like a house of cards. If there had been judicial recognition of polygamous family rights in 1890, there would have been no Manifesto.

The Mormon fundamentalist population of about 21,000 is a deceptively small percentage of the total population of the LDS church and of the United States. Relatively few people who read the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants will live polygamy, but the number of Mormon fundamentalists is growing exponentially. Short Creek's polygamous population was 400 at the time of the 1953 raid, but less than forty years later it was 4,600. Those now living in Mormon-oriented polygamous families rival the numbers living in plural marriages sanctioned by the LDS church at the time of the 1890 Manifesto. There are ten times more polygamists in the United States now than in 1862, the year of the first federal law against polygamy, or in 1953, the year of the last federal raid against polygamists. Western America is already crowded with Mormons, and will be increasingly so in coming decades, but polygamous family life will also be a growing factor in the West's social fabric. In other words, polygamy will be an ever larger demographic reality for Americans, no matter what the LDS church does regarding its definitions of the Manifesto.

But there is an equal irony in the position of Mormon fundamentalists. "There are many things we would love to see that would give us opportunity for involvement in the Church," says an excommunicated

plural wife, "but I also believe that the Church needs us. So I'm not languishing ..." ²⁵¹ These fundamentalists have always defined their service to Mormonism as caretakers of the Principle abandoned by the LDS church. The LDS church will challenge Mormon fundamentalism's very reason for existence when church leaders publicly authorize plural marriage, even on a limited basis in Third World countries.

For example, when the LDS church allows the practice of plural marriage wherever it is legal, and ratifies such legal polygamous ceremonies by priesthood ordinance, on what basis can Mormon fundamentalists continue to pursue a separate course? Current fundamentalist leaders do not perform plural marriages for every adherent who may be interested, so can they justify overriding decisions of LDS church leaders who may allow polygamy to some within the church's worldwide flock but deny the Principle to others? Likewise, can fundamentalists embrace the LDS church when it allows polygamous living but continues its doctrinal and procedural policies also rejected by fundamentalists? In other words, can Mormon fundamentalists dictate the terms of their reconciliation to the LDS church once it begins authorizing even limited plural marriage?

When the situation in the Third World requires (as it should) the LDS church to sanction current polygamous living, Mormon fundamentalism will face a challenge it will not survive by using its present definitions. Mormon fundamentalists have a separate line of priesthood, and they will find it difficult to join a newly polygamous LDS church and be deferential to LDS general authorities, rather than to fundamentalist Priesthood councils. Colorado City's United Effort Plan, the Allred's Apostolic United Brethren, and the Kingston's Davis County Co-operative will be reluctant to turn over their extensive economic assets upon conversion to a polygamous LDS church's Corporation of the President. However, that will be necessary if these groups continue to define the continuation of plural marriage as the fundamental reason for their estrangement from what they define as God's true church.

At a personal level, it will be hard to give up the sense of community within Mormon fundamentalism for a somewhat alien LDS community. Despite all the professed (and sincere) reverence for the LDS church, the Mormon fundamentalist has a religious tradition different from that of the LDS church member, and it will not be easy to walk away from that identity. In other words, one day each Mormon fundamentalist will decide whether his or her fundamentalist identity is more important than joining a newly polygamous LDS church.

251. My interview with "Jane Doe Allred."

In fact, LDS church acceptance of Third World polygamists will underscore the fact that (unlike LDS Mormons) fundamentalist Mormons have retained the nineteenth-century sense of being a gathered people. The dual processes of accommodation to American society since 1890 and massive conversion rates since 1960 have undermined the traditional Mormon sense of ethnicity ("peopleness") within the LDS church. "Mormon ethnicity" is dying in the LDS church (and in some respects has died already through a "Correlation Program" too involved to discuss here).²⁵² By contrast, Mormon ethnicity lives on actively in Mormon fundamentalism.

Not simply caretakers of plural marriage, Mormon fundamentalists have lost their church but retained and even re-created the crucial sense of Mormons as a people, a *Volk*, an ethnicity. The current LDS church is so alien to its nineteenth-century counterpart that even accepting Third World polygamists in full fellowship will not return the current LDS church to its nineteenth-century character. Fundamentalism may therefore have increasing appeal to LDS church members who feel the loss of that identity as their church hurtles toward its projected population of 265 million before the second-century anniversary of the Manifesto. That is one reason why there will continue to be fundamentalist Mormons after the LDS church becomes polygamous again.

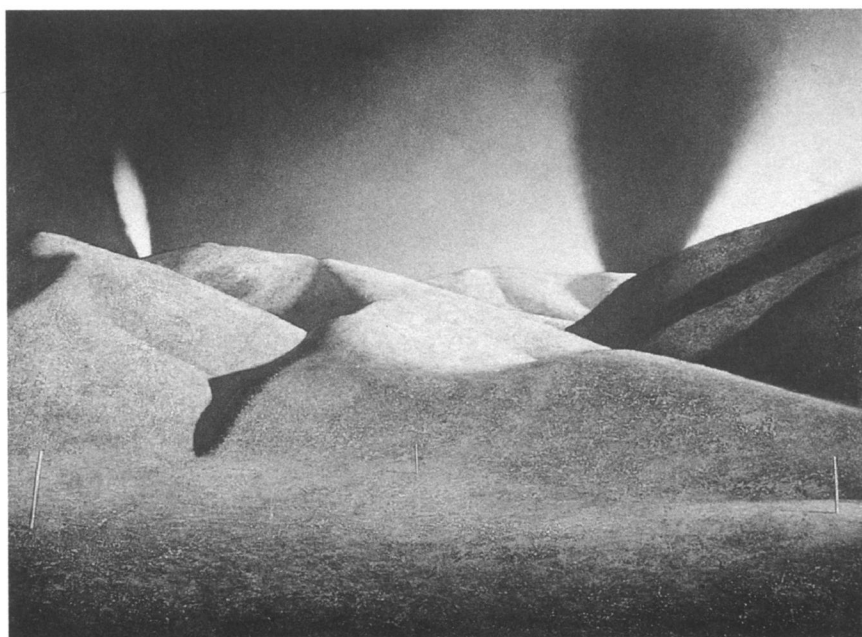
The other reason is that many (perhaps a majority of) Mormon fundamentalists may realize that their fundamentalist identity is more important to them than even a polygamous LDS church. These remaining Mormon fundamentalists will redefine themselves as God's only order (church), and will redefine the LDS church as irredeemably fallen even as it restores polygamous practice. Undoubtedly most members of Colorado City's Fundamentalist Church, the Davis County Co-operative, and the LeBaron churches will remain fundamentalists even if the LDS church sanctions plural marriage again. On the other hand, significant numbers of Mormon fundamentalists (probably not a majority) may join the LDS church if it accepts polygamous living. Because of the traditional fundamentalist reverence for the LDS church, some members of the above three groups and at least a large minority of independents and the Allred's Apostolic United Brethren may seek out the LDS church once it sanctions even limited polygamous living. Sanctioning Third World po-

252. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 595-622; Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), 15, 59-62, 81-82; Jan Shipp, "Making Saints in the Early Days and the Latter Days," paper given in a plenary session of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Salt Lake City, 27 Oct. 1989, in Marie Cornwall, Tim B. Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young, eds., *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 77-80.

lygamy may be a difficult administrative decision for the LDS church, but it will split and redefine the Mormon fundamentalist movement as nothing else has.

Despite their clannishness and inwardness, Mormon fundamentalists are participating in a transformation of the world around and beyond themselves. Over the objections of the American West's governing elites, Mormon fundamentalists have given the region an enduring polygamous character. The Kelsch family's cabinet business, the Kingstons' Davis County Co-operative, Colorado City's United Effort Plan, and the fundamentalist domination of Utah's building trades have a multi-million dollar combined economic impact that is both regional and national. Mormon fundamentalists feel no affinity with practitioners of other non-normative family relationships in the United States. Nevertheless, Mormon fundamentalists are participating with all other non-monogamous households in a domino effect that has altered judicial and social realities of the nation as a whole. Internationally, Mormon fundamentalism is both the deterrent and the key toward a transformation of the Christian status quo in polygamous cultures such as sub-Saharan Africa. Mormon fundamentalism has significant impact far beyond its small numbers which are growing rapidly.²⁵³

253. Since the initial publication of this essay, a major study appeared in Irwin Altman and Joseph Ginat, *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1996).



On the Fringe— The Singles' Ward (The Appeal of the Foyer)

Bradford Fillmore

The quick exit—
Space, windows, safety.
Cozy couches and easy
Chairs versus the hard-
Wood pew and elbow
To elbow. Escaping the
Glances of all—
Except God. An
Electronic voice
Vibrating above.

An out-of-Body experience.

Souls, some prodigal—
A fraternity of the tardy,
Reluctant, ashamed remaining
Outside in this waiting room,
On the fringe, apart from us
But still, *a part*.
Not knowing, perhaps,
The comfort of camaraderie
Or unfamiliar with the feather
Softness of the Spirit

Ehab's Wife

Kimberly Jensen-Abunuwara

FOR ME, JESUS' HOME IS MY HUSBAND'S, and it is also the birthplace of my extra-American consciousness. I was never allowed to see it as a tourist. I never listened to a tour guide's simplistic explanations of "The Holy Land." I was a hometown boy's American wife. Something of an Eliza Doolittle, I didn't belong with either "his kind" or "my own kind." Also like her, I have never been able to see "my own kind" in the same way again. On our first trip we were married in the little Greek Orthodox church called The Annunciation that is so popular with bus loads of visitors. On my wedding day I felt incongruous as I was the object of curious looks from travelers.

It was in my husband's interest not to fulfill my naive expectations about Israel. He gave me the alternative tour. Standing behind the noisy bus depot in Jerusalem, I tried to see the shape of a skull in a hillside, but the pilgrimage mood had never been set. Naturally, I found the typical Christian tourist highlights all very speculative. One of our stops was Akko—not the Dead Sea or Masada, not a site renown among Mormon Sunday school teachers or Hollywood executives. Akko was first a crusader fort, then an Arab Islamic stronghold against Napoleon. Unlike the wailing wall, this proud moment in Arab history was not overrun with sun-screened Americans. Until my first trip to Israel, I had never noticed the American flag flying outside our LDS church at home. Now it irritates me: this inappropriate and thoughtless show of nationalism where national boundaries should dissolve in universal Christian love.

These trips to Nazareth were my first profound experience of feeling my Americanism separate from my self. When I saw a small Palestinian flag in my sister-in-law's room, I had to think slowly and carefully to construct her point of view. Not that our summers in Israel have been overtly political experiences; mostly they're two unglamorous months of extreme heat and limitations to which I am not accustomed. My awakening has not been a matter of dramatic political confrontations, but of living a different life. As a mother, I'm used to being in charge of my life and having easy options like movies, ballet lessons, and Popsicles at my finger tips.

In preparation for the long somewhat trapped afternoons I anticipate in Nazareth, I jam our suitcases with every conceivable child's entertainment: Play Dough, paints, cassettes, even an inflatable pool. I attempt to recreate our American life, and am happy when I fail. The duality of our life there is striking; it's both wonderful to be there and so hard. My feelings never settle into either frustration or enjoyment, but hover between. Every morning this summer my three-year-old daughter woke up and asked, "When are we going back to El Paso?" As Disney's Hebrew version of *The Little Mermaid* played, she listened perplexed then offered, "It's broken." More than just her language, she misses what's familiar like bathtubs. She misses ease. I miss having a car; being free to move about. Freedom. A word that accompanies any flourish of American patriotism, but for my daughter and me in Nazareth it comes down to pancakes, chocolate chip cookies, and movies that are easy to get and easy to watch. When it's most challenging, I cling to the promise of going home, but home has never been the same.

It is especially hard for a three-year-old to be a displaced English speaker. Of course it's not merely Arabic words she's exposed to while we're there, but Arab ideas. Modesty, individuality—these ideas are more a matter of living than of translation. I learned to feel the same shame for wearing a bold University of Utah sweatshirt as I did for thoughtlessly dressing near a window: wearing my mod Americanism loudly instead of keeping it covered. In my husband's world, our interests, the details about our lives, belong to our families and are for their eyes only. As for personal territory, my husband and I can't have an argument by ourselves, everyone wants to get involved. And why not? The unit, not the individual, is the basis of that life. Ownership, self, identity—my understanding of these ideas was decidedly American. Not just words in need of translation, but a question of where boundaries lay. I can't switch from American to Arab like changing languages. My Americanism doesn't dissolve like Tang in water. No matter how accustomed my mother-in-law's neighbors become to seeing me, I'm still foreign. This has added to the typical insecurity about being accepted by one's in-laws. Once belly-aching to my husband, I complained, "Your family doesn't ask me about me. They don't ask me about my life. They don't seem interested in our other life. My family is so interested in you. They have so many questions about what it's like to be a Palestinian." And before he thinks his response through, he says, "Well, they already know about America." Hmm. The more I'm there, the more I do feel like a stereotypical American, but is it possible that the sum of their political and social notions about America is all that I am?

I had noticed that very often "American" means arrogant, young, self-righteous, and foolish. "American woman" generally means promis-

cuous. American marriages are notoriously temporary. The Arab-Israeli divorce rate is almost non-existent compared to ours. Once, when I was walking alone to my father-in-law's, a young local took me for a tourist. He looked at me too long, too closely, and too sexually. All he said was "How are you," but his implication was obscene. I was furious. In the States my Arab husband has suffered many similar stupidities. A real estate agent, while showing us around El Paso, upon realizing my husband was not a Jewish-Israeli but an Arab-Israeli, pointed to the impoverished landscape of Juarez visible from I-10 and said, "That must remind you of home." During my engagement I was encouraged by concerned family members and travel agents to read *Not Without My Daughter*, a book which apparently authorized their view that all Arab men are Moslem, sexist, and sinisterly underhanded. During the summer of 1995 I had cajoled my husband into attending our graduation ceremony and being hooded together as Ph.D.s. We learned, too late, that the center piece of the commencement would be the presentation of an honorary doctorate to Teddy Kollek, former mayor of Jerusalem. Mormons tend to be captivated by Israel and, because of narrow interpretations of certain prophecies, are fixated on the Jewish people. A stadium of unknowing, unthinking Mormons was aflutter at having this figure in their midst. My husband, on the other hand, was confronted with a man who had taken land from Palestinians and supported the unfair construction of Jewish settlements in Jerusalem. We watched the presentation from the front row—the only two people still seated as the crowd was swept into a euphoric standing ovation—I wished our seats hadn't been so good. It was a most powerful and personal illustration of the experience of being a minority.

My own ignorance and prejudices continue to be exposed. I still ask the same questions: "Now, explain to me again how Jewish is a religious distinction not a racial one?" I continue to struggle in Nazareth with the litter and the stench of the market. It contrasts with my minty-fresh American life. Woodsy Owl's "Give a hoot, don't pollute" is an indelible fixture in my memory of youth. Sanitation, it had seemed, was a question of character. I hadn't known until Nazareth that sidewalks, swimming pools, public libraries, and quaint well-kept parks are a matter of political resources and influence. We flooded to our parks when I was a child with our quilts and snow cones after the Fourth of July parade. "Why don't you want to go?" I asked my husband each Fourth of July after we were married. I really didn't understand until I went alone to a celebration and for the first time saw the self-righteous show of arms—the self-deception that had always escaped me before. An American girl who's had all she's needed needs a reminder that everyone's paradise isn't covered with freshly mowed lawn and neatly attended waste receptacles. In El Paso,

where my Voice and Articulation students are 70 percent Hispanic, when in need of a quick memorized text to use in our work, couldn't we use the Pledge of Allegiance? American. Allegiance. In a classroom in El Paso or on the streets of Nazareth, I see that in some eyes I am guilty of my Americanism—my wealth and naivete—my need for sunglasses and my Patagonia child-pack. And though I'd like to, I can't belong with other young Arab mothers hoisting children onto a bus in the heat. How can I share their indignation or even fear of uzi-armed Jewish-Israeli soldiers seated across the aisle when my tax dollars paid for their guns?

On my first trip I noticed people called me "Marte-Ehab," which means "Ehab's wife," instead of by my name. Four trips ago my American feminism bristled at that custom, but after six years of living alongside this man my reasons for enjoying being identified with him have deepened beyond mere political ideology. At the airport Marte Ehab Abunuwara is an Arab, with all that that implies to a security employee at Ben Gurion. Innocuous American tourists pass through the gates while we are detained and searched. This infuriating hours' long ritual helps me forget the heartache of leaving my husband's family; "Marte-Ami," my sweet, heart-broken mother-in-law. Repacking my belongings, I can still feel my sister-in-law crying. Five hours after we've left Nazareth for Tel Aviv, the sky is just getting light. By the time we board the plane, I've replenished my supply of amusements for the kids. The air-conditioned cabin, the soft drinks—English is being spoken around me and it's almost already American soil. I feel torn in two. My world view has been tossed into the air just as I was. An Arab bride, I was hoisted in a chair above the heads of dancing, inebriated Arab men. My polite smile did a poor job of hiding my distrust and anxiety, but I'm no longer holding on to my American vantage point as I once was. I've occupied another place in the world. If I had that moment again on the Nazareth street when the rude young man insulted me with his stare, I wouldn't call him some belittling name. I'd only want to change my placement in his eyes—change my pinkness, my hair, my language, my name, my foreign status by saying, "Ana Marte Ehab Abunuwara": "I am Ehab Abunuwara's wife."

Lectures on Death at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico

Pamela Porter Hamblin

The ranger stoops to toss a stick away
and points to a narrow hole dug in the mud.
"Snakes," she says, "are plentiful this year;
there's some bubonic plague in rodents here."

Just north, Pueblo Bonito's senescent rooms
sit roofless, open to the ancient sun.

"Snakes sense your heat by flicking out their tongues."
The ranger flicks her own toward the wind.
"Wear high boots to guard against a bite.
Thicker boots: snakes sense a larger height."

Peñasco Blanco's cliffs are painted red
with frozen comets and one still hand.

"As for the plague, don't touch a rodent here.
Don't feed them, and be wary of the squirrel
that draws too close or falters as it moves.
Don't go poking into holes or roots."

"The sun is fierce here, even in the spring.
Wear cream to guard your skin, or wear a hat.
Rainstorms come in tantrums to the hills.
Watch the clouds; avoid a sudden chill."

Back toward Crowpoint the sky holds rain,
moist as shadows on a kiva floor.

"Go then, be safe, you won't go wrong."
She turns to fluster dust up with her jeep.
We turn to hike past yucca in the heat,
less aware of blooms than of our feet
intruding where others yesterday have gone.

In the ruins, time's teeth gnaw brick;
adobe crumbles dustward bit by bit.
The wind embodies shadows on the walls
and whispers witness of what went before:
"Death is real, inevitable," it says.
"And its testimony is the dead."

A “Meeting of the Brethren”: The Discovery of Official Minutes of a 1902 Meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles

Stan Larson

DOCUMENTING THE DAILY IS DIFFICULT. Women save wedding dresses, not house dresses. Men polish the handles of hand-braided buggy whips, but toss worn-out hammer handles into the fire. Nineteenth-century Mormons were historically among the most diligent of record keepers, but they usually wrote down the text of blessings, prophetic pronouncements, and governmental blasts, not routine conversations about working out water turns on the irrigation ditch or the fact that they showed up at priesthood meeting for the fiftieth week out of fifty-two.

Yet the historian who reconstructs history by using only special events misstates and misinterprets the context of ordinariness against which the unusual assumes its luster. In Mormonism the difference between the ordinary and extraordinary is particularly difficult to ascertain when it comes to decision-making among the general authorities, due to the inaccessibility of most research documents. As a result, the discovery among the Rudger Clawson papers, housed in the Manuscripts Division of the Marriott Library, University of Utah, of official minutes of a routine meeting of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in 1902 helps establish what constituted “business as usual” at the turn of the twentieth century.

THE CLAWSON PAPERS

Rudger Clawson (1857-1943) was a prominent member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, serving as missionary, church stenographer, folk hero, stake president, apostle, church auditor, mission president, president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and counselor in the First Presidency.¹ Born in Salt Lake City in 1857, Clawson was the third child of Hiram B. Clawson by Margaret Gay Judd, the second of his four wives. Being born just ten years after the Mormons arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, Clawson's eighty-six years spanned almost equal periods in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1879 Clawson became a Mormon folk hero when he barely escaped the fate of his missionary companion, Joseph Standing, who was murdered by a mob at Varnell's Station, Georgia. After returning to Salt Lake City, Clawson married Florence Ann Dinwoodey in 1882 and Lydia Elizabeth Spencer in 1883. The next year he became the first polygamist Mormon to be convicted and imprisoned for violation of the Edmunds Act of 1882. He served a sentence of three years, one month, and ten days in the U.S. Penitentiary in Salt Lake City, being released from prison by presidential pardon in December 1887.

After Clawson left the penitentiary, he was made president of the Box Elder Stake, at the suggestion of Apostle Lorenzo Snow, a fellow inmate, who became Clawson's mentor. In 1898 Snow, then church president, ordained Clawson an apostle. As junior member of the Quorum of the Twelve, he moved into the leading quorums of the church; even more significantly, Snow chose him as second counselor in the First Presidency and had him sustained at the October 1901 general conference. Snow told the congregation, "I have selected one (through, I believe, the manifestations of the Lord), who, I think, will be energetic and strong, will serve the people, and help me and President Joseph F. Smith along in a proper way; and I hope you will sustain and support him."² Unexpectedly, Snow died only four days later. It was decided, however, not to dissolve the First Presidency until after the funeral on 13 October 1901. Thus Clawson has the distinction of having served in the First Presidency for only seven days—the shortest period on record.³ The new president, Joseph F. Smith,

1. See David S. Hoopes and Roy Hoopes, *The Making of a Mormon Apostle: The Story of Rudger Clawson* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1990), and Roy Hoopes, "My Grandfather, The Mormon Apostle: Discovering a Giant in the Family," *American Heritage* 41 (Feb. 1990): 82-92.

2. *Report of the Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 Oct. 1901 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1901), 62.

3. In the Clawson diary for the meeting of the First Presidency and apostles on 11 October 1901, he lists himself immediately after Joseph F. Smith with the title "President Rudger Clawson." The next day in a special meeting to decide on the funeral arrangements for President Snow, he refers to himself again as "President." On Thursday, 17 October 1901, after the reorganization of the First Presidency, he lists himself in his old position after Abraham O. Woodruff.

called John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund as counselors; but for the last twenty-two years of Clawson's life, he served as president of the Twelve, only a heartbeat away from becoming the next church president.

In 1983 the University of Utah purchased Clawson's diaries and papers from the estate of his daughter, Lydia Clawson Hoopes, using an anonymous \$30,000 gift.⁴ This collection is an extremely valuable one for documenting Mormon history from one in the inner circle during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Clawson's nineteen-volume diary covers parts of the years 1884 and 1887-1905; and it is unfortunate that he did not continue to keep a diary, for he was a methodical and detailed recorder.⁵ Devoted to the church, he gave its business—rather than his personal affairs or family life—his highest priority. He routinely kept notes on the meetings he attended; and from 1898 to 1905 he recorded minutes of the weekly temple meetings of the First Presidency and apostles. These notes, summaries, and minutes are all available in his diary, which provides a view of his imprisonment for polygamy, his assignment as Box Elder Stake president, and his early years as a Mormon apostle. Significantly, he wrote his diary with an audience of future readers in mind, and frequently begins an entry by explaining: "It might be of interest to the reader to state that ..." and "in order that the reader may have a clear idea. ..."⁶

THE "BLUE MINUTES"

At the invitation of Signature Books, in association with Smith Research Associates, I prepared a one-volume edition of Rudger Clawson's apostolic diaries for their Significant Mormon Diaries series. The book's title, *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (1993) reflects Clawson's methodical and consistent attention to the meetings in which the church's leading quorums conducted its business. In the pro-

4. The twenty-nine-box Rudger Clawson Collection is known as Ms 481 and located in the Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

5. The first diary is a journal account covering the first month of his imprisonment from 3 November to 1 December 1884. The second diary, labeled "Book O," is a large (9 1/4" x 14") leather volume covering events from 12 December 1887 until 2 April 1892. The first three years are a retrospective account based on various documents in his possession. Daily entries begin 1 May 1891. There are nine small (4 1/4" x 6 3/4") bound diaries, numbered 1 to 9, which cover 3 April 1892 to 2 October 1898. When Clawson became an apostle, he marked the event by purchasing a new and larger (4 3/4" x 7 1/2") diary—known as "No. 10"—and did not finish filling the pages of the previous diary. When this last holographic diary was full on 7 May 1899, Clawson changed from handwritten to typewritten diaries. The remaining diary pages, numbered Books 11 to 17, are loose, typewritten sheets (7 1/2" x 10") and continue the record to 21 December 1905.

6. Clawson, Diary, 16 Oct. 1900, 17 Nov. 1901.

cess, Clawson's minutes of these weekly meetings were carefully reread, with additional notes concerning unique stylistic phrases, unusual spellings, ink color, and typewriter style. The entry for 8 May 1902 appeared to be an ordinary set of minutes, though typed by a different typewriter using a blue ribbon. These minutes recount yet another routine Thursday temple meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve and, at first glance, appear to be one of Clawson's regular weekly entries. It was later deduced, however, that these minutes are a carbon copy of official First Presidency minutes for that day's meeting, which Clawson received and included in his diary. The strength of circumstantial evidence, internal textual peculiarities, and external documentary substantiation have combined to form a very strong case. I have designated them Blue Minutes to distinguish them from Clawson's routine diary accounts, or personal notes, of weekly quorum meetings in the temple.

The text of the Blue Minutes is reproduced below with the original underlining, spelling, paragraphing, and capitalization. Minor punctuation changes have been made for clarification, with my editorial additions in brackets. The Journal History includes minutes of many of the meetings of the First Presidency and Twelve, and the **bold type** indicates words which are also in the Journal History.⁷ Each of the Clawson temple meetings from October 1898 to October 1904 was compared with the corresponding account in the Journal History, and only at 8 May 1902 is there verbatim agreement. To avoid interrupting the text, discussion of

7. The origin of what would later be known as the Journal History, sometimes referred to as the "Historian's Office Journal," began in December 1895 when the First Presidency, then consisting of Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith, appointed Charles W. Penrose as Assistant Church Historian. A few weeks later, on 10 January 1896, the First Presidency "decided we should Keep a daily journal of current events and that Bro. G. F. Gibbs [secretary to the First Presidency] should furnish duplicates of his type-written minutes to be incorporated in historical journal." The next day Penrose asked Gibbs for the first set of duplicate minutes. Gibbs resisted until Cannon repeated the instructions, then gave Penrose the first set on 15 January 1896 (Charles W. Penrose, Diary, 10 and 16 Jan. 1896, MAN B-130, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City).

In April 1898 Andrew Jenson was sustained as an Assistant Church Historian and assumed some of Penrose's duties with respect to the Journal History. In the early years of the twentieth century Jenson and several individuals working under his direction were compiling the Journal History, a daily chronology arranged in scrapbook format to allow for new information to be added or inserted under earlier dates. Sources were newspaper clippings, reports, minutes, letters, journals, diaries, and other records. In 1906 Jenson assumed full responsibility for the Journal History. In addition to the full on-going documentation, he also directed assistants who began reconstructing a similar chronological record from the church's organization 6 April 1830. For information about Jenson's achievements, see Keith W. Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974, 211-13; Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, Publications in Mormon Studies No. 2 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 41-55.

significant items follows in the next section.⁸

*Thursday, May 8th, 1902.*⁹

Salt Lake City.

Ten a.m. meeting of the brethren at the temple.

Present: Presidents Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, and Apostles Brigham Young, George Teasdale, Heber J. Grant, John W. Taylor, Marriner W. Merrill, Mat[t]hias F. Cowley, Rudger Clawson, and Hyrum M. Smith, and Patriarch John Smith.¹⁰

The brethren clothed. Song, "Guide us, O thou great Jehovah." Brother Cowley was mouth in prayer, and Brother Merrill at the altar. The brethren disrobed. Song, "Ye who are called to labor and minister for God."

Conference appointments: Wasatch, Brother Grant; South Sanpete, Brother Smoot;¹¹ Bingham, Brother Teasdale.

Reports.

8. In the days before forger-murderer Mark Hofmann, it was customary to accept a document's provenance at face value or at the explanation of the donor; and authentication often consisted of little more than visually scanning the paper, examining the appearance of the ink and the handwriting, and reading through the text for content consistency. Today, however, repositories collecting Mormon historical manuscripts require much greater proof of provenance, whether the document is being donated or offered for sale. In the case of the Blue Minutes, the Marriott Library followed a meticulous textbook procedure for establishing authenticity, consisting of verifying its provenance, analyzing the internal evidence, examining the relationship to the Journal History, studying possible alternate sources, and funding an independent forensic analysis. For readers interested in this multi-faceted process, a more detailed analysis is available in my 1990 paper, "The Discovery of Official Minutes of the Meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles in the Salt Lake Temple, 8 May 1902."

9. The four typed pages of the Blue Minutes are, for security purposes, now housed in the safe in the Manuscripts Division at the Marriott Library, with a photocopy at the proper point in the Clawson diary and a notation that the originals have been moved. See Rudger Clawson, *Diary*, 8 May 1902, in *Ministry of Meetings*, 431-36.

10. For biographical information on these general authorities, see "Appendix: Attendees" at the end of this essay. The apostles absent from the meeting were Francis M. Lyman, John Henry Smith, Abraham Owen Woodruff, and Reed Smoot.

11. Reed Smoot (1862-1941) was absent from the meeting but is still assigned to visit the next conference of the South Sanpete Stake. He had been ordained an apostle on 8 April 1900 and was Utah's U.S. senator from 1903 to 1933. The publicity generated by senatorial hearings on whether he should be allowed to keep his seat (1903-1906) forced the church's public renunciation of post-Manifesto plural marriage. Because Smoot sometimes ignored instructions from the First Presidency on politics and was only semi-active in the church during his senatorial years, Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 318, refer to him as a "secular saint." See also Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), and Harvard S. Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997).

Apostle Teasdale attended the monthly priesthood meeting of the Juab Stake last Saturday at Nephi. Ordained Albert Henry Belliston¹² High Priest and set him apart as second counselor to Bishop Wm. H. Pettigrew¹³ of Nephi. While at the tithing office a small boy came in to pay his tithing. He was¹⁴ very regular in observing this law and he felt to bless him. Reported that a Josephite is flooding that part of the country with tracts, endeavoring to show that Brigham Young had no authority to build up the Church of God.¹⁵

Apostle Heber J. Grant reported the Summit Stake Conference, which was held at Kamas. At the monthly priesthood meeting held last Saturday, all the bishops were present but one and he sent in an excellent excuse. Conference was well attended. He was present at a conjoint meeting Sunday night, and the reports made were very satisfactory. Before leaving, he laid the southeast corner stone of the Kamas new meeting house. \$208 was contributed at the time to assist in the erection of the building. Bishop Danl. Lambert¹⁶ of Kamas makes a good bishop. Brother Moses W. Taylor,¹⁷ he felt, had done a grand work in Summit Stake. Held a meeting Monday night in

12. Albert H. Belliston (1876-1965) was ordained an elder in February 1898, then six weeks later was ordained a seventy and set apart to serve in Hawaii (then the Sandwich Island Mission), where he stayed until May 1902. He was a counselor in the Nephi Ward, Juab Stake, until 1912, and then served as bishop of Nephi South Ward until 1924, as president of Juab Stake, 1924-41, and as president of the Hawaiian temple, 1941-43. Ralph B. Simmons, *Utah's Distinguished Personalities* (Salt Lake City: Personality Publishing Co., 1933), 57.

13. William H. Pettigrew (1860-1941) served in the Southern States Mission, 1890-92, as bishop of Nephi Ward, 1901-12, and as mayor of Nephi 1904-1908. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Co., 1913), 73, 1103.

14. The typed original says "He is." Clawson, with his black ink pen, changed it to "He was."

15. The last two words, "of God," are written in Clawson's black ink. Utah Mormons used "Josephite," a term which became popular in the 1880s, to refer to a follower of Joseph Smith III, president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. RLDS members referred to a Utah Mormon as a "Brighamite." (*Latter Day Saints' Herald* 1:137, 185, 289; 2:31; 4:10; 25:359; 29:25.) The tracts may have been Amante Luce's *Errors and Inconsistencies concerning the Presidency of the Dominant Church in Utah and Joseph Smith [III]: Has He Succeeded His Father, the Seer, in the Presidency of the Church?*, both of which were being advertised in 1902. See *Saints' Herald* 49 (26 Mar. 1902): 296, and Richard P. Howard to Stan Larson, 7 May 1990.

16. Daniel Lambert (1861-1918) served as the bishop of Kamas Ward, Summit Stake, 1901-1908. Roy Lambert, *Kamas with Komets* ([Coalville, UT]: Summit County Bee, 1960), 14, 43.

17. Moses W. Taylor (1862-1922), son of John Taylor and his fifth wife, Sophia Whittaker, and a full brother of Apostle John W. Taylor, served as a Southern States missionary, 1890-93, and president of Summit Stake, from 1901 until he was released for health reasons in 1921. Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: A. Jensen History Co., 1901-36), 4:73.

Coalville.

Apostle **John W. Taylor** reported his attendance at the **Jordan Stake Conference** last Sunday and Monday, held in the **Draper Ward**. **Presidents Smith and Lund** and **Apostle Hyrum M. Smith** were **present**. They had an excellent conference. Brother Taylor said he was well pleased with the spirit of President Goff.¹⁸ Attended conjoint meeting Sunday night, at which there was a splendid feeling manifested. **President Smith, Hyrum M. Smith and himself ordained twelve High Priests**. **People of Draper have built a substantial meeting house**. Spoke of the custom of alternating the stake conferences, as result[ing] in good. Some of the meeting houses, however, are too small. Thought the plan of a model meeting house should be drawn up by an architect, which might be used to advantage in wards that were thinking to build.

Apostle **M. W. Merrill** said that, in connection with **Brothers Cowley and Ballard**,¹⁹ he attended conference at **Oneida Stake**, last Sunday and Monday. Although the weather was unfavorable attendance at the meeting was good. Gave the **West Canal Company** enc[o]uragement. Said the canal they were building was one of the largest ever undertaken in **Cache Valley**. There are some **30,000 acres** principally owned by our people under the canal. Ordained **Jos. J. Hill**²⁰ a **High Councilor**. Not being in very good health, he did not attend the Monday meeting.

Apostle **Cowley** reported his attendance at the conjoint meeting Sunday night, and said that the attendance at conference on Monday was larger than on the Sabbath day.

Brother Clawson reported the **Wayne Stake Conference** of last Sunday and Monday. He was accompanied by Bro. **Jos. W. McMur-**

18. Hyrum Goff (1849-1914), president of Jordan Stake, 1901-14, had served six months in the penitentiary from March to September 1886 for unlawful cohabitation. He had been bishop of East Jordan Ward, 1895-1900, and, in 1909, became Midvale's first mayor. See "Passing Events," *Improvement Era* 18 (Jan. 1915): 280, and Rosa Mae M. Evans, "Judicial Prosecution of Prisoners for LDS Plural Marriage: Prison Sentences, 1884-1895," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986, 122.

19. Melvin J. Ballard (1873-1939), who would become an apostle in 1919, was then a counselor in the bishopric of the Logan Second Ward, Cache Stake, and served as president of the North Western States Mission, 1909-19. See *Melvin J. Ballard, Crusader for Righteousness* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966).

20. Joseph J. Hill (1858-1941) was born at Ogden, Utah, and served as a missionary in the Indian territory, October 1888-October 1889. The minutes are slightly in error here, since he was set apart as an alternate high councilor on 5 May 1902. See his obituary in *Deseret News*, 3 Jan. 1941, 6.

rin.²¹ In accordance with instructions of the brethren, he visited the Torrey Ward and carefully inspected the canal that was in course of construction. He was prepared, he said, to verify the statements made by the Presidency of the Wayne Stake in their communication to the First Presidency. The people had shown forth good faith and determination in carrying forward this enterprise. Some \$2200 in labor had already been expended by the people under adverse circumstances, and it would require some \$1,800 to complete the work. Should the people there fail in this undertaking, it means the breaking up of the Torrey Ward. Brother Clawson now recommended, in view of the conditions set forth, that \$1,000 be appropriated to assist the people of the Torrey ward in building the Center Irrigation Company canal, the money to be paid to Bishop John R. Stewart,²² as trustee, as soon as the earth work between the head of the canal and the Torrey Ward (some 6 miles) is entirely completed; the Church to receive \$1,000 in capital stock of the Center Irrigation Company.

Brother Clawson further reported that he had made some inquiries in relation to the case of Nancy Hunt, who had been charged with the crime of incest and whose father was serving a term of ten years in Utah penitentiary, having been convicted of said crime in the district court. From all that could be learned he had every reason to believe that she was guilty, although at the end of a two hours' interview, Bro. McMurrin being also present, she declared her innocence. The story she tells, however, in many respects is very flimsy. It was decided to give her a hearing before the bishop's court, and Bishop White²³ was instructed to take up the matter at an early date.

Patriarch John Smith attended fast meeting at the temple.

President John R. Winder also attended fast meeting at the tem-

21. Joseph W. McMurrin (1858-1932), ordained a seventy on 21 April 1884, was sustained at October general conference as one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventies in 1897. Apostle Anthon H. Lund, then traveling to Palestine and Syria, confirmed this office on him in Liverpool on 21 January 1898 according to cabled instructions; however, because he used the words "set apart," not "ordain," a controversy ensued. The Seventies felt strongly that their presiding officers should be ordained, and some members began claiming that McMurrin's ordination was invalid. The First Presidency and Twelve discussed the problem and decided no further action was necessary. Rudger Clawson, *Diary*, 18 Apr. 1899. McMurrin also served as president of the California Mission, 1919-32.

22. John R. Stewart (1873-1938), born at Beaver, Utah, served in the Northern States Mission, 1897-99, then as bishop of Torrey Ward, Wayne Stake, 1901-1906. J. Cecil Alter, *Utah: The Storied Domain* (Chicago: American Historical Society, Inc., 1932), 122-23.

23. Levi C. White (1868-1952) was bishop of Giles Ward, Wayne Stake, 1896-1907, and bishop of the Utahn Ward, Duchesne Stake, 1918-22. See Anne Snow, comp., *Rainbow Views: A History of Wayne County*, 3d ed. (Springville, UT: Art City Publishing Co., 1977), 296.

ple and a meeting in the evening at Farmer's ward.²⁴

President Brigham Young attended fast meeting at the temple on Sunday.

The reports of the brethren were received, and their labors approved by unanimous vote.

Apostle John W. Taylor moved that \$1,000 be appropriated in accordance with the recommendation of Bro. Clawson. Seconded.

Brother Merrill thought it not well to make recommendations of this character, where the expenditure of means was involved. He thought the matter ought to be left entirely in the hands of the trustee-in-trust, who is fully posted as to the financial condition of the Church, and who knows whether there is sufficient on hand to meet obligations that arise.

President Smith said that the idea was to assist the people of Torrey in a small way, and he simply desired to know if the brethren of the Twelve felt to approve it. We have not at our disposal sufficient means to make large appropriations for purposes of this nature.

Apostle Taylor took exception to the view expressed by Brother Merrill, and felt that when the brethren were asked regarding such matters they should express themselves freely.

Brother Clawson thought it a simple question. The Presidency of the Wayne Stake had written a letter to the First Presidency in behalf of the people of Torr[e]y Ward asking for help. The letter was referred by the brethren to the Council for discussion and action. Brother Clawson was thereupon instructed to investigate the matter during his visit to the Wayne Stake, and he, therefore, felt perfectly justified in making his recommendation.

President Smith remarked that the reason the Church could not assist the people in building the Cache Valley canal was because they asked for so large an amount; but the people at Torrey are very poor, and without the help sought after would suffer serious results. Therefore, if the brethren felt to sanction it, he would be pleased to make the appropriation. Where we have money in the bank and see an opportunity for investment, such as buying sugar stock, to benefit the Church, the Presidency would feel at liberty to do so. As to matters involving large appropriations, we think it proper and wise to consult the Council. I never would think, he said, of putting up a building like the Deseret News Block without the unanimous approval of this Council.

The motion carrying an appropriation of \$1,000 to the Center Irri-

24. The Farmer's Ward meetinghouse was located on the west side of State Street at 1100 South and was part of the Granite Stake, formed on 17 January 1900. Henry F. Burton served as bishop of Farmer's Ward, 1886-1914.

gation Company canal was carried by unanimous vote.

President Smith spoke briefly in reference to a tithing report of the Utah Stake, read before the saints of that stake at the last conference. He did not believe, he said, it would be wise and prudent for us to show our hand in these matters. It excites the cupidity, covetousness, and criticism of the people. To show what is received by the Church and not what is paid out is manifestly unfair and imprudent, and should not be done.

President John R. Winder was opposed to such things, and said that aside from the tithing paid by Jesse Knight²⁵ the people of that stake did not pay as much tithing into the Church as was disbursed locally. One third of all the tithing paid into the Church is expended locally.

President Joseph F. Smith referred to financial conditions and said that the trustee-in-trust has on deposit in the bank about \$240,000, but the tithing is falling off, and we will have \$30,000 interest on Church bonds to meet in the near future. There will be some revenue from the Deseret News building, if it is ever completed, but the work goes on very slowly, and something like eight or ten thousand dollars is paid out weekly to meet this obligation.

President John R. Winder said that the erection of the annex means an expenditure of \$100,000, which will be required on or before October 1902.

Brother Clawson said that he desired to mention another subject that was on his mind. He felt that an injustice towards some of the saints existed in Zion. The obligation to preach the gospel rested generally upon the elders of Israel. Some, however, because of the engrossing affairs of life, were exempt in a great measure from this duty. He referred, he said, to the wealthy brethren among our people, and in one case a young man, a banker, was called to take a mission. He reported that to leave home for this purpose would be very hurtful to his affairs and he proffered to pay \$25 a month in lieu of missionary work. He was excused and the \$25 a month, which was paid for two years, was used to assist two of his poorer brethren in their missionary labors abroad. Brother Clawson felt that the obligation to preach the gospel should be borne by the rich as well as the poor, and where the rich cannot go they should contribute of their means to strengthen and assist their needy brethren.

President Smith said he thought it would be well for the brethren

25. Jesse Knight (1845-1921), founder of Raymond, Alberta, and president of the Knight Investment Company, had extensive real estate and mining holdings and contributed generously to the church and to Brigham Young University. Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family: Jesse Knight, His Forebears and Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940).

of the Twelve to take this matter into consideration.

Motion for adjournment prevailed.

Benediction by President Brigham Young.

DISCUSSION

By the time the Salt Lake temple was dedicated in April 1893, the pattern had developed for a weekly meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Most of the weekly temple meetings were on Thursdays except when holidays or other special occasions conflicted, then they were moved to another day or postponed until the next Thursday.²⁶ These minutes show the parliamentary procedure and the method of conducting their council meetings. Those present are listed in a formal order: first, the First Presidency, next, the eight apostles present by descending seniority, and then the presiding patriarch to the church. Significantly, George F. Gibbs, clerk to the First Presidency, is not listed as being in attendance, suggesting that someone else—probably Clawson—took that function for this meeting.

The formal meeting began with the brethren donning their white temple robes and caps for the opening service, which included a song. They then encircled the altar for the exchange of "certain signs of the priesthood" and an antiphonal prayer.²⁷ After removing their temple clothing and changing back to street clothes, they sang a second song, then heard a list of assignments to attend upcoming stake conferences.

The next item of business was reports from apostles about their most recent visits to stake conferences and other church duties. Again they spoke in descending order of seniority, from George Teasdale to Rudger Clawson. John W. Taylor's report included those of President Smith, Counselor Lund, and Apostle Hyrum M. Smith, since all four men had attended the same stake conference. After the reports of the apostles, the church patriarch spoke, followed by the remaining member of the First Presidency (John R. Winder) and the president of the Quorum of the Twelve (Brigham Young, Jr.). Such a routine according to seniority was the custom.

In addition to the obviously routine business of appraising the vitality of the wards and stakes visited and reporting changes in ecclesiastical officers are two discussions which dealt with less routine matters: a case of sexual misconduct and a financial decision. From a late-twentieth-century perspective when incest and other forms of sexual abuse are receiv-

26. Stan Larson, "Synoptic Minutes of a Quarterly Conference of the Twelve Apostles: The Clawson and Lund Diaries of July 9-11, 1901," *Journal of Mormon History* 14 (1988): 99.

27. D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *Brigham Young University Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 80.

ing widespread scholarly attention, the case of Nancy Hunt is particularly poignant.²⁸

Nancy's father, Jonathan Hunt, one of the pioneer settlers of Blue Valley or Giles in Wayne County, Utah, had married three women and fathered a large family²⁹ but had been a widower for four years when his seventeen-year-old daughter gave birth to a baby. Hunt is described in newspaper accounts as "of high standing, especially in church circles; has held high ecclesiastical offices."³⁰ The sexual abuse had been long term, witnesses testifying to "numerous incidents" of seeing Hunt and his daughter "at camps" with only one bed or getting up in the morning out of a single bed, while another news report says the incest had lasted "for years." Hunt and Nancy made no effort to conceal the situation from the younger children of the family. When she became pregnant, she was sent to Nevada where she gave birth to the child.

In June 1901 Levi C. White and Walter E. Hanks, bishops of Giles and Caineville respectively, circulated a petition in Giles, Hanksville, Caineville, and other parts of Wayne County, charging Hunt with incest. A majority of citizens signed this petition. In August A. L. Robinson, county attorney, filed a complaint against Hunt alleging that he "did ... unlawfully and feloniously and incestuously have Carnal Knowledge of the body of the said Nancy Hunt."³¹

28. Jessie L. Embry, "Ultimate Taboos: Incest and Mormon Polygamy," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 108-109, first cited the Nancy Hunt incest case. In relation to uncle-niece marriages among polygamous Mormons, Embry, *ibid.*, 106-107, reports that Samuel Smith, mayor of Brigham City, had five wives, two of whom were nieces; Aaron Johnson, bishop of Springville, had twelve wives, six of whom were nieces; and Henry Sudweeks, who polygamously married his niece, was prosecuted for incest and sentenced to three years in the Utah territorial penitentiary. See Stan Larson, *Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Rudger Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884-87* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 26, 228.

29. Jonathan Hunt (1845-1922) was born in Kentucky. His parents joined the LDS church and the family moved to Utah about 1850. Jonathan married Clarissa Ann Leavitt in Clover Valley, Nevada, in 1864, and they moved to southern Utah in 1866. Clarissa died in 1879, leaving seven children. Later that year he married Mary Ann Hughes, who also gave birth to seven children. Nancy, their second child, was born in January 1884. In 1883 Jonathan took a plural wife, Josephine Chidester, by whom he had nine children. Mary died in 1895 and Josephine in 1897, one and a half months after the birth of her last child. Hunt Family Research Association, *Heritage Builders: Descendants of John Hunt Who Married Jane Coates* ([Salt Lake City], 1961), 99, 122-24.

30. Unless otherwise specified, information about the case comes from the following newspaper accounts: "The Hunt Incest Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 Nov. 1901, 7; "Will Atone for Crime: Jonathan Hunt Will Spend Ten Years in Pen for Incest," *Deseret Evening News*, 20 Nov. 1901, 7; "The Dreadful Incest Case: Hunt Convicted and Sentenced to Ten Years in State Prison," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 Nov. 1901, 7.

31. "Complaint," 21 Aug. 1901, *The State of Utah vs. Jonathan Hunt*, Sixth Judicial District Court, Wayne County, Loa, Utah.

No one had interfered earlier because "his neighbors have lived in very fear of their lives if they should complain to the officers," but they freely testified that the family lived in the "the most deplorably destitute circumstances" and that he treated the children "brutally and harshly, bruising and choking them. He has been domineering and harsh, using his authority with a high hand, especially in his own family. It is said that when his last wife died her last words were, 'You will go to hell for this, Jonathan Hunt,' she having been made to suffer greatly from harsh treatment in her last illness."

In November 1901 the fifty-six-year-old farmer was tried at Sixth District Court in Loa; and because he was "impecunious," a court-appointed lawyer represented him. Hunt denied the charge. Nancy, who was present with her baby in her arms, obediently rose when asked, so that witnesses could identify her. The reporter describes her as having "a simple grin on her face, seemingly pleased at the notoriety she was receiving." At the conclusion of the trial, Judge William M. McCarty instructed the jury that "incestuous intercourse" constituted the crime they were to focus on, not the paternity of the child. The jury deliberated for fifty minutes, found him guilty, but recommended mercy. The next day, 16 November, the judge sentenced him, imposing a ten-year sentence instead of the legal limit of fifteen years. Jonathan Hunt, who had already been disfellowshipped for "biting a man's nose off and for illicit whisky making and selling," was excommunicated in 1901. Hunt entered the Utah State Prison, located in the Sugarhouse area of Salt Lake City, two days later as convict No. 1369. It is not known if he served the full sentence or was released early for good behavior. Hunt was rebaptized and reconfirmed on 13 August 1922, one week before his death.

In May 1902 Apostle Rudger Clawson, with Joseph W. McMurrin of the First Council of the Seventy, had been assigned to attend the quarterly conference of the Wayne Stake in Loa. After Nancy's father had been in prison for several months, she came forward to unidentified church leader(s)—presumably her bishop, Levi C. White, and/or possibly her stake president, Willis G. Robison—and proclaimed her innocence of the crime of incest with her father. Instead, she tried to convince them that the child was the result of rape by a stranger.

The complex psychology of incest suggests that the conflict among Nancy's love for her father, her fear of him, her abhorrence of the incestuous relationship, and the psychological disorientation produced by this repeated trespass of her personal boundaries led to this delayed effort to redeem her father's reputation and, in a way, her own.³² Accord-

32. Karin C. Meiselman, *Incest: A Psychological Study of Causes and Effects with Treatment Recommendations* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1991).

ingly, after the stake conference sessions on Sunday, 4 May 1902, the visiting general authorities, Clawson and McMurrin, had a two-hour interview with seventeen-year-old Nancy. Clawson records in his dairy: "She gave birth to an illegitimate child but claims that she was drugged and ravished by some stranger [i.e., a non-Mormon]. Her story is very loose, and rather convinces one that she is lying."³³ McMurrin and he then decided that she should be tried by a bishop's court for incest and instructed Bishop White to make arrangements for this at his earliest convenience. That Clawson reported Nancy's having "been charged with the crime of incest" implies that he, at least, felt she was a guilty participant, not an innocent victim; he seems to have felt that the robber of virtue and the one robbed were both criminals. The records of the bishop's court are unavailable, but family tradition holds that Nancy was excommunicated.³⁴

This meeting of the First Presidency and Twelve also dealt with a less routine matter: making a financial commitment and, even more interestingly, giving a glimpse into the decision-making dynamics involved. The trustee-in-trust held \$240,000 cash in the bank. That total may seem like a considerable amount for that time period, but the church had a great deal of indebtedness, and it was not until 10 January 1907 that President Joseph F. Smith announced that the church was entirely free from debt.³⁵ The requested appropriation of \$1,000 for the Center Irrigation Company to finish the canal at Torrey was approved, even though initially resisted by Marriner W. Merrill, who was concerned that the Cache Stake was not getting church money for its canal.

A valuable insight into the thinking of church leaders is found in Joseph F. Smith's comments about the tithing report that was read to the members at the Utah Stake Conference. He opposed such public disclosure because "it excites the cupidity, covetousness, and criticism of the people." The tithing report, read by Lafayette Holbrook, second counselor in the Utah Stake presidency, was printed in the account of the stake conference by the *Deseret News*—a standard news item for the times. This newspaper account, interestingly, supplies more information, since Hol-

33. Rudger Clawson, Diary, 4 May 1902. Jonathan Hunt offered the court the following explanation of his daughter's illegitimate child: "At conference at Cainesville in August of 1900 she one night after dark met a tall man who threw some kind of powder in her face, whereupon she immediately became unconscious and knew not what happened thereafter until she found herself an hour later sitting alone on the river bank." "The Dreadful Incest Case," 7.

34. In 1904, at age twenty, Nancy married George H. Pierce of Huntington, Utah, by whom she had four children. Four years after his death in 1912, she married David F. Durfee of Loa, Utah, by whom she also had four children. She died in December 1925, age forty-one, just eighteen days after the birth of her last child. Nancy Ellen Hunt Pierce Durfee Collection, Ms 601, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library.

35. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 100.

brook explained that the 1901 tithing was lower than that of previous years because the Alpine and Nebo stakes had been formed out of the Utah Stake in January 1901. As a comparison, Holbrook provided the tithing of Utah Stake for the previous five years: 1897, \$67,826.16; 1898, \$82,646.68; 1899, \$112,597.26; 1900, \$109,304.07; and 1901, \$100,117.50.³⁶ Despite Smith's discomfort with such reports, the church continued to announce annual tithing totals until April 1959, the date of the last public financial report, when President David O. McKay stopped the practice, because the church was deficit-spending to the tune of \$8 million by the end of 1959. A few years later, when the church experienced great financial success, there was no incentive to revert to the former disclosures.³⁷

In short, these minutes provide both a unique record of how an ordinary, routine meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve would proceed weekly and also glimpses of how they dealt with two of the persistent problems of people in religious communities: sexual conduct and financial decisions.

CONCLUSION

In December 1899 Apostle Francis M. Lyman told members of the Malad Stake that during the general authorities' weekly meetings "the most important business of the Church [is] considered."³⁸ By their very nature these meetings have a limited number of participants. The minutes are not housed in the archives of the church's Historical Department but in the First Presidency's and Twelve's office vaults. Consequently, attempts to understand the historical decision-making processes of the highest councils of the church are circumscribed by the inaccessibility of these documents. The Blue Minutes are, to my knowledge, the only publicly available set of official minutes of the First Presidency and Twelve during this period.³⁹

36. "Utah Stake Conference," *Deseret News*, 14 Apr. 1902, 7.

37. D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Finances from the 1830s to the 1990s," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 25.

38. Rudger Clawson, *Diary*, 17 Dec. 1899.

39. For the pre-Utah period, there are numerous summaries of meetings of the First Presidency and/or twelve apostles in Fred C. Collier and William S. Harwell, ed., *Kirtland Council Minute Book* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1996), 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), and Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-51). However, sufficient contemporary diary or other sources are lacking to determine how completely these minutes were recorded and, hence, how full the published accounts are. Based on a comparison of the Journal History summaries for this period with the Anthon H. Lund and Rudger Clawson diaries, the Journal History is consciously circumspect. In virtually every case, the Clawson diary report of a quorum meeting is longer and more detailed than the Journal History version, even though it cannot be considered complete either; not infrequently, the Lund and Clawson accounts contain items unique to each.

Inevitably, the question arises about the propriety of publishing the Blue Minutes, given the reluctance of the First Presidency to allow researchers access to these documents. Confidentiality may be a legitimate concern, and church councils, large corporations, and government departments have a right to confidentiality concerning decisions made behind closed doors. Some Mormons may wonder: "When a private document is discovered, should it be published and presented if the originators of the said document prefer that it remain private?"⁴⁰ This use of the present tense assumes that the general authorities of 1902 are still around to make their wishes known or that their wishes are reflected in the decisions of the continuing corporate body of the quorum.

There is evidence that earlier quorums held more moderate views. For instance, Francis M. Lyman, at the Twelve's quarterly conference in the temple on 3 April 1900, not only affirmed the importance of that body but also urged a plan of future publication: "Said that as the body cannot live without the spirit, so the church cannot live without or exist without the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Thought it important to keep a journal. Had written nothing he would be ashamed to read to the Brethren. If we don't write our own history—that is, furnish the data—nobody will."⁴¹ As we have seen, Clawson kept his diary with a future audience in mind.

However, in the interests of scholarship and historical accuracy, such restrictions should have a built-in time limit. For example, the closest possible parallel is that since 1978 the minutes of the meetings of the RLDS First Presidency, Twelve Apostles, Presiding Bishopric, and the Joint Council (consisting of these three quorums together) have been made available to researchers after fifty years have elapsed.⁴² In the case of the Blue Minutes, the last of those in attendance died in 1945 and ninety-six years have passed since the meeting was held.

Actually, Joseph Smith himself was in favor of publishing the minutes of apostolic meetings. At his home in Kirtland on 27 February 1835 he gave instructions to nine of the ten newly chosen apostles about the importance of keeping the minutes of meetings and recording their decisions. Smith continued: "an item thus decided may appear, at the time, of little or no worth, but *should it be published, and one of you lay hands on it after, you will find it of infinite worth, not only to your brethren, but it will be a feast to your own souls.* ... Now, if you will be careful to keep minutes

40. See Garth L. Allred, paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, Laie, Hawaii, 13 June 1990, 2.

41. Clawson, Diary, 3 Apr. 1900. Ironically, Lyman's journals are currently unavailable for historical researchers; whatever life history might be written about Lyman now would not reflect the documents that he himself created and preserved with that end in mind.

42. Richard P. Howard to Stan Larson, 10 Oct. 1991.

of these things, as I have said, it will be one of the most important records ever seen; for all such decisions will ever after remain as items of doctrine and covenants."⁴³

A more open policy would increase historical accuracy and understanding, not only among professionals but also among Mormons at large. Meanwhile, the Blue Minutes provide a rare, unimpeded glimpse into the procedures and deliberations of a routine weekly temple meeting of the Mormon hierarchy.

APPENDIX: ATTENDEES

Joseph F. Smith (1838-1918) was the son of Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding. He was ordained an apostle and counselor to the First Presidency on 1 July 1866 by Brigham Young, though not set apart as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve until 8 October 1867. He served as second counselor to John Taylor from 1880 to 1887, as second counselor to Wilford Woodruff from 1889 to 1898, and as second and then first counselor to Lorenzo Snow from 1898 to 1901. To escape arrest for polygamy or unlawful cohabitation, Smith spent most of his time during the years 1884 to 1891 in Hawaii. On 17 October 1901 he was sustained as president of the church and died in 1918. For transcripts and photocopies of Joseph F. Smith's letters, see the Scott Kenney Collection, Ms 587, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938).

John R. Winder (1821-1910) was ordained a high priest on 4 March 1872 by Edward Hunter and sustained as second counselor to the Presiding Bishop on 8 April 1887. On 17 October 1901 he was set apart as first counselor in the First Presidency. Winder served in this position until his death in 1910. He was never a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, nor an ordained apostle outside the quorum. Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, [and] Anthon H. Lund, "The Priesthood and Its Offices," *Improvement Era* 5 (May 1902): 549. Consequently, John Henry Smith's statement that Winder was "ordained an Apostle under the hands of us all President Smith being mouth" is problematic. John Henry Smith, *Diary*, 17 Oct. 1901, in Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1990), 496.

Anthon H. Lund (1844-1921) was ordained an apostle on 7 October 1889. He was a counselor to Joseph F. Smith from 1901 to 1918 and then to Heber J. Grant from 1918 until his death in 1921. *In Memoriam, Anthon*

43. *History of the Church*, 2:199, emphasis added.

Henrik Lund: Biographical Sketch [by J. M. Sjodahl], Funeral Services, Resolutions of Respect, Letters of Sympathy, Editorial Expressions (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1921).

Brigham Young, Jr. (1836-1903) was the son of Brigham Young and his second wife, Mary Ann Angell. He was secretly ordained an apostle by his father sometime in November 1855 and became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve on 9 October 1868. He served as a counselor to his father from 1873 to 1877. On 5 April 1900 the decision was made to base seniority on entry into the Quorum of the Twelve instead of ordination as an apostle. Because of this ruling, Joseph F. Smith became president in 1901 instead of Brigham Young, Jr. George A. Smith Family Papers, Ms 36, Box 14, fd. 12, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library.

George Teasdale (1831-1907) was ordained an apostle on 16 October 1882. He served as president of the Indian Territory Mission in 1883, as president of the British Mission from 1887 to 1890, and as president of the Mexican Stake from 1890 to 1895. Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1892-1904), 4:272-74.

Heber J. Grant (1856-1945) was the son of Apostle Jedediah M. Grant, second counselor to Brigham Young, and his seventh wife, Rachel Ridgeway Ivins. In October 1882 he was accepted as the last member of the Council of Fifty and, less than a week later, was ordained an apostle. He served as president of the Japanese Mission from 1901 to 1903, president of the European Mission from 1903 to 1906, and president of the church from 1918 until his death in 1945. Bryant S. Hinckley, *Heber J. Grant: Highlights in the Life of a Great Leader* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951), and Francis M. Gibbons, *Heber J. Grant: Man of Steel, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979).

John W. Taylor (1858-1916) was the son of John Taylor and his fifth wife, Sophia Whittaker. He was ordained an apostle on 9 April 1884, resigned on 28 October 1905, and was excommunicated on 28 March 1911. Fred Collier and Knut Knutson, eds., *The Trials of Apostle John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1987). For the posthumous restoration of priesthood and blessings on 21 May 1965, authorized by David O. McKay, see Samuel W. Taylor, "Out of Limbo," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Summer 1972): 85-87.

Marriner W. Merrill (1832-1906) was set apart as president of the Logan temple on 21 May 1884, ordained an apostle on 7 October 1889, and served as Cache Stake president 1899-1901 to counter the Moses Thatcher faction in the Logan area. Melvin C. Merrill, ed., *Utah Pioneer and Apostle: Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1937).

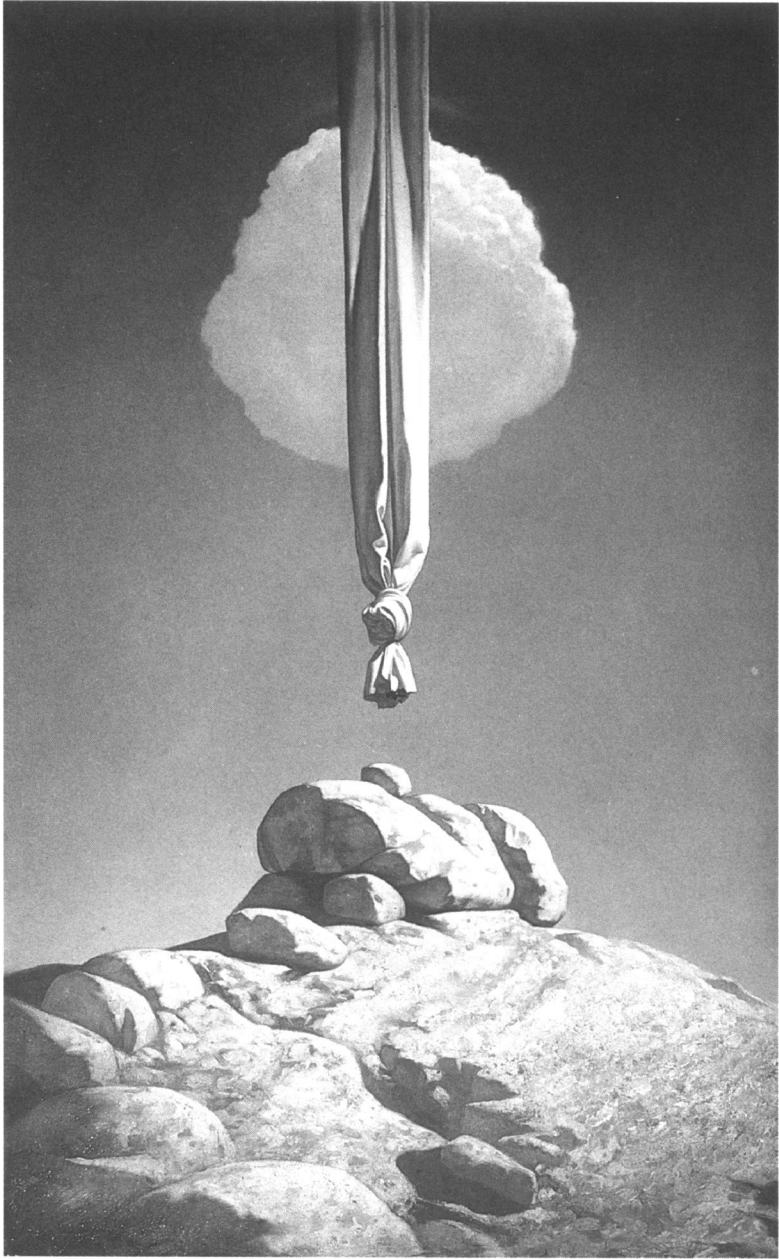
Matthias F. Cowley (1858-1940) was ordained an apostle on 7 October 1897, resigned 28 October 1905, was deprived of his priesthood on 11

May 1911, but was returned to full membership (but not his apostolate) on 3 April 1936, four years before his death. See the interview with Joseph F. Cowley, a son of Matthias F. Cowley, in the Everett L. Cooley Oral History Project, Accession 814, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library.

Rudger Clawson (1857-1943) is identified in the main text.

Hyrum M. Smith (1872-1918) was the son of Joseph F. Smith and his fourth wife, Edna Lambson Smith. He was ordained an apostle on 24 October 1901. *Tributes to the Memory of Hyrum M. Smith* [Salt Lake City: n.p., 1918].

John Smith (1832-1911) was the son of Hyrum Smith and Jerusha Barden Smith. On 18 February 1855 he was ordained Patriarch to the Church, the only lineal church office. Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., reported that during his father's presidency "Patriarch John Smith would have been asked to resign or keep the Word of Wisdom" had it not been for the special pleadings of his half-brother, Joseph F. Smith. Abraham H. Cannon, *Diary*, 4 and 7 Oct. 1894, Manuscripts Division, Marriott Library. When Joseph F. was sustained and set apart as president of the church on 17 October 1901, John Smith, for the first time, attended meetings of the First Presidency and Twelve and pronounced his brother's setting-apart blessing. John Smith served as patriarch until his death in 1911, giving nearly 20,000 patriarchal blessings to members. E. Gary Smith, "The Patriarchal Crisis of 1845," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Summer 1983): 24-35, and Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).



Embracing the Flesh: In Praise of the Natural Man

Paul R. Cazier

*Tis the sublime of Man,
Our noontide majesty, to know ourselves
Parts and proportions of a wondrous whole.*

—Samuel Coleridge

TEN YEARS AGO I CUT TO PIECES ANOTHER HUMAN BEING. Using scalpel, electric bone saw and tweezers, and blunt dissection, I slowly removed the flesh from her body over a six-month period. I was never arrested, nor charged with any crime. In fact, I was encouraged by the society around me. It was considered part of the learning process.

The most fascinating part of my first year in medical school was the chance to jump into the muck, elbows deep, and christen strange gray and yellow objects the “thoracic duct” or the “ansa cervicalis.” With four students to a cadaver, we vied for the best position from which to skin limbs, isolate nerves, and be the first to discover a major artery. It was exhilarating.

Toward the end of the two quarters of dissection, our cadaver became a cornucopia of landmarks. She looked less and less human as we progressively removed tissue. We finally, unceremoniously, detached her skull from her first cervical vertebra. This left only her pharyngeal muscles, trachea, and nerves and vessels to hang loosely, like life-strings, between her head and neck. This allowed us to dissect her larynx, the voice box that would object if it could to our intrusion.

During the entire process of memorization, dissection, and class lec-

ture, many opportunities arose for waxing philosophical. There in front of the four of us, on the cold steel dissection table, was our future. Our cadaver testified of human mortality, to the time when we too would rot, our complex organic molecules breaking down to more basic constituents.

Through the experience of cutting apart another human being, I concluded that life is a beautiful and natural marvel. And though I found no seat for the soul hidden amid the sulci or gyri of her brain, there was a certain vitality to our cadaver. That macabre wreckage seemed to tell us that yes, someone was here once, long before we arrived. While walking among the dead, sticking our faces into ancient cavities, fondling the viscera that once digested Thanksgiving meals, we "listened" as these wise cadavers divulged their contents.

Now, more than ten years later, I no longer go home each night smelling like formaldehyde, with yellow pieces of cadaver fat in my hair. I miss it. But my preoccupation with the human body continues. As a neuroradiologist, I look at the human form, specifically the head, neck, and spine, on a daily basis. Instead of a scalpel, we use the cross-sectional techniques of computed tomography (CT) and magnetic resonance (MR) imaging to display detailed human anatomy, depicted as subtle shades of gray on film. In this "decade of the brain," I find learning about the central nervous system a great challenge. And, in our role as imaging consultants, we are often the first to see the inflammation, infection, and tumors that will forever alter the lives of the patients before us. Like those first months as a medical neophyte ten years ago, I am still in awe of the human form or, what I will call for the purpose of this essay, "the natural man."

Mormons believe that the natural man is but a part, a "proportion," of our total being. Mormonism teaches that we are, each of us, a triumvirate when we emerge as infants on the earth: intelligence wrapped in spirit encased in corruptible flesh. There is little information on the first, our eternal "intelligence," which forever separates us into individual entities that were harvested from the cosmos by a loving creator. We learn about this aspect of ourselves only sporadically, in the theological attics of our weekly church services. For the most part, our religion speaks of our being spiritual children of God who came to this earth to "obtain a body," among other things.

Therefore I own or possess my body. It is a temple, I am told, and I am to respect and take care of it, like a new car or a porcelain vase. However, most of the time I feel as though I am not the owner of a body, but a body itself. During my first anatomy practical exam ten years ago, when pneumonia racked my lungs and I walked among the corpses, occasionally coughing uncontrollably, raining pneumococci germs on exposed

gall bladders and uteruses (in a futile attempt to infect the deceased with death), I felt it was *I* who was ill, not some abstract chariot of my spirit. Ironically, or perhaps as a design of my creator, it is my natural, biological identity with which I have the most experience. Despite living for an eternity as intelligence, then a spirit child, I only occasionally catch glimpses, now and then, of my spirituality. As far as I can tell, I am inextricably immersed in the flesh.

The natural man has much to say about God and the world in which we find ourselves. Unfortunately, the natural man has often been relegated to something base, perverted, or repulsive. I think of the sacrifice of celibate priests or ascetic Hindus who live to avoid “physical illusion.” Clearly, the human body and the tangibleness of existence have been belittled for centuries. Indeed, King Benjamin reminds us in the Book of Mormon that “the natural man is an enemy of God” (Mosiah 3:19). We are therefore told that only by “putting off” the natural man do we worship in spirit and find proximity to God.

To be sure, when scriptural authors speak of “the natural man,” or “our nature,” they are referring to our human character and conduct that so often fails to please God and ennoble us. In this light the apostle Paul admonishes the Romans that “to be spiritually minded is life and peace,” and “they that are in the flesh cannot please God” (Rom. 8:6, 8). Obviously, Paul is condemning the carnality of certain people, not their “flesh”—not their biology (without which there is no life as we know it). We therefore conclude that Paul and other righteous people have explained the way to heaven by employing the flesh of man as a metaphor for sin and the evil within us.

Yet these metaphorical indictments of our physical state can have an insidious effect on our attitudes. There is much in the scriptures and orthodox Christian teachings that fosters spiritual elitism, where the body is ugly, menstruation is unclean, leprosy, mental illness, and other diseases are curses, and death is an abhorrent mistake of the Fall.

I doubt that human biology and the requirements of heaven are incompatible. My cadaver, one of God’s spirit children (*sans* spirit), was a great communicator. Cutting into her was like a dialogue. She told me that the natural man or woman is an amazing symphony of biochemistry and physiology. She said that we cannot escape this biological form while reaching for higher, spiritual planes. (Not in so many words, of course).

We, as Mormons, generally do better than orthodox Christianity in emphasizing the eternal nature of our physical bodies. Still we often speak of our flesh as simply a covering for our spirit, as if it were NASA’s most recent space suit on loan to us, enabling us to interact with this alien physical world. Rarely do we adequately acknowledge the body as more than a mere tool. Mormonism can do better in its praise of the natural man.

THE ORIGIN OF MAN

What are the steps toward a complete celebration of the natural man? First, and most important, we must understand our origins. Biological life and the natural man have a long history, more complex and mysterious than the sterile, tidy assertions from sacrament meeting pulpits. Thus I am not content being told simply that God created life on this earth. I want to know the process by which it occurred. I would love to understand how the eye or the middle ear structures evolved and how the complex folding of the cerebral hemispheres occurs. Though the church speaks of my spiritual origins, I am no less interested in the origin of my mitochondria (the ancient, bacteria-like, energy factories in all our cells). After all, just as there is a wonderful story associated with our spiritual genesis, scientists speak of an equally marvelous 3.5-billion-year long creation story surrounding the birth of our bodies. The natural man, our intimate associate on the earth, deserves mention.

I distinctly remember the powerful impact Duane Jeffrey's 1973 *Dialogue* article, "Seers, Savants, and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," had on me as a teenager some seven years after it was published. In it Jeffrey outlines the church's long history of less than salutary pronouncements on biological evolution.¹ Yet it had a calming influence on me. The article made it clear that the church was at least officially neutral on the matter of evolution. I would not, I learned, be ostracized from my ethnic and religious moorings for entertaining scientific theories. My personal theological crisis was attenuated, to a large extent, by that article.

Still, that interface has indeed been uncomfortable for me. One prominent example comes to mind from my mission to Japan fourteen years ago. While my companion and I were teaching a discussion to a family of four, the young teenage son spoke up, gathering some inner courage to ask, "What about science and evolution? Does your church condemn such things?" I felt my gut tighten. I identified with his question, a question that I was still struggling with in my own mind. I felt for him, his need to know if religion meant that he would have to give up "belief" in the wonderful array of scientific ideas that he was being exposed to in his Japanese high school.

My companion happened to be teaching as that question was presented. As if responding to a preprogrammed set of instructions inside a missionary mind, he answered that evolution was contrary to the teachings of our church and not consistent with God's plan of salvation.

I was furious. In my mind I could not let my companion blithely smear science. I interrupted him, saying, undoubtedly with some emo-

1. Duane E. Jeffrey, "Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Autumn/Winter 1973): 41-75.

tion, just the opposite, that we do not know how God created human-kind; that evolution is neither embraced nor rejected by Mormons.

Naturally, the boy was not impressed with our duality of ideas. Nor was I. My companion did not appear to mind my interruption and we said little upon returning to our apartment that night. It affected me enough, however, that in my weekly letter to my mission president, I asked him to clarify how we, as missionaries, should answer questions on evolution. The president never responded. I later heard from the mission secretary that the president took some delight in my superfluous worries, implying that my six months in the mission home as financial secretary had acquainted the president with my tendency to "think too much."

On a larger scale, the church has struggled with the question of how to teach us members about the origin of our bodies. In several Gospel Doctrine classes I've attended, there have been as many personal interpretations of Genesis as people in class. Some have described evolution as one of the "seven deadly sins," parroting what some church leaders have written on the topic. Others have expressed more of an open mind.

That evolution continues to be taught in science classes at Brigham Young University is an admission of how pervasive the theory is in all aspects of biological science. Numerous fields of science use the theory and its corollaries. Indeed, every student graduating from BYU is likely to encounter the theory, including those who go to graduate school in the biological sciences, medicine, dentistry, and others. The administration at BYU is aware that were they to stop teaching evolution, BYU would cease to function as a recognized university and would, in the eyes of the world (especially the world of higher education), be little more than a seminary that shields its students from the full measure of scientific ideas.

Although I am pleased the church is not frightened of discussing evolution, we church members should also be prepared for further discoveries into our biological origins. Just as physicists are stepping closer to an understanding of matter, so too are biologists beginning to appreciate how life, "in all its variety," came into being. If it turns out that science succeeds in explaining in detail how life came into being, we should feel no less marveled by the sapient creators we worship and the natural law they employed in creating the natural man. A healthy appreciation of our biological selves and the discoveries of science gives praise to God, the creator.

Though most biochemistry text books are vague on the exact mechanism, most scientific theories of life's origin relate in some way to what has been called the Oparin-Haldane theory, the legendary "primordial

soup.”² Yet ever since 1953 when University of Chicago scientists Stanley Miller and Harold Urey created a few amino acids in a flask by applying an electrical charge to a mixture of ammonia, methane, hydrogen cyanide, and water vapor, this soup is routinely taken for granted. The problem of life’s origin has been solved, some foolishly assume.

This hit home for me several years ago when I visited Chicago’s massive Museum of Science and Industry on the shore of Lake Michigan. In this ornate museum one finds on display an unbridled celebration of human ingenuity, from the steam engine to quantum mechanics and superconductivity. Yet, despite amazing displays of biology and human physiology, for me there is a most disappointing display, sequestered away on the second floor in an obscure corner. There a grainy video tape with distorted sound shows the gourmet cook Julia Child preparing “primordial soup” by mixing together similar ingredients used in Miller-Urey’s experiment. Although tongue-in-check, the display gives one the idea that life’s origin can be reduced to a cooking recipe. The meaning and uniqueness of life itself are lost through such a portrayal.

We have a responsibility, then, both to appreciate the importance of our physical origin and to provide meaning to that wonderful process. Such an awareness would complement the already extraordinary emphasis the LDS temple endowment ceremony places on the symbolic representation of life’s genesis. Our appreciation for all life would undoubtedly be enriched as well. We share some DNA gene sequences and many biochemical reactions with most of the earth’s organisms. We and all animals are more than cousins; we are the same flesh.

PHYSICAL SUFFERING

Like animals, we also suffer in the flesh. The pain of physical suffering is a special burden that the natural man must endure. Our bodies are exposed to an incredible spectrum of insult, both human-made suffering and the suffering which comes from living in a world of natural law. Over a decade of exposure to medicine, I have become more skeptical of its ability to cure, more amazed that our bodies do not disintegrate in an instant from any number of traumas or neoplasias or infections.

We came to this earth to gain experience, we are told. Part of that experience is suffering. It is our physical body that is the object, invariably, of that suffering. It is our colons which become cancerous, our brains which demyelinate, our bones which fracture, and the vessels of our hearts which clog with atherosclerotic plaques. If the body of man is to be

2. Robert Shapiro, *Origins: A Skeptic’s Guide to the Creation of Life on Earth* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986), 49.

praised, surely it is because the natural man wears the scars of disease, war, and pain.

But is physical suffering simply “experience”? I doubt it. As I’ve watched patients with chronic diseases, I think there is something inherently obscene in equating suffering with experience only. We trivialize the suffering and mindless carnage rampant on this earth by dismissing them as merely part of God’s plan or part of “our education.” People who have experienced chronic pain for most of their lives do not accumulate “new experience” by placing it into some unseen sack which they later show God. They are changed; their flesh is different. I do not, therefore, perceive the natural man as a shell around our spirit, unconnected to that which rises from the dust. We enter the next life transformed by the sufferings we encounter in the flesh.

Not only do we change when the dark hour of suffering comes upon our physical form, so too does our concept of justice. During my flight to Tokyo, I read Harold Kushner’s *When Bad Things Happen to Good People*. A professor earlier that year at Utah State University had suggested it to me. In it Rabbi Kushner examines the problem of evil in light of his son’s tragic death from progeria, a rare condition in which the body ages rapidly. Kushner’s personal theodicy was that God is not all-powerful. Human suffering “angers and saddens God even as it angers and saddens us.”³ It was perhaps, in some cosmic sense, no accident that I was reading that book at that particular time, 1 September 1983. For while I read, another Boeing 747 several hundred miles away to the east off the coast of Russia, filled with people reading, laughing, and perhaps thinking about God, was shot down by a Soviet fighter near the island of Sakhalin. The 269 Koreans who lost their lives in that tragic mistake, a mistake the United States would repeat in the summer of 1988 by downing an Iranian airliner in the Persian Gulf, were remembered and their loss was felt in Tokyo when I arrived.

All of us are moved to rethink the Plan of Salvation when we are forced to watch our loved ones suffer in the flesh. We have made progress in our attitudes about the etiology of physical suffering. We no longer assume someone has sinned when he or she suffers physical pain, a mistake Job’s friends made many years ago. Perhaps Rabbi Kushner is correct and God’s power is limited in many respects to explain what goes on beneath him. God appears less responsible for “calling people home” than are fatty cholesterol deposits in the intima of our arteries. As we learn more about natural processes of death and disease, Mormons must surrender the notion that God is behind every tumor or every stroke.

3. Harold S. Kushner, *When Bad Things Happen to Good People* (New York: Avon Books, 1981), 55.

The question of meaning must be addressed: Is there meaning to the insult a body will encounter in this life? For a young child to be devastated by a infiltrating brain tumor, a not uncommon finding where I work, one cannot help but wonder if there is a divine plan here, not just chaos.

One attempt to give meaning to this apparent chaos comes from a talk I heard given by Elder Neal A. Maxwell in Tokyo towards the end of my mission. Elder Maxwell implored us to have a "sense of history" and not to be concerned with those things which will not rise with us in the resurrection. He acknowledged our "suffering" as missionaries and consoled us with a unique concept that I hear only infrequently in church meetings. He spoke of Christ's atonement and how he not only took upon himself our sins, but our diseases and sicknesses as well (an idea supported by scripture such as Alma 7:11-12). Using an example which now seems prophetic given his own recent diagnosis of a myeloproliferative disorder, Elder Maxwell said that the only way Christ could know of "the suffering of a leukemia patient was to actually suffer the physical pains of leukemia."⁴

If not an explanation of suffering, such a concept is a consolation. It gives us the realization that our elder brother knows our aches, pains, fever, paralysis, and psychoses. With such a concept, the sufferings of our flesh take on a divine quality; we find the sufferings of the natural man "atoned" even upon the cross.

THE HUMAN BRAIN

What then remains in our celebration of the natural man as we "embrace" the flesh? Besides an appreciation of our body's origin and the insults our bodies endure, we Mormons must also develop a theology of mind or, perhaps more appropriately, of brain. If indeed the spiritual and the physical are "intertwined," then nowhere else are they more tightly bound than in the human brain. If indeed we have a soul, it most assuredly is in intimate communication, if not identity, with the billions of neurons and glial cells which make up the human central nervous system.

Aristotle, considered the father of biology, thought the brain's principal function was to cool the blood. From that humble beginning, the brain has reached its preeminence as the organ of thought, emotion and mood, volition, planning, memory, and as the primary sex organ. It was easy, in years past, for religions to separate the physical from the spiritual, the

4. Address by Elder Neal A. Maxwell to a combined conference of missionaries from the Japan Tokyo North and Tokyo South missions, Tokyo, Japan, 19 Nov. 1984; notes in my possession.

corruptible from the divine. We acted, it was explained, because we have a soul which does the thinking, the sinning, and the supplicating.

But by observing the human condition, and through advances in biochemistry as well as anatomic and functional neuroimaging, modern neuroscience has come to the simple conclusion that, in the words of John Searle, "brains cause minds."⁵ Now we learn that our hypothalamus controls appetite, our medulla regulates sleep, our parietal lobe processes spatial information. Slice strategically into the frontal cortex, as in the frequently performed lobotomy operation of the 1950s, and a violent person is reduced to a docile child with little desire, little personality. Decrease the dopaminergic output in the substantia nigra and a person shuffles in a Parkinsonian gait. If any of the multitude of neurotransmitters which are released at synaptic endings of neurons are disturbed, one sees such clinical syndromes as depression, mania, and epilepsy.

But if brains cause minds, do they also cause souls? In this twentieth century, has brain become soul? Certainly neuroscientists do not search for the soul hidden in the pineal gland of cadavers, as Descartes reportedly did. We are therefore left with the fundamental question of whether our "spiritual" experiences on this earth (i.e., prayer, revelation, etc.) result from electrochemical reactions going on in our brain. Do our spiritual yearnings and the "burning of our bosom" originate in a three-pound grayish-blue organ in our skull? How does our eternal intelligence differ from the mechanics of billions of neurons? The answers to these questions will probably have to wait until we have crossed the veil, but advances in neuroscience have forced these questions upon us. Our very identity is at stake. We may be spirit children, but we seem to be no less cerebral children of our heavenly father.

We also have difficulty acknowledging the fragility of our thinking organ; its proximity to chaos. For a year prior to attending medical school, I worked as an orderly in a nursing home. I would assist older men, suffering the ravages of Alzheimer's disease, cerebrovascular disease, or other forms of senility, with their daily routine: bathing, toileting, eating. One wing was devoted entirely to Alzheimer patients. It was with some trepidation that I went to work in that wing. There noble yet confused elderly men and women shuffled through the corridors or rocked back and forth with vacant eyes. The neurofibrillary tangles and senile plaques which had infiltrated the frontal lobes of their brains had, by slow degrees, robbed them of their intelligence, memory, and personality. (One patient, Harvey, an obviously devout Mormon in his day, would spend hours in his wheelchair praying over and over. If it is true that a

5. John Searle, *Minds, Brains and Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 39.

prayer offered to God brings blessings on our heads, then I am sure Harvey, long since passed on, has inherited worlds unnumbered.) Such a spectacle, brains short-circuited and non-functional, is difficult to watch. And it is more difficult to accept the fact that one day we too may lose our neurological connection with the world. As a former anatomy instructor succinctly put it, "We wish to be angels, not made out of meat."

It is this very fragility which begs the question of our free agency. A staple of Mormonism is the right of humankind to choose here on earth. If our brain, and thus our behavior, is so sensitive to injury, medications, disease, even genetics, are we truly free to act? Are there neurological conditions in which choice is taken from us?

A cursory review of the neurological diseases of man yields many examples of free agency denied. Certainly my oldest brother is an example of a divestment of free agency. He suffers from one of the most horrific diseases known: schizophrenia. For over a dozen years, he has been a victim of a disease that has robbed him of a meaningful connection with reality and with those who love him. His thoughts are marred by delusional concepts. He is incapable of most basic social interactions. His disease is controlled, only marginally, by medications which adjust the levels of certain neurotransmitters in his brain. This brain disease stares free agency in the face. It appears totally incongruous with the Plan of Salvation. It is flesh in complete dominance over any concept of spirituality. Thus, for some, choices are necessarily limited here on this world. How a benevolent creator will judge these spirit children, whose brains prevent the complete exercise of free agency, is a troubling question.

But when our brains *are* functioning, unimpaired by disease, what a marvelous medium we have to interact with our world. Our capacity to create, to serve, and to learn seems unlimited. By estimating the number of synaptic connections neurons have with each other in the human brain, the late scientist and astronomer Carl Sagan estimated the potential mental "states" of the human mind as 2 raised to 10^{13} or 2 times itself ten trillion times. This, he explains, is "an unimaginably large number, far greater, for example, than the total number of elementary particles ... in the universe."⁶ It is clear that through our brain we have the potential to glance into the eternities before us, and beyond.

CONCLUSION

After a long year of gross anatomy, it is not uncommon for first-year medical students to have a non-denominational ceremony in which they thank the people who donated their bodies to medicine. In hushed rever-

6. Carl Sagan, *The Dragons of Eden* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1977), 43.

ence they light candles or recite a poem with the shrouded cadavers before them in the anatomy lab. It is a sacrament, evidence of the powerful impact the dialogue between student and natural man has been.

We are “made of meat.” Like a pungent broth of decaying matter, so too will we at the appropriate time slowly fly apart into the soup from which we came. But more than simply carbon-based creatures that evolved over millions of years, we have, within us, the spark of the divine. How this spark interacts with our physical form is a challenging question. It is perhaps that spark which lifts us above the suffering we encounter in the flesh and separates us from other animals.

Although Mormonism is not immune from the tendency to shy away from celebrating our natural state, I think it has shown in the past an unusual, even heretical elevation of the natural man: We are told that physical matter cannot be created, it is organized. Joseph Smith preached that we can eternally progress, and introduced the Word of Wisdom to protect and nourish our bodies. We are told that we will resurrect as physical beings. And the most radical, beautiful teaching of all: God has a body “of flesh and bones.” Indeed, though we are usually reticent to proclaim the wonders of *being* a body (not just *having* one), Mormonism is divinely poised, through its unique teachings, to embrace the flesh. By so doing, we are only embracing God.

She and He: Alternatives

Lewis Horne

1

—Or on summer evenings as the sky
Draws down its light, prodding the question why

They sit in cast-off wicker furniture,
The kids cross-legged as though the lawn made a shore

Toward which they'd moved since morning: a country close,
Stars leaning in to catch the prose

Of family chat, mosquito bite, and slap.
She and he. Something of the shape

Of house and tree and gathering might recall
To us where we were and the world we'd made of it all.

2

—Or when Johnny Hirohata raised a screen
On his truck garden farm to show old movies on

Out-of-doors each Friday, we'd put our dime
In the muffin tin. Actors of a fame

We had forgot, once the sun was gone,
Went at it. Behind the planks we sat upon,

His field was at it, too, a fragrant stand,
Not part of the black-and-white, toeing its line

Of order. Within such act of smell and sight
Lay the puzzle and wear of human appetite.

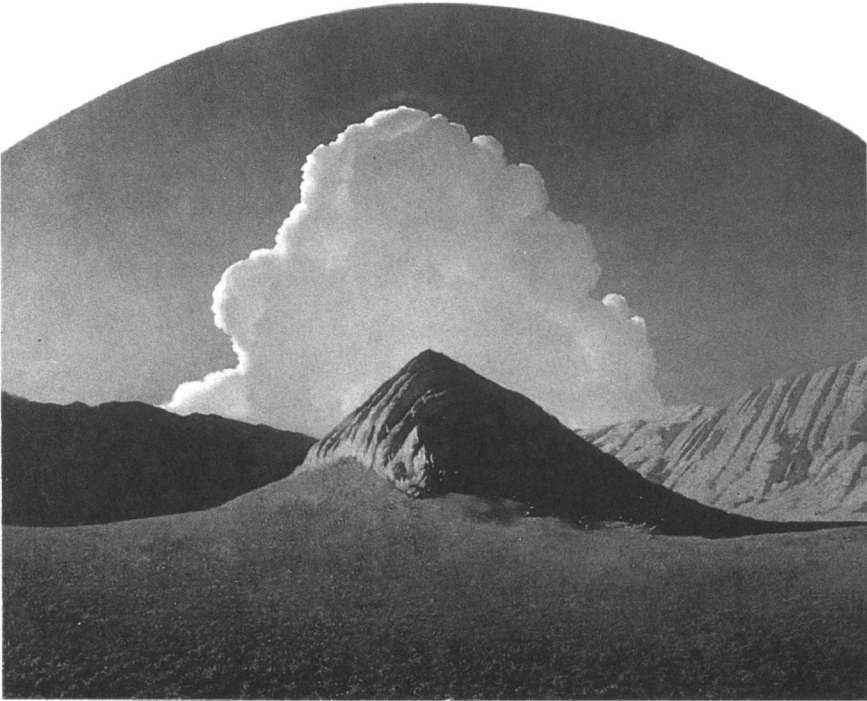
—Or when he and she in the evening (in his words)
Would “take a little stroll” up the good-night road,

The water in the irrigation ditch
A noisy gallop. As night fixed the latch

On day, we’d snap the houselights on, as though
To show the way back to us, although we’d know

Such modest migrations never took them far.
We never felt the vacancy, so sure

Were we of the gift they gave, nor worried there
For their coming back to their common day’s Somewhere.



Madeline McQuown, Dale Morgan, and the Great Unfinished Brigham Young Biography

Craig L. Foster

SHORTLY AFTER COMPLETING *THE DEVIL DRIVES: A Life of Sir Richard Burton* in 1967, Fawn M. Brodie wrote to her friend Dale Morgan confessing that she had “been periodically haunted by the desire to do a biography of Brigham Young.” She mentioned that she had been encouraged by “many people” and “more than one publisher.”¹ Knowing that Morgan’s close friend, Madeline R. McQuown, had been working for a number of years on her own Brigham Young biography, Brodie stated that she had stayed away from Young. However, since “so many years [had] gone by with no” McQuown-written biography, Brodie asked Morgan to “frankly” tell her what the status was of McQuown’s long-awaited book.²

Morgan quickly responded that McQuown’s manuscript was “substantially complete” and “so massive” that “it may have to be a two-volume work.” He reported that McQuown had “done an amazing research job” and that at least one publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, had expressed interest.³

Notwithstanding Morgan’s praise of McQuown’s work and discouragement of Brodie’s interest in Brigham Young, Brodie persisted, explaining that W.W. Norton wanted her to write a biography. Her Utah

1. Brodie to Morgan, 14 Aug. 1967, in Newell G. Bringhurst, “Fawn M. Brodie After *No Man Knows My History*: A Continuing Fascination for the Latter-day Saints and Mormon History,” 14-15, privately circulated, copy in my possession.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 15.

friends and acquaintances were similarly supportive. Mormon entrepreneur and philanthropist O. C. Tanner even offered her \$10,000 up front to do the research and produce a manuscript on the early Mormon prophet. Brodie told Morgan, "[I]f I thought [McQuown's] book would be delayed for another two years I would be quite tempted to go ahead with it." Morgan again strongly encouraged her "not to write on Brigham Young in light of 'what Madeline McQuown has done.'" Eventually Brodie told Tanner and other supporters that she would not write about Brigham Young in light of McQuown's anticipated biography.⁴

In the end Brodie gave up the idea of writing a biography on Brigham Young and chose, instead, Thomas Jefferson with her award-winning, controversial *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (1974). McQuown, on the other hand, continued to promise the impending publication of *The King of Deseret: The Life of Brigham Young*. Up to the time of her death in 1975, McQuown claimed that she was within days of finishing her definitive biography of Young.⁵

Only after her death did people discover that McQuown's promised biography was little more than a rough manuscript of about six chapters and 157 pages. For years McQuown had claimed to be working tirelessly on her manuscript. More than once both she and Dale Morgan had claimed that her health had been affected by the intense work she was performing on her 1,000-page manuscript. Indeed, the great Brigham Young biography became, in reality, the great unfinished Brigham Young biography.⁶

In analyzing a possible charade of this proportion, the first question to address is who was Madeline R. McQuown and why didn't she ever finish the Young biography? Just as important is: Why would a scholar of Dale Morgan's stature be party to such an apparent deception? And, finally, what were the consequences of the unfinished biography and the amount of misinformation which surrounded its supposed progress?

Madeline McQuown was born Madeline Isadora Reeder in Ogden, Utah, on 31 March 1906.⁷ She was the eldest child of Francis Hubbard

4. Ibid., 16; and telephone interview with Everett L. Cooley, 13 June 1996.

5. Telephone interview with Everett Cooley, 13 June 1996. Brodie's biography of Jefferson, probably more than any of her other biographies, placed her on the national stage of the study of history due to her subject matter and the controversial nature of her work.

6. Gary F. Novak, "'The Most Convenient Form of Error': Dale Morgan on Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon," *FARMS Review of Books* 8 (1996), 1:132-33. For more detail on the manuscript, see Madeline R. McQuown Papers, Bx 8, fds 1-8, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

7. The 1930 LDS church census, Ogden 20th Ward, Ogden (Utah) Stake, lists Madeline's name as Magdalena Isadore Reeder. However, most records give her name as Madeline. All LDS ward records and U.S. censuses used in this essay are located in the Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. There are no page numbers, enumeration districts, etc.; censuses are arranged alphabetically by surname.

Hemming Reeder (1886-1936) and Madeline Mary Chatelain (1887-1956). Francis was of early Utah pioneer heritage. He was a descendant of Francis Hubbard Reeder (1830-1902), a staunch member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a polygamist with four wives.⁸

On her mother's side, Madeline also descended from early pioneer settlers. Her grandparents were Peter Edward Chatelain (1861-1936) and Phoebe Isadore Allen (1862-1918). Allen was the daughter of Elihu Moroni Allen (1836-1912) who, with his father, Elihu, arrived in Utah in 1847.⁹

Both the Reeder and Chatelain families were prominent in the LDS church and the local community. Several members of the two families were in lesser ecclesiastical positions. Madeline's uncle, William Henry Reeder, Jr. (1884-1961), was a municipal judge in Ogden for a number of years. He later served as mission president in the New England Mission. Incidentally, as mission president, he oversaw Fawn Brodie's excommunication in 1946.¹⁰

Francis H. H. Reeder, or Frank, as he was known, on the other hand, was not as successful as his brother, nor was he as involved in LDS church activities. Baptized in 1894, Frank eventually became an elder in the church. In 1905 he married Mary Madeline Chatelain but appears to have had difficulty establishing himself financially, since he moved around from one residence to another, and even boarded sometimes with his parents for a thirty-five year period. During this time he was a stoker for the Ogden Gas, Light and Fuel Company and then was an electrician for a number of years. In an effort to better his financial and social circumstances, Frank, like his elder brother, eventually be-

8. LDS 1925 and 1930 censuses, Ogden 13th and 20th wards, Ogden (Utah) Stake; LDS Deceased Members File; Ogden 2nd Ward Membership Records, 32; "Madeline C. Reeder," *Deseret Evening News*, 27 June 1956; "Rites Wednesday for Contractor: S.L. Builder Dies at Age of 76 From Heart Attack," *Deseret News*, 16 Jan. 1933; and LDS Ancestral File, Family History Library. The elder Francis settled first in Cache Valley and later moved to Ogden.

9. LDS 1914, 1930, and 1935 censuses, Layton Ward, Davis (Utah) Stake, and Ogden 20th Ward, Ogden Stake; and LDS Ancestral File.

10. LDS Ancestral File; LDS Deceased Members File; "Ogden Man Will Head New England Mission," *Deseret News*, 24 Oct. 1941; "William Reeder, Ex-Judge in Ogden, Dies," *Deseret News-Salt Lake Telegram*, 26 Mar. 1961; "Judge William H. Reeder," *Deseret News-Salt Lake Telegram*, 27 Mar. 1961; and "Judge Reeder Rites Today," *Deseret News-Salt Lake Telegram*, 30 Mar. 1961. Reeder was president of the Mount Ogden Stake and served on the board of directors of the Thomas Dee (now McKay-Dee) Hospital. He also served on the This Is The Place Monument Committee. Madeline McQuown hated her uncle and refused to have anything to do with him.

came a lawyer.¹¹

Reeder remembered her childhood as sad, even painful. She experienced a difficult relationship with her mother and viewed the beginnings of her troubles with the birth of her younger sister, Jeannette Elizabeth Reeder (b. 1908). She complained that her sister “was paraded before the family and family friends as a beautiful child and I postured and sought ways to attract people, adults to me, only to be further shunted away with ridicule.” She later described herself as having “golden curls and violet eyes” that looked out from early pictures “with the looks of pleading found in the unloved child.”¹²

While Madeline Reeder’s criticism is harshest for her mother, whom she viewed with contempt, she also attacked her father for disliking children and showing “marked and brutal” favoritism to her brother, Francis William Reeder (b. 1912), the only boy in the family. This treatment by her parents was, she felt, the result of “the unthinking cruelty of adults.” Reeder tried to escape what she perceived to be an unhappy life by living for extended periods of time with her grandmother Chatelain in the Ogden Valley and by immersing herself in poetry and reading.¹³

Reeder later remembered her father as a fun-loving man with a sense of humor and a sardonic smile. According to Madeline, her mother was much more somber and religious and pushed her father to be more than he was. Reeder revealed that her mother was probably unhappy because “it was not possible for her to make as good a life for herself” as she wanted. Reeder vaguely stated that her mother “wanted the wrong things as people always do. And, she got what she wanted and, alas, has paid for it.”¹⁴

In this statement Reeder may have been referring to the fact that her parents’ unhappy marriage later ended in divorce. Apparently Frank was an alcoholic which caused much conflict and bitterness in the family. By the time of their divorce, Frank had become disaffected from the LDS

11. LDS church 1914 and 1925 censuses; Layton Ward, Davis Stake, and Ogden 13th Ward, Ogden Stake, records; *R.L. Polk & Sons Ogden City Directory* for 1890-1926; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population for 1920, Ogden, Weber, Utah*. While Frank Reeder was listed as boarding at 1159 21st Street as early as 1906, he moved to at least five different places during the next fourteen years, including a three-year residence in nearby Layton; but in 1920 he was not only living at the 1159 residence but was listed as owning it outright. Obviously his financial circumstances had improved. It also appears that while Frank spent most of his working career as an electrician, he tried a two-to-three-year stint as a tailor’s helper. However, Madeline liked to remember him in his last career choice—a lawyer.

12. McQuown Papers, Bx 3, fd 2. Whether Madeline’s description of her childhood is accurate can only be surmised. What is important is that Madeline obviously believed that it was true which obviously influenced her world view.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, Bx 1, fd 3. In 1952 Madeline Chatelain Reeder moved into the Ogden 10th Ward, North Weber (Utah) Stake, where she remained until her death in 1956.

church or, as an intimate friend of Madeline explained, "real anti-Mormon" in his views.¹⁵ Eventually he moved his law practice first to Reno, Nevada, and later to San Francisco where he died in 1936.¹⁶ Mary M. Reeder lived another twenty years as a widow. By the time of her mother's death, Madeline Reeder had been married twice and was intimately associated with Dale Morgan.

Lowell Dale Morgan was born on 18 December 1914 in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was the first of four children born to James Lowell Morgan (1894-1913) and Emily May Holmes (1894-1969). Morgan's heritage was made up of early Mormon pioneers on both sides of his family. Moreover, his father's side boasted a connection to the early Mormon hierarchy, as his great-grandfather was Mormon apostle Orson Pratt.¹⁷

In 1920 Dale's father died after an appendicitis operation, leaving behind a young widow and four little children. Emily Holmes never remarried. She taught school to provide for the family and dedicated her life to caring for them. Her care was especially needed in 1929, when, at the onset of puberty, young Dale suffered from spinal meningitis which caused him to go completely deaf.¹⁸

The results of his deafness were devastating. Although his mother worked tirelessly with him to help his transition into society as a silent participant, Morgan retreated into a world of books and studies where he felt safe and in control. He later explained to his cousin, Jerry Bleak, "I felt guilty and inferior and betrayed by my life in a great many ways. ... I shrank from the conspicuity of my disability; I could not or would not establish myself socially."¹⁹

15. Interview conducted by Everett L. Cooley and Della Dye with Gerald Finnin, 24 Feb. 1976, [24], Marriott Library.

16. I checked the Reno, Nevada, LDS branch records, Family History Library, for the time that Frank Reeder lived there and could find no mention of him. I assume that by that time he was completely inactive.

17. Salt Lake City 22nd Ward records, Family History Library; LDS church censuses of 1914, 1925, 1930, and 1935; and LDS Ancestral File. Although he later went by Dale L. Morgan, Morgan's entry into the ward records, as well as four different church censuses, listed his name as Lowell Dale Morgan.

18. Salt Lake City 22nd Ward records, and Richard Saunders, "'The Strange Mixture of Intellect': A Social History of Dale L. Morgan, 1933-42," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Winter 1995): 40.

19. Morgan to Jerry Bleak, 5 Oct. 1938, in Saunders, 40. Morgan's experience was typical of what other pre-pubescent and pubescent children go through after such a traumatic experience. Lenore C. Terr, "Childhood Traumas: An Outline and Overview," *American Journal of Psychology* 148 (Jan. 1991): 10-19, argues that children who have experienced a traumatic experience which physically disfigures or disables them feel shame, guilt, and anger and transfer these negative feelings onto people around them. Thus childhood trauma may become a mechanism controlling the child's future perceptions of the world. Scott C. Bunce, Randy J. Larsen, and Christopher Peterson go even farther in their article "Life after Trauma: Personality and Daily Life Experiences of Traumatized People," *Journal of Personality* 63 (June 1995): 165-83. They suggest that traumatized individuals report a higher level of neuroticism as well as more cognitive disturbances, trait anxiety, and lower self-esteem than nontraumatized individuals. They also experience a higher level of interpersonal withdrawal.

Morgan's inability to socialize had a telling effect on his social and religious activities. While he had been actively involved both before his illness, he shrank into inactivity in both areas of his life after suffering from deafness. Sometime during his high school and college years, Morgan went "through a period of adjustment" in which he eventually lost his faith in God and the LDS church. He "could no longer believe the things [he] had formerly believed" and did "not see the necessity of God in the scheme of things." Even so, by 1935 Morgan had, with the encouragement of his mother, advanced to the priesthood office of elder in the church.²⁰

Like most other young men his age, Morgan was fascinated by his and others' sexuality. However, as a result of his deafness, Morgan was apparently unable to adequately express his sexual thoughts and desires. Consequently, he lived in a world of sexual fantasy, frustration, guilt, and despair. He later recalled:

My trouble was not that I was undersexed but that I had no adequate channels to express what I am. My isolation together with the virginity which it enforced or directed had a hell of a lot to do with this. I couldn't write my book [a novel about his experiences growing up] as I originally planned because of this very predominance of the sexual in me. My whole life from the year I returned to school in 1930 [after his fight with spinal meningitis and the onset of deafness] has revolved around this powerful focus. Everything hinged on this—my studies, my interests in the movies—everything. ... But I was lousy with inhibitions. God, I was truly lousy with them. ... (for a period of weeks, to be quite frank, I felt as tho I had no sexual organs at all).²¹

As Morgan progressed in his studies, he still experienced social and sexual frustration which he expressed in semi-autobiographical short stories and by drawing nudes in pastel.²² It was during his time at the University of Utah that he met Madeline Reeder and her fiancé, Jarvis Thurston.

Morgan began to spend quite a bit of time with the couple, visiting with Madeline about literature and playing chess with Jarvis. While Mor-

20. John Phillip Walker, *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence & A New History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 28, and LDS church censuses of 1930 and 1935. While Morgan claimed to have lost faith in God, he still went through the outward motions of religious observances.

21. Morgan to McQuown, no date, McQuown Papers, Bx 3, fd 3.

22. For a discussion of Morgan's sexual frustration and interest in drawing nudes, see Novak's "The Most Convenient Form of Error," 128-29. A revealing short story by Morgan is titled "Virgin in the Night," which, although about a young, virginal woman, is nonetheless revealing in symbolism and form. McQuown Papers, Bx 10, fd 1. It should be noted that Morgan majored in commercial art at the University of Utah. Obviously, drawing the human body would have been a necessary part of his studies in art.

gan's friendship for Jarvis was genuine and strong, he fell in love with Jarvis's wife, Madeline. (The two had married shortly after Morgan met them.) What had begun as an appreciation for an above-average intellect developed into a burning desire which appears to have been reciprocated for a while. Sam Weller, well-known Salt Lake City book-seller, believes that Reeder introduced Morgan to sex.²³ Morgan's correspondence suggests that the romance, at least in its early stages, was mutual.

While Morgan's social situation may have improved with the introduction of Madeline Reeder into his life, it was still a complex pattern of uncertainty, intense devotion, infatuation, pain, and ultimately rejection. Morgan appears not only to have turned his sexual fascinations but indeed his whole sense of purpose toward Madeline Reeder.²⁴

At one point he wrote to Reeder, "My whole life has been a love letter addressed to you." When Madeline and Jarvis began to have problems, Morgan encouraged her to turn to him and had hoped they would marry. He was sorely disappointed when Reeder turned instead to Thurston's dearest friend, Thoms E. (Tom) McQuown (1916-70), a distant cousin of Morgan through the Pratt family. The Thurstons divorced in late 1940 and Madeline married McQuown in early 1941.²⁵

Notwithstanding Madeline's marriage to her new husband, Morgan was not deterred. He continued to visit her and to write her letters expressing his love and desire. In 1944 Morgan wrote about a new dress he had bought for McQuown and commented, "I ... would greatly enjoy clothing you entirely in things of my own selection from the skin out." He later wrote, "Damn it, why aren't you somewhere around, so I can buy a flower for you when the fancy takes me—or even grow one for you that we can enjoy together?"²⁶

23. Telephone interview with Sam Weller, 13 June 1996. Morgan's and McQuown's relationship was intimate enough for Morgan to paint a nude portrait of Madeline which Weller owned for a number of years before selling it to an art collector.

24. In an undated note written to Madeline, Morgan explained that in his "struggle for some kind of valid sexual life" he had been unable to offer his mother much physical tenderness because he had "always been aware of her sexually." He continued by explaining, "It is very intricate. It is no Oedipus complex, either; it is at once more simple and more complex. ... the sexual element in a person's life, its power and force, has no necessary relation to the forms of its expression." McQuown Papers, Bx 3, fd 3. Emerging from a cloud of what he may have perceived as incestuous emotions into what was probably his first love and sexual relationship, Morgan (socially and sexually immature) reacted to his love for Madeline with school-boy enthusiasm.

25. McQuown Papers, Bx 2, fd 9, and interview with Jarvis Thurston by Newell G. Bringham, 15 May 1989. Thomas Edward McQuown (1916-70) was born in Garfield, Utah, to Edward Lloyd McQuown (b. 1887) and LaRene King (1884-1946). He was the great-grandson of Parley P. Pratt and came from a practicing Mormon family. At the time of his affair and eventual marriage with Reeder, McQuown worked at the railroad yards in Ogden and on mail trains between Utah and California.

26. In Walker, 55, 73.

Even though Morgan helped McQuown and her husband move to California, ostensibly so that he could be closer to research facilities such as the Bancroft Library where Morgan worked, Morgan appears to have realized that his passion for her was in vain. As early as 1940 Morgan wrote to McQuown, stating:

Sometime you may be enabled to read the things I write to myself each night in default of someone to talk to, and perhaps you will understand some of these things that evidently you do not understand now. I know that all the omissions are not contempt in you, and not indifference, but I cannot always believe this. There are so many gaps in all the things you do and say, gaps you seem not even aware of, and yet of which I am painfully aware. I ask nothing of you, Madeline; you know that I cannot; but all the things you fail to do or say speak a language of their own. I have a constant struggle with these omissions, which are not blanks but actual and sometimes terrible things. ... I feel that I am absolutely dead in you, holding on to the merest of ghosts.²⁷

Still, he could not give up on her. At one point he complained:

It is very hard to write you, and I write you over a sense of resistance. I want so damn many things all at once, and at the same time nothing at all. ... Oh, damn it, I can't help but think about things, and how they could be, and how they are not. I remember warm things you have said to me, and there is no more bitter mockery than their warmth; I wonder how you could have meant them then and not feel them now. Life seems so damned insane, so utterly impossibly incredible. ... How can the spirit go subtly right out of things and leave nothing there, so that you imagine yourself a fool or an idiot because you remember a warmth and a delight that is gone. ... What am I to think because I want you so directly and so primitively, all there is of you to have, tjere [there?] fleshly ways which are the fundamental ground of tenderness, and all the remoter tenderness which enters living everywhere from this beginning? I have to acknowledge that you do not feel this, that you do not want this. ... A[m] I to feel ashamed, or guilty, or abashed, because I feel such elemental things about you?²⁸

Dale and Madeline's tortuous relationship, despite its strained aspects, and notwithstanding Tom McQuown's open dislike for Morgan, lasted years. Indeed, the two seemed to feed upon each other's foibles and fears and to gain strength from giving and receiving sympathy for all of the real and imagined trials which had been thrust upon them by the unfeeling and unsympathetic fates. Morgan supported McQuown's hypochondria and helped her through her bouts of depression and contem-

27. Morgan to McQuown, 14 Mar. 1940, McQuown Papers, Bx 2, fd 1.

28. Morgan to McQuown, undated, McQuown Papers, Bx 3, fd 3.

plation of suicide. She, in turn, read his complaints of loneliness brought on by deafness, as well as his feelings of despair and failure.²⁹

The complex and tumultuous relationship between Madeline McQuown and Dale Morgan began to disintegrate during the mid-1960s and ended by late 1967. In 1968, when she thought she had cancer, a depressed Madeline said she wanted to take a gun, shoot Morgan, and then kill herself. Fortunately, she found out that she did not have cancer. Even so, their relationship was over. When Morgan died in 1971, McQuown learned that she would not receive his death insurance of over \$50,000 which had originally been intended for her. Within the last couple of years of Morgan's life, he had fallen in love with another woman and had left everything to her. McQuown was incensed and never forgave Morgan for what she perceived to be a final act of spite.³⁰

Although no one will ever know the full reasons for the break-up of Madeline McQuown and Dale Morgan, a major cause may have been her biography of Brigham Young. At an early age Madeline had exhibited promise as a poet and writer. She had written numerous poems and short stories and had even attended the famous Bread Loaf seminar.³¹ Although most of her writing had been poetry and fiction, she, like Fawn M. Brodie and other writers of Mormonism's so-called "Lost Generation," turned her attention to history. Perhaps in response to Brodie's success with biography, and with Morgan's encouragement,³² McQuown announced that she was going to write the definitive biography of Brigham Young.

As early as 1946 or 1947 McQuown began work on the biography. In

29. Interview with Gerald Finnin, [15]; Walker, 71-73; Novak, 130; and miscellaneous letters in the McQuown Papers.

30. Finnin, [16-18]. In a telephone interview with Everett L. Cooley, he mentioned that Morgan left his estate to the other woman he was living with at the time of his death. He also said that Finnin stated that "Madeline was so damned mad at Dale about the insurance that she started to cut up the correspondence." Morgan's funeral was in Utah and was conducted by his brother, Robert Morgan, who, according to Cooley, was a bishop and church employee.

31. Madeline Reeder had one poem published in the *Bread Loaf Anthology* (Middlebury, VT: Middlebury College Press, 1939), "To Those Unsuspecting": "Let the red fox dig his pointed nose/ In ferns by moonlight/ The sky hollow where the moon just rose/ with all fields turned white. Let the lynx crouch low to autumn/ Under black hemlock .../ Obsequies to this season done/ In the light stalk. Of animal foot and the hushed, hot breath/ Of the furred bodies:/ Let them gesture, the doomed to their death,/ The foxes, the trees. Under the moonlight before we grieve;/ Let these seasonal few—/ We die every Autumn before we leave—/ Take their adieu. Unsuspecting, unwarned, unheeded/ In an attitude/ Of customary living seeded/ With death let them take their last breath."

32. Morgan's lasting contribution to scholarship was probably as a bibliographer. However, he also had a considerable talent as an editor and was very perceptive in reading other people's manuscripts. Perhaps his greatest contribution to Mormon history was as a mentor to such writers as Juanita Brooks, Maureen Whipple, Fawn Brodie, and others.

the course of her research, she compiled an incredible collection of material concerning Young and various aspects of Mormon history. A good portion of this material was passed on to her by Morgan who had access to numerous diaries and documents through his various jobs with the federal Writer's Project, the Utah Historical Society, the Library of Congress, and later through the Bancroft Library.

In 1948 she told Morgan that her manuscript was over 1,000 pages in length.³³ Reports of near completion would be repeated for the next twenty-seven years. In fact, as late as 1973 she told Everett L. Cooley that she was within days of finishing the final manuscript. More than once she complained of poor health brought on by the tremendous amount of work she was putting into the manuscript.³⁴

Because of her claims of being so close to finishing the manuscript, Morgan contacted Rhinehart & Company Publishers and talked them into signing a contract with McQuown. He suggested that they publish her book at or near the same time they published his long-awaited work on the history of Mormonism. Unfortunately, Rhinehart was to be disappointed on both counts. Not only did McQuown not complete her manuscript, but Morgan set his 127-page manuscript aside after he had used it to address a number of issues he viewed as problematic for the church. After several years of corresponding with McQuown, Rhinehart canceled her contract in 1953 about the same time that Morgan's contract was also canceled.³⁵

During the time McQuown claimed to be writing, Morgan not only offered materials and other research-oriented forms of help, but also offered to review her manuscript. In 1951 he wrote,

I will be glad to help you on your book if you are as you say in a mood to be helped. Send along your manuscript or any part of it, and let me see what I can do, on any realistic terms, to help you move it along. You have resented my telling you so, but I have felt that you were utterly irrational in how you were trying to write it. ... You have wanted every kind of help from me so long as it did not require you to admit to yourself that I might contribute something to your book—as I did to Fawn's book, for example, or Nels Anderson's, or Juanita Brooks's, or any of half a dozen others. Better that I should send you whole files of documents for you to find yourself one note that you could use than that you should lay it on the line and show me what your problem was, your deficiencies in information, or what have you, and le[t] me help you or not, as I might be able.³⁶

33. Morgan to Fawn Brodie, 22 May 1948, in Novak, 132.

34. Telephone interview with Cooley.

35. Novak, 136; Walker, 193. It is interesting to note that McQuown promised in January 1952 a spring 1953 publication date. In a telephone interview Everett L. Cooley suggested that Morgan did not complete his manuscript on the history of the church because he was afraid it would hurt his family.

36. Morgan to McQuown, 10 June 1951, in Walker, 191.

Eventually, Morgan began to suspect that McQuown was not writing the biography. By 1967 he vented his frustration in a caustic letter in which he stated, "[Y]ou don't, as a matter of fact, attach much importance to working on, or at least finishing, you[r] book. It is, in sober truth, the other way around. It is important to you *not* to finish your book. It always has been important to you *not* to finish your book."³⁷ Ironically, only a few months later he used his influence to discourage Fawn Brodie from writing her own biography of Young.

Morgan would continue to protect McQuown's secret to his death. McQuown, for her part, continued the sham until her own death four years later. In response to the question over motive for McQuown's deception, some people have offered their own suggestions. Sam Weller, an acquaintance of McQuown, stated that she was "too damned lazy" and "too busy socially" to complete the manuscript. Everett L. Cooley, another acquaintance, opined that she had truly intended to write a great biography but that "she bit off more than she could chew."³⁸

In all probability, it was a combination of both. McQuown was guilty of putting off writing assignments until they were past due, which cost her at least one opportunity to publish a book review.³⁹ However, in light of the correspondence between McQuown and various scholars, historical organizations, and other entities, she truly wanted information and had a desire to complete a biography. Moreover, she had begun a manuscript which, while rough and amateurish, shows that she was serious enough in her goal to try to put words to paper.

However, it is apparent that her expectations had been unrealistic. Once into the project, she found that writing a book-length biography involved more than talking about it, collecting considerable material, and writing the acknowledgments, prologue, and preface. A woman who had battled feelings of self-doubt and frustration from early childhood could not and would not admit failure to herself, let alone the rest of the world. Instead, she lived a fantasy which allowed her to be close to the writers and intellectual community she admired. It also allowed her to be close to Morgan and enjoy the benefits of his knowledge and reputation among members of the scholarly community.⁴⁰

In order to protect her charade, McQuown could not allow Morgan

37. Morgan to McQuown, 9 Feb. 1967, in Novak, 132.

38. Telephone interviews with Weller and Cooley.

39. An example of her tardiness costing her a publishing opportunity is a 19 April 1963 letter in which a book review was returned because she had submitted it too late for publication. McQuown Papers, Bx 1, fd.

40. McQuown Papers, Bx 8, fds 1-8, contain her manuscript. Her acknowledgments included a thank-you to Fawn M. Brodie which was later crossed out. The chapter titles are as follows: chapter 1, "The Company of the Poor"; chapter 2, "The Spirit of the Lord Was Poured Out Upon Us"; chapter 3, "Thru a Glass Darkly; and chapter 5, "Far West."

to edit her manuscript. The manuscript, incomplete as it was, nevertheless is tainted with an obvious anti-Mormon bias, as well as an abundance of hyperbole. She was well aware of Morgan's editing skills and trenchant criticism. Although Morgan was in love with McQuown, his love would not make him turn a blind eye to the manuscript's inadequacies.

For his part, Morgan slowly began to realize that McQuown had no intention of finishing her manuscript. It appears that rather than expose Madeline's duplicity, he played along with her for several possible reasons. Morgan, always the mentor, probably hoped for the promised Brigham Young biography. On a more personal level, perhaps he wanted once and for all to win her heart or, at the very least, keep in contact with her.

Even so, a game of deceit can only be played for so long, especially when it benefits only one side. At first Morgan appears to have believed in McQuown's biography and had high expectations for it. Later it is obvious he began to have his doubts about it but was still encouraging and prodding. By the end, however, he must surely have figured out that the biography would never materialize but was still protecting McQuown. Therefore there is little doubt that Morgan carried the weight of the deceit by encouraging and promoting a book that would never appear, thus risking his reputation as a scholar and mentor on a woman who, by the later stages of their relationship, was, at best, indifferent.

In retrospect, it is obvious that McQuown and Morgan had an intense, sometimes intimate relationship that, in its early stages at least, benefitted both. They helped and supported each other in their hopes, fears, and goals. Both appear to have lived in a fantasy world.

Morgan's fantasy was that he would eventually marry Madeline and would fully realize the intimacy and normality he desired. Madeline, on the other hand, fantasized of writing the ultimate Brigham Young biography and of achieving the same recognition and respect which Fawn Brodie had found with her Joseph Smith biography. Unfortunately, these parallel realities could never come together. Madeline and Dale eventually parted ways in bitterness.

Whether the manuscript was a catalyst or just a part of the final conflict between the two will never be known. What is interesting to note is that Morgan continued to protect McQuown's reputation even after their final rift and was able to sufficiently discourage Brodie from pursuing her own Brigham Young biography. Unfortunately, it will never be known if it was out of a still lingering love or protection of his own reputation.

What is known is that because of McQuown's claims, Brodie did not write a biography of Young. Undoubtedly, there were other historians

who at least had a passing interest in writing about Young but, ultimately, did not because of the common knowledge within the scholarly community that McQuown was heavily involved in a manuscript which would shortly be appearing.

While the result of this deception was, realistically speaking, minimal, and McQuown's unfinished book nothing more than a minor footnote in the study of Mormon history, several significant things did occur because of her unrealized biography. The first is the revealing correspondence between Morgan and McQuown which not only addresses many issues in research and writing but also offers interesting insight into Brigham Young. And there is a significant collection of material concerning Young and early Utah.⁴¹ On the other hand, Madeline's claims helped discourage decent Brigham Young studies until the mid-1980s with the publication of works such as Newell G. Bringhurst's intimate look at the early Mormon leader and Leonard J. Arrington's near-definitive *Brigham Young: American Moses*.

41. Both the McQuown and Morgan collections are rich in manuscript materials concerning early LDS and Utah history.

Basic Training

Lewis Horne

We were like filings, lifted straight
As though a magnet stiffened up
Our figures like the hair upon
Our closely cropped skulls. But we,
Draftees, were regularized
In squad, platoon, and company.

We bunked, barracks crammed, fell out,
Helmeted, to a bitchbox bark,
Where magnetized we strode as one
On Fort Ord's January streets.
The early morning fog's miasma
Spread over hills and lights and barracks.

We sounded off in unison.
For us, in uniform, Korea
Formed a private watershed.
It set some personal divide
Till private course was loosed again.
I never thought contrariwise.

As in life, we were in training
Honed to different basic needs.
What remedies survival has,
I only snatched at some, not all.
A bayonet's a fearful thing.
A killer's rage I never mastered.

Life can be blunt. Koreas appear
Anywhere. The end of skill
Is to stock the skull with strategies,
Prepare the bones for an exercise
That will from a well-stocked store fall out,
Fierce as filings magnetized.

New York City Rain

Ryck Tanner

WEDNESDAY—ALL MY LUGGAGE IS SOAKED and I tore the sleeve of my brand new overcoat in the subway station. Elder Sessions told me not to look away if I noticed someone staring. "Just stare them down or ask them what they're looking at," he instructed. It's all such a blur. Three weeks ago I was running around po-dunk Colorado and now I'm drying off in a run-down dump of an apartment in the slums of East New York, Brooklyn. Sessions says we're going to make a difference here.

What is it about the rain that brings it all back so vividly? The blue sparks from the third rail that lit up the windows in popping strobes on the long train ride through Queens. I tried to appear as calm and unaffected as my companion, who was nodding off while reading a book. I dug out my scriptures and attempted to read. I skimmed over verses, but my mind never left the man who had been riding in our car for the past several stops.

He had limped on and brought a foul smell with him just as our dog did back home when he got into the house out of a storm. He stretched out across some vacant seats and immediately fell asleep in layers of filthy drenched clothes, his heavy head resting hard on the cross bar, bumping with the shifts of the track. We retreated to the other end of the car to escape the stench. At each stop two or three other passengers would change cars or move toward our end until he was alone.

The train emerged out of the tunnels in Brooklyn and crawled upward over the elevated tracks. The rain fell heavy on the roof of the train as I gazed through streaked windows at the broken down, burned out miles of brick. It all felt so dark; brown buildings, asphalt, and concrete under the grey skies of a thunderstorm. With a jolt of the subway car, the sleeping man sat up suddenly and gazed out the window as if trying to get his bearings, then he collapsed again on the hard bench.

Monday—"Please don't take my mother again," the little girl cried. I won't forget her face as she stood in the doorway, cheeks smudged with dirt, braids

wrapped at the ends with colored rubber bands. She must have recognized men in long coats and ties. Her mother appeared in the doorway, her face hard, eyes glazed by addiction. She slammed the door, and through thin walls we heard the pains of a beating. The girl had been told not to open the door to strangers.

Sometimes I would physically shake my head in an attempt to discard a bitter image. I despised the constant feeling of helplessness. I guess I was always aware that there were problems in our country, but I seemed so separated from them that to me they never really were problems, just distant news stories. Now I was bombarded constantly.

When it got to be too much, we climbed the fire escape to the roof of our building. We marveled at the endless rooftops of Brooklyn and watched kids play stickball in the alley below. We commented to each other about how difficult it would be to grow up with no baseball diamonds, no grass, no vacant fields to build forts and hide. A foul ball shattered a window in the alley and the kids scattered. A lady came to her doorstep shaking her broom.

"Do you think those kids are aware that there is a better way of living?" I asked my companion. "Do you think they wish for a better life?"

"When I was a kid, I thought everyone lived lives exactly like mine," he said. We shook helpless feelings and talked about distant mountains, distant girls, open green spaces.

Thursday—We saw him in Grand Central Station, on a trip to Manhattan. People call him "The Kid." Some of the other missionaries told me about him; they said that he's even appeared in television commercials and briefly in a couple of movies. We heard his music as we stepped off the shuttle train from Times Square, the fast-paced clatter of his sticks on the bottom of an overturned five-gallon bucket. We listened in amazement with the group who had paused to watch him. Eyes closed, shirt removed, sweat glistening on broad shoulders, his muscles twitched to beat out the rhythm of the city in the summer heat of the subway station. "He plays like that all day long," one man said; others shook heads in amazement and dropped money at his feet.

It became so common that I didn't think about it anymore. People sitting on street corners with outreached paper cups. We were asked for money or food so many times a day that I didn't even consider my response. A quick "sorry" and a shrug to communicate that I had no spare change. Sometimes I would drop a quarter in an extended hand and consider whether it was out of pity or a method of brushing it aside, a way to get an uncomfortable feeling to pass quickly.

We missionaries discussed it on occasion.

"What good does it do them anyway?" my companion asked. "They

probably just use it to buy drugs. Why can't they get off their butts and get a job instead of feeling sorry for themselves?"

I remember how I lashed into him even though I myself shared his feelings at times. I told him that he had no place judging them when everything he had was handed to him on a silver platter.

"It's not our place to say how they should use what we give," I said, speaking more to myself than to him. "It is our place to serve others without restraint."

"Maybe giving them change is how we ease our own consciences of the fact that we do not serve them," he breathed quietly. "Maybe feeling the pain of deep concern for them as a person is the only true service we can give."

"Maybe," I said.

Saturday—We had a long discussion with Donte and gave all the textbook answers that never seem to resolve the dreaded questions about why God allows so many bad things to happen to certain people while others have it easy. He asked us how we got so lucky. "I don't think I'll ever escape," he said.

I remember thinking that if I could only make a difference in Donte's life, I could go the rest of my mission with no baptisms and still consider it successful. We became close friends. He told us practically everything that went on in his life. He especially took pleasure in telling us the details of his dates to the movies and laughing at how young guys like us could neither date nor see any movies.

It was raining the night he told us about the fear that he felt in his own surroundings. He explained the heavy temptation he felt to get involved deeper in dealing drugs. He told us that he didn't have options like we did. It would be too difficult for him to go back and get a high school diploma and somehow make it to college. He told us that he needed time to sort things out and couldn't meet with us for a while. Though he said he would stay in touch, we parted knowing that we would never hear from him again. We rode our bikes home in the rain and I cursed under my breath about another ruined tie.

"We've been working so hard lately," shouted my companion, "you'd think we'd earn a little sunshine."

Sunday—Brother Franklin and I chased a lady down the street who had been seen stealing coats from the racks in the foyer. The two large, heavy bags of coats made it easy for us to catch her. I asked her how she could steal from a church and told her that we would feed her if she was really hungry. She dropped the bags and left cursing us and the church and the name of God.

I walked back to the church with Brother Franklin that Sunday, each of us carrying a heavy bag of coats over his shoulder. "It's a bad sign," I said, "when you have to keep an eye on coats in the foyer of a chapel. How could someone steal from the church?"

He chuckled slightly. He was a former minister of the Baptist church and his voice took on the rhythms of a preacher. "Some people get to the point where they are no longer willing to sit back and wait for God to impart blessings. Some don't wait for the sunshine; they just look out for more rain and try to survive in the darkness of its accompanying clouds." John shifted the heavy bag to the other shoulder. "Believe me, lessons about a future paradise do little to soothe pains of present torture. Maybe the woman who stole the coats is so tired of waiting for God's blessings that she decided to take some of God's blessings for herself." We got back to the church and heard a scripture read over the pulpit, "... God maketh his sun to shine on the evil and on the good, he sendeth rain to the just and to the unjust."

Tuesday—Our early afternoon appointment in Harlem was with a man who invited us to sit on the only two broken chairs in the apartment while he sat on a milk crate. He told us he only had two pairs of pants, a shirt, and a pair of shoes to his name. He said he thanked God every day that he still had a roof over his head. When we left and reminded him to read the book we gave him, he joked about it being the only book he owned.

"What else could I read?" He chuckled.

Directly after leaving him, we had to hurry down to the Upper East Side and meet with a lady living in a penthouse apartment overlooking Central Park. The carpet was white.

Whenever we walked up Central Park West and approached streets numbering in the upper nineties, I would watch the transformation take place. Within the distance of two blocks, the buildings became run down. Harassment grew more common, we expected bottles to be thrown and vulgar names, warnings to get out of the neighborhood.

One missionary got slashed in the face while I was in New York. He refused to give his bike willingly to a group of kids and ended up losing it anyway. Another got a blade stuck in his ribs even though he willingly surrendered his possessions. Serious confrontations were rare though, and it seemed that we got more harassment from beat cops than from anyone else.

They would always ask us if we were lost and if we knew what part of town we were in. When we assured them that we knew where we were and that we, in fact, lived and worked all day in those areas, they in turn assured us that we were insane.

"Why you even bother?" one officer asked. "These people are animals. They just as soon kill guys like you as look at you. You'd do better preaching religion to other people some place safe."

"Can we come to your house and teach you," I retorted, not missing a beat.

"I got no need for God," he said. "I carry a gun."

We left him holding his belly and laughing hysterically.

Friday—On the Staten Island ferry, with a group of missionaries, we saw an old man who must have been carrying all he owned in the world in a big black garbage bag. One elder said it was a fitting piece of luggage; most of us chuckled. We watched him struggle to pull his boot over an infected foot that was swollen to deformity and attempt to lace it up with a short piece of wire. I turned away with a familiar helpless, uncomfortable feeling. One missionary crossed over to the old man and silently knelt down beside him. He removed the wire and replaced it with his own shoelace, lacing it carefully with regard to the man's injured foot.

When it rains, I think about New York. I remember the faces and voices of people I met there. I remember the hospitality of those who became my friends, the taste and smell of unfamiliar spices, the generosity of countless suppers served by people we visited. I remember the smiles of children and the harsh eyes of a mother. Rain's randomness reminds me of the injustices of poverty. I think about filthy floors and white carpet, I remember swollen feet and borrowed shoe laces. When heavy rain taps the window, I hear the rhythm of the city beat out on an overturned plastic bucket and, through streaked glass from an elevated train track, I again feel the helpless remorse and I let it run deep. I will not brush it aside.



As Translated Correctly: The Inspiration and Innovation of the Eighth Article of Faith

Douglas F. Salmon

THE EPITOME OF ESSENTIAL LDS BELIEFS, now known as the Articles of Faith, that Joseph Smith included in his letter to the editor of the *Chicago Democrat*, John Wentworth, in 1842, has been admired by many readers.¹ It was not, however, the first such formulation. In a wonderfully detailed article, David J. Whittaker has identified several different precursors that both preceded and perhaps influenced Joseph's formulation. He concludes that "nothing new appears in the Wentworth listing. Every item had been presented in Mormon literature before the time of its composing."² In one important detail this assessment needs clarifying—that is, Joseph's statement concerning the Bible.

1. B. H. Roberts said of the document: "The combined directness, perspicuity, simplicity and comprehensiveness of this statement of the principles of our religion may be relied upon as strong evidence of a divine inspiration resting upon the Prophet, Joseph Smith" (in Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., ed. B. H. Roberts [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1902-32], 4:535, hereafter HC). And Yale University literary critic Harold Bloom has written: "The Wentworth letter ... is marked by the dignity of a simple eloquence, and by the self-possession of a religious innovator who is so secure in the truth of his doctrine that he can state its pith with an almost miraculous economy" (*The American Religion* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992], 82). In 1880 a general conference of the LDS church voted to add the Articles of Faith to its standard works as part of the Pearl of Great Price.

2. David J. Whittaker, "The 'Articles of Faith' in Early Mormon Literature and Thought," in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, ed. Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 74.

When Joseph Smith wrote in the eighth article: "We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly," he was making an innovation in creedal statements, both within early Mormonism and the broader Protestant tradition. Of the several prior formulations that Whittaker discusses, none mentions the "translation" of the Bible. The only statements that go into much depth concerning the status of the Bible are from Parley P. Pratt.³ In a pamphlet from February 1840 Pratt writes:

We also believe in the Holy Scriptures of the prophets and apostles, as being profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, and that all mysticism or private interpretation of them ought to be done away. The Scriptures should be taught, understood, and practiced in their most plain, simple, easy, and literal sense, according to the common laws and usage of the language in which they stand—according to the legitimate meaning of words and sentences precisely the same as if found in any other book.⁴

There is a similar absence of any mention of "translation" from Protestant creeds of the time. For instance, the New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833 has as its first declaration:

We believe that the Holy Bible was written by men divinely inspired, and is a perfect treasure of heavenly instruction; that it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter; that it reveals the principles by which God will judge us; and therefore is, and shall remain to the end of the world, the true centre of Christian union, and the supreme standard by which all human conduct, creeds, and opinions should be tried.⁵

In contrast, Joseph Smith's formulation places an enormous amount of importance upon the correct translation of the ancient texts that comprise the Bible. Indeed, taken literally, the veracity of the Bible is *contingent* upon a correct translation for readers ignorant of the original languages of the Bible's authors. This essay seeks to explore further the attitude of Joseph Smith and other early Mormon leaders concerning Bible translation in general, and the 1611 translation sponsored by King

3. If the Bible is mentioned in the other formulations, it is usually to point out that it does not contain all revelation from God, that the Book of Mormon and other revelations may be expected, and that they too are the Word of God.

4. *An Address by Judge Higbee and Parley P. Pratt ... to the Citizens of Washington and to the Public in General*, 1, reprinted in *Times and Seasons* 1 (Mar. 1840): 68-70, and in *The Essential Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 69-73.

5. Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes*, 6th ed., 3 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1919), 3:742.

James in particular. Second, the results of modern biblical scholarship will be employed to examine the satisfactoriness of the King James Version (KJV) as a "correct translation." The primary focus will be on the New Testament, though occasional references will also be made to the Old Testament.

What did the phrase "as far as it is translated correctly" mean to Joseph Smith? On the one hand, it meant that any effort to render a text originally written in one language into another will never be wholly satisfactory. This notion is conveyed in the old Italian proverb, *traduttore traditore*, "the translator is a traitor." The wealth of insight, subtleties of meaning, and the play on words in the original language of an author can never be completely reproduced in another language. "Translation is one of the most influential forms of literary criticism, for it both interprets and recreates the text it addresses. Indeed, in its original uses in English the word *interpret* meant 'translate.'"⁶

Joseph Smith appreciated the wealth of insight that comes from studying the Bible in the original languages of its composition. In January 1836 he hired a Jewish rabbi, Joshua Seixas, to teach biblical Hebrew at the school of the prophets in Kirtland, Ohio.⁷ On 19 January Joseph wrote in his journal: "It seems as if the Lord opens our minds in a marvelous manner, to understand His word in the original language; and my prayer is that God will speedily endow us with a knowledge of all languages and tongues." Later, on 4 February, he wrote: "May the Lord help us to obtain this language, that we may read the Scriptures in the language in which they were given." Finally, on 17 February, he wrote: "My soul delights in reading the word of the Lord in the original, and I am determined to pursue the study of the languages, until I shall become master of them, if I am permitted to live long enough. At any rate, so long as I do live, I am determined to make this my object; and with the blessing of God, I shall succeed to my satisfaction."⁸

At a deeper level, Joseph realized the inherent limitations of human language in general. Earlier, in 1832, he had lamented: "Oh Lord, deliver us in due time from the little, narrow prison, almost as it were, total darkness of paper, pen and ink;—and a crooked, broken, scattered and imperfect language."⁹ Joseph's successor, Brigham Young, also shared this

6. Gerald Hammond, "English Translations of the Bible," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 649.

7. For an excellent discussion of the episode, see Louis C. Zucker, "Joseph Smith as a Student of Hebrew," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 41-55.

8. HC, 2:376, 391, 396.

9. Ibid., 1:299.

view: "Revelations, when they have passed from God to man, and from man into his written and printed language, cannot be said to be entirely perfect, though they may be as perfect as possible under the circumstances."¹⁰

On the other hand, "as far as it is translated correctly" also meant to Joseph "as far as it has been transmitted accurately." Joseph believed that the Bible in its current state was missing parts that were originally present. In the Book of Mormon the Lord told the prophet Nephi: "Wherefore, thou seest that after the book [i.e., the Bible] hath gone forth through the hands of the great and abominable church, that there were many plain and precious things taken away from the book, which is the book of the Lamb of God" (1 Ne. 13:28). Joseph himself made this same observation: "From sundry revelations which had been received, it was apparent that many important points touching the salvation of man, had been taken from the Bible, or lost before it was compiled."¹¹

Not only had "plain and precious things" been taken from the Bible, but things had been added that were not inspired by God. In the manuscript of his new translation of the Bible, Joseph wrote: "The Songs of Solomon are not Inspired Writings."¹² This notion of portions of the Bible being uninspired was also maintained by Brigham Young:

How do we know that the Bible is true? We know that a great deal of it is true, and that in many instances the translation is incorrect. But I cannot say what a minister once said to me. I asked him if he believed the Bible, and he replied, "Yes, every word of it." "You do not believe it all to be the word of God?" "Most assuredly I do." Well, said I, you can beat me at believing that's certain ... if you believe it all to be the word of God you can go beyond me. I cannot believe it all to be the word of God, but I believe it as it is.¹³

It is apparent from these statements that both Joseph and Brigham understood the term "translation" in quite a wide sense. Robert J. Matthews has aptly summarized this broad understanding of the term "translation":

Joseph Smith often used the words "translated" and "translation," not in the narrow sense alone of rendering a text from one language into another, but in the wider senses of "transmission," having reference to copying, editing, adding to, taking from, rephrasing, and interpreting. This is substantially be-

10. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. & S. W. Richards, 1855-86), 9:310, hereafter JD.

11. HC, 1:245.

12. Robert J. Matthews, *A Plainer Translation: Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, a History and Commentary* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1985), 87.

13. JD 14:208.

yond the usual meaning of “translation.” When he said the Bible was not translated correctly, he not only was referring to the difficulties of rendering the Bible into another language but he was also observing that the manuscripts containing the text of the Bible have suffered at the hands of editors, copyists, and revisionists through centuries of transmission.¹⁴

This broad understanding of the term “translation” can be seen clearly in the 1843 statement of the prophet: “I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors.”¹⁵

It is clear that Joseph was not satisfied with the accepted English translation of his day, the KJV. From 1830 until his death in 1844, Joseph would labor, at different periods, on a new translation of the Bible. Indeed, he referred to the “translation of the Scriptures” as “this branch of my calling.”¹⁶ He even claimed divine authority for this endeavor; one of the most clear statements being the revelation he received on 6 May 1838: “And, verily I say unto you, that it is my will that you should hasten to translate my scriptures” (D&C 93:53). On more than one occasion he referred to the German translation as being superior to the KJV. For instance, on 7 April 1844 he said: “I have an old edition of the New Testament in the Latin, Hebrew, German and Greek languages. I have been reading the German, and find it to be the most [nearly] correct translation, and to correspond nearest to the revelations which God has given to me for the last fourteen years.” Later, on 12 May, he would reaffirm this, stating: “The old German translators are the most correct—most honest of any of the translators.”¹⁷

Brigham Young also realized that the KJV was not free of defects. Indeed, he viewed the translation of the Bible to be an ongoing process: one which should continually receive the input of scholars trained in biblical languages.

Take the Bible just as it reads; and if it be translated incorrectly, and there is a scholar on the earth who professes to be a Christian, and he can translate it any better than King James’s translators did it, he is under obligation to do so, or the curse is upon him. If I understood Greek and Hebrew as some may profess to do, and I knew the Bible was not correctly translated, I should feel myself bound by the law of justice to the inhabitants of the earth to translate that which is incorrect and give it just as it was spoken anciently.¹⁸

14. Robert J. Matthews, “Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols., ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:764.

15. HC, 6:57.

16. Ibid., 1:238.

17. Ibid., 6:307, 364.

18. JD 14:226-27.

Should the Lord Almighty send an angel to re-write the Bible, it would in many places be very different from what it now is. And I will even venture to say that if the Book of Mormon were now to be re-written in many instances it would materially differ from the present translation.¹⁹

Other early LDS leaders pointed out defects in the KJV. On 25 June 1893 Charles W. Penrose gave a discourse in which he quoted 2 Timothy 3:16—"All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God"—from the KJV. He then goes on to say:

But you will find the word "*is*" in italics. What does that signify? It signifies that the translators, when translating the New Testament, interjected that word to make sense, as they understood it. It is not claimed that the men who translated the Old and New Testaments, in the time of King James, were inspired of God ... Suppose we read this passage without that little word: "All scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Don't you think that would make a good deal better sense? It seems to me that it would. And let me here say, from what we have learned by direct revelation from God to the people in these days, that is the correct rendering.²⁰

A few years later Frederic Clift published an article in the church's *Improvement Era* entitled, "The King James Translation—A Compromise," wherein, following an investigation of numerous passages, he concluded that: "The King James translation was the work of fallible men; and I submit, from the instances given, that in some points mistakes were made. We as individuals and as sowers of the word, must therefore follow Tyndale's advice—go back to the earliest available copies" of biblical manuscripts.²¹

Thus it is clear that for early Mormons the KJV was not considered the final English translation, free of all defects.²² Outside the LDS church, there were many biblical scholars who shared this sentiment. Indeed, in

19. JD 9:311. This notion that the translation of the Bible should continually be updated and corrected was also held by the first English translator of the Greek New Testament, William Tyndale. In the preface to his 1534 translation he wrote: "If any man find faults either with the translation or ought beside ... to the same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves and to put what they lust thereto. If I shall perceive either by myself or by the information of other, that ought be escaped me, or might be more plainly translated, I will shortly after, cause it to be mended" (David Daniel, *Tyndale's New Testament* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989], 3).

20. *Millennial Star* 55 (1893), 34:544.

21. *Improvement Era* 7 (1904): 663.

22. For a much fuller discussion of early Mormon attitudes toward the Bible, see Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

May 1870 a committee of fifty-four scholars was organized in Great Britain to undertake a revision of the KJV. Later in the year the cooperation of American scholars was sought, and in December 1871 a committee of thirty scholars was formed in the United States.²³ The revisers sought to correct the two main categories of error that Joseph Smith had observed decades earlier: errors of transmission, and errors of translation.

Errors of transmission were of two types: unintentional and intentional. A. T. Robertson conveniently summarized the unintentional type as “errors of the eye, of the ear, of the memory, of the judgment, of the pen, of the speech.”²⁴ The intentional errors arose because of the sacred nature of the Bible texts. “Where there was any doubt about the original text, since the final text which was going to be read, studied and taken as the rule of faith and life had to be absolutely perfect, corrections were made boldly, things were added and things were omitted, but all was done out of the conviction that it was right to do it, and the purer the intentions the more it was done.”²⁵ These intentional changes were motivated by historical and geographical difficulties; the desire to harmonize parallel accounts of the same events and sayings; and linguistic, rhetorical, liturgical, and doctrinal considerations.²⁶

The resulting difficulty from these errors of transmission is that a multitude of variant readings was produced. On 2 January 1859 Orson Pratt told Latter-day Saints assembled in the tabernacle:

The learned admit that in the manuscripts of the New Testament alone there are no less than one hundred and thirty thousand different readings ... How are translators to know which of the manuscripts, if any, contain the true sense? They have no original copies with which to compare them—no standard of correction. No one can tell whether even one verse of either the Old or New Testament conveys the ideas of the original author ... How our translators could separate the spurious from the genuine is more than I can tell.²⁷

The solution to this difficulty is the discipline known as textual criti-

23. The results of the British committee for the New Testament were published in 1881, and the entire Bible in 1885, and are known as the Revised Version; those of the American committee were published in 1901, and are known as the American Standard Version.

24. A. T. Robertson, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1925), 151.

25. M. J. Lagrange, “Projet de critique textuelle rationnelle du Nouveau Testament,” *Revue Biblique* 42 (1933): 495, quoted in Léon Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, 2d ed., English ed. amplified and updated by C.-B. Amphoux and J. Heimerdinger (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 57.

26. Robertson, *Introduction*, 156-60; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 2d ed. (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1968), 195-206.

27. JD 7:28.

cism. As the great textual critic A. E. Housman put it, textual criticism "is the science of detecting error in texts and the art of removing it."²⁸ Textual criticism has demonstrated that even though there are over 5,000 Greek manuscripts that contain part of the New Testament, they generally preserve four major types of text: Alexandrian, Caesarian, Western, and Byzantine. The vast majority of New Testament manuscripts are of the Byzantine type. This text-type represents a recension of the Greek New Testament carried out in the fourth century A.D. and later. The recension is often attributed to Lucian of Antioch (d. 312), and therefore the resulting text is sometimes referred to as the Syrian text-type.

Broadly speaking, what characterizes this recension is the desire for elegance, ease of comprehension and completeness. It tends to put most of its effort into attaining literary correctness: better balanced sentences, better chosen words: a text, in short, for people of letters. It further displays a studious preoccupation with clarity, for it tries in every way possible to explain difficult passages. Finally, it aims to lose nothing of the sacred text, by freely amalgamating the different readings of a passage. The result is a kind of "plenior" [i.e., full] text, one which is longer but also full of major faults.²⁹

It is a text of the Byzantine type that underlies the KJV; this means that many words, phrases, even whole passages have been added to the KJV. These additions, though usually well intentioned, simply were not part of the original, inspired author's work. Occasionally the additions can be significant. For instance, the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark are not found in the most ancient manuscripts.³⁰ In these verses we read: "And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them" (Mark 16:17-18). E. C. Colwell commented on the significance of this error of transmission:

Fanatical cultists in our southeastern mountain regions caress venomous snakes and feed one another doses of poison to prove their faith in the scrip-

28. A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," in A. E. Housman, *Selected Prose*, ed. John Carter (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 131.

29. Vaganay, *Introduction*, 109.

30. Both Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus do not contain the ending. Though many Bible translations include these verses, they are agreed to be non-Markan by the majority of scholars. See the classic discussion in the appendix to B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (1881; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 28-51. For a recent discussion which sees the evidence as not quite so decisive, see William R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

tures. But which scriptures? Many ancient New Testaments—among them those generally reputed to be the best—lack the verses on poison-drinking and snake-cuddling altogether. If the citizens of Tennessee and Georgia had chosen these New Testaments, they would not have picked up rattlesnakes and drunk poison, and more of them would be alive today. It makes a difference which New Testament you choose.³¹

Not only is the Byzantine text-type fraught with errors, but the particular edition of the Greek text that underlies the KJV has its own unique problems. In 1881 F. H. A. Scrivener established the version of the Greek New Testament that the translators of King James followed. He used as a primary authority the 1598 edition of Theodore Beza, friend and successor of Calvin at Geneva. He points out: “Beza’s fifth and last text of 1598 was more likely than any other to be in the hands of King James’s revisers, and to be accepted by them as the best standard within their reach. It is moreover found on comparison to agree more closely with the Authorized Version than any other Greek text.”³² Yet Beza’s edition, and all other early printed editions, ultimately relied on the first published edition of the Greek New Testament, that of the great humanist, Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Erasmus’ first edition of the Greek New Testament was prepared in great haste. The Basle printer Johannes Froben had written to Erasmus on 17 April 1515, requesting his assistance. After arriving in Basle that summer, Erasmus simply sent to Froben as a printer’s copy two manuscripts which were available at a local monastic library: Codex 2^e for the Gospels, and 2^{ap} for the Acts and Epistles. He made some alterations to their respective texts based on comparisons with a few other manuscripts (1^{ea}p, 4^{ap}, 7^p). None of these manuscripts contained the Book of Revelation, so Erasmus borrowed a manuscript (1^r) from his friend Johannes Reuchlin. Unfortunately, Reuchlin’s manuscript lacked the last six verses, so Erasmus was forced to translate the Latin Vulgate back into Greek. Printing began on 2 October and was completed in just five months on 1 March 1516. Erasmus himself would later describe this edition as “thrown together rather than edited.”³³

The great rush to publish the first edition of the Greek New Testament had many unfortunate results. Scrivener observed that with the exception of Codex 1^{ea}p, the manuscripts Erasmus employed “were neither

31. Ernest Cadman Colwell, *What Is the Best New Testament?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 29-30.

32. F. H. A. Scrivener, preface to *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Text Followed in the Authorized Version Together with the Variations Adopted in the Revised Version* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1881), vii-viii.

33. Quoted in Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 4.

ancient nor particularly valuable, and of Cod.1 made but small account." Erasmus' retranslation of the Latin Vulgate resulted in readings which are found "in no one known Greek manuscript whatever." Finally, the number of typographical errors was so great that Scrivener remarked that "Erasmus' first edition is in that respect the most faulty book I know."³⁴ Yet it was this edition, which was available in a cheap and convenient form, that attained a wide circulation and exerted an enormous influence on all subsequent editors. Indeed, later editions of this text became known as the "Textus Receptus," or commonly received, standard text. The Textus Receptus formed the basis not only of the KJV, but of all the principal Protestant translations of the New Testament in the languages of Europe prior to 1881.³⁵

Even after the work of King James's translators was published, errors of transmission continued. For instance, the originally published "strain out a gnat" (Matt. 23:24) became "strain at a gnat," and remains uncorrected to this day.³⁶ Many changes and alterations were made in subsequent editions. In 1851 the Committee on Versions of the American Bible Society, after examining six different editions of the KJV, found about 24,000 variations in the text.³⁷

The errors of translation that the revisers sought to correct were also of several types. At the most basic level the problem was the prose employed for the translation. "The language and style of the King James Version were becoming just a little archaic even by the time it was published. The style was sufficiently modern to be plainly understood at the time, yet just old-fashioned enough to carry with it the dignity of the recent past."³⁸ Unfortunately, that "recent past" is now almost 400 years ago, and long since forgotten. There have been several efforts to modernize the spelling, punctuation, and forms: most importantly Dr. Thomas Paris at Cambridge in 1762, and Dr. Benjamin Blayney at Oxford in 1769.³⁹ Yet in 1779 Benjamin Franklin could still lament that the language of the KJV is antiquated, "and the style, being obsolete, and thence less agreeable, is perhaps one reason why the reading of that excellent book is

34. F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1883), 430-32.

35. Metzger, *Text*, 106.

36. This error has been recognized by many, including the author of the article on the King James Version in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (1:110).

37. Josiah H. Penniman, *A Book About the English Bible*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 400-401.

38. Geddes MacGregor, *A Literary History of the Bible: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), 206-207.

39. The Oxford edition by Blayney represents the generally current form of the KJV.

of late so much neglected."⁴⁰

There are words in the KJV which are no longer used, and therefore convey no meaning whatsoever to the modern reader:

agone, ambassage, amerce, asswage, attent, avouch, bakemeats, bason, beeves, besom, bestead, betimes, bewray, blain, bolled, broided, bruit, butlership, chambering, chapt, choler, churl, collops, cracknel, cumbrance, daysman, emerods, fellowe, flote, foreship, graff, grisled, holpen, hosen, hough, meteyard, minish, neesings, ouches, paps, pate, pressfat, scall, sith, sottish, strawed, suretiship, taber, tabret, tache, teil, throw, undersetter.⁴¹

Not only are terms such as these confusing, but the reader will have difficulty in finding a source where these terms are defined: the majority do not appear in a standard dictionary such as *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*. Often the expressions and syntax are also confusing. Consider the following:

Dead *things* are formed from under the waters, and the inhabitants thereof (Job 26:5).

The noise thereof sheweth concerning it, the cattle also concerning the vapour (Job 36:33).

The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market (Ezek. 27:25).

Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own bowels (2 Cor. 6:12).

We do you to wit of the grace of God (2 Cor. 8:1).

Not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand (2 Cor. 10:16).⁴²

Even when a word, or its spelling, is not archaic, the meaning the KJV intended is no longer understood. The "meat offering" in the Old Testament (e.g., Lev. 2) is really a "grain offering": for "meat" at one time meant food in general, though in today's speech it only refers to animal flesh. There is potential misunderstanding in the rendering of Matthew 6:34: "Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall

40. Benjamin Franklin, "Proposed New Version of the Bible," *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York: Library of America, 1987), 935.

41. Melvin E. Elliott, *The Language of the King James Bible* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967); Ronald Bridges and Luther A. Weigle, *The King James Bible Word Book* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1994).

42. Jack P. Lewis, *The English Bible/From KJV to NIV: A History and Evaluation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981), 54.

take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Does this mean that we are to make no plans for tomorrow? The rendering of the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)⁴³ clarifies the intent: "So do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will bring worries of its own. Today's trouble is enough for today." Another confusing admonition is 1 Corinthians 10:24: "Let no man seek his own: but every man another's wealth." This rendering would appear to promote covetousness due to the archaic use of "wealth." The RSV clarifies this: "Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor."⁴⁴ Mark's report of Herod, Mark 6:20: "For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man, and an holy, and *observed* him" should read "*protected* him" (NRSV). For the sake of clarity, Paul's admonition to Timothy: "Lay hands suddenly on no man" (1 Tim. 5:22) should read: "Do not ordain anyone hastily" (NRSV). In James 3:1, "be not many masters" is better rendered: "not many of you should become teachers" (NRSV).

At the next level, there are disagreements in the spelling of proper names of persons between the Old and the New Testaments. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin forms are inconsistently used. Thus we have Kish and Cis; Enoch and Henoah; Noah and Noe; Elisha and Eliseus; Korah and Core; Jonah and Jonas; Hosea and Osee; Elijah and Elias; Isaiah, Esaias, and Esay; Jeremiah, Jeremias, and Jeremie. This lack of uniformity can lead to confusion for the reader. The same problem exists in the names of geographical locations.⁴⁵

On the other hand, the same English word is often used to translate two or more Greek or Hebrew words which convey different meanings. For example, in 1 Corinthians 7:10: "For godly sorrow worketh *repentance* to salvation not to be *repented* of," the words "repentance" and "repent" do not convey the distinction of the two different Greek terms. The RSV translation restores that distinction: "For godly grief produces a *repentance* that leads to salvation and brings no *regret*."

At a more serious level, there are inaccurate translations of the text. Philip Schaff, president of the American company of revisers, explains that for King James's translators "the more delicate shades of the Greek and Hebrew syntax were unknown," and "the grammars, dictionaries, and concordances very imperfect. Hence the innumerable arbitrary and capricious violations of the article, tenses, prepositions, and little parti-

43. The NRSV is a revision of the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of 1952, which is a revision of the American Standard Version of 1901, which, as mentioned above, is a revision of the KJV of 1611.

44. Joseph Smith also saw this error and similarly corrected "wealth" to "good" in his translation.

45. Philip Schaff, *A Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), 362-63.

cles. The impression often forces itself upon the student that they translated from the Latin Vulgate, where there is no article and no aorist, rather than from the Hebrew and Greek."⁴⁶ For example, the love of money is "*a* root of all kinds of evil," but not "*the*" only root (1 Tim. 6:10). The resurrected Jesus' injunction to Mary Magdalene, "*touch me not*" (John 20:17), should read "*stop holding on to me.*"⁴⁷

Paul's statement in 1 Corinthians 4:3-4, "*yea, I judge not mine own self. For I know nothing by myself yet am I not hereby justified,*" should read: "*I do not even judge myself. I am not aware of anything against myself, but I am not thereby justified*" (RSV).⁴⁸ Paul's gratitude in Romans 6:17, "*But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin: but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you,*" should read: "*But thanks be to God that you, having once been slaves of sin, have become obedient from the heart to the form of teaching to which you were entrusted*" (NRSV). Peter's command to the Jews in Jerusalem, Acts 3:19, "*Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord,*" should read: "*Repent therefore, and turn to God so that your sins may be wiped out, so that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord.*" Pilate's verdict concerning Jesus, Luke 23:15, "*and lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him,*" should read: "*Behold, nothing deserving death has been done by him*" (RSV).

The law of tithing is misrepresented in Luke 18:12: "*I give tithes of all I possess*"; it should read "*of all that I get*" (RSV). Matthew's account of Judas' betrayal, Matthew 26:15, "*And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver,*" should read "*paid him*" (RSV). Matthew wants it understood that they paid him on the spot; for he wants to make an allusion to Zechariah 11:12.⁴⁹ Jesus' instructions to his disciples during the last supper, Matthew 26:27: "*Drink ye all of it*" does not mean to consume all the wine, but should read: "*Drink of it, all of you*" (RSV). Following the Pentecost experience, the phrase in Acts 2:6, "*Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together,*" should read "*And at this sound*" (RSV). The people assembled, not because of rumors, but because they had heard the commotion of the Pentecost event. There is an anachronis-

46. Ibid., 350.

47. New American Bible translation; cf. Edwyn Clement Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, ed. F. N. Davey (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1954), 544.

48. Joseph Smith made the same correction in his translation: "For though I know nothing against myself."

49. In Zechariah 11:12-13, the prophet receives thirty pieces of silver which he then casts into the treasury of the house of the Lord, just as Judas will do later in Matthew 27:5-6. It is interesting to note that in Zechariah 11:13 there is another KJV error: "*cast them to the potter in the house of the LORD*" should read: "*cast them into the treasury in the house of the LORD*" (RSV); cf. A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (London: Macmillan, 1915), 408-409.

tic use of the word "Easter" in Acts 12:4. Even Bruce R. McConkie notes that this should be "after the Passover: there was as yet no such thing as an Easter festival."⁵⁰ Paul's statement in 2 Corinthians 5:21, "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin," does not mean that we are sinless, but rather: "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin" (RSV). When Paul tells the Galatians: "Ye see how large a *letter* I have written unto you with mine own hand" (Gal. 6:11), he is not commenting on the size of his epistle, but making a comment about his handwriting. The passage should be rendered: "See with what large *letters* I am writing to you with my own hand" (RSV).⁵¹

Given the serious problems of the KJV and the attitudes of early Mormons, it is perplexing that this translation has become the official translation for English-reading Saints.⁵² This change in attitude can in large part be attributed to the efforts of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and his magnum opus, *Why the King James Version*. It is ironic, for Clark wrote in his preface:

The most this author may hope for is that his *Notes* will somehow provoke in some qualified scholars having a proper Gospel background, the desire and determination to go over the manuscripts and furnish us, under the influence and direction of the Holy Ghost, a translation of the New Testament that will give us an accurate translation that shall be pregnant with the great principles of the Restored Gospel. We shall then have a reliable record of the doings and sayings of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ.⁵³

It is unfortunate that rather than encourage an accurate translation, "pregnant with the great principles of the Restored Gospel," Clark's book has made such an endeavor a notion un-contemplated by LDS scholars. Initially, President David O. McKay had not given Clark permission to publish the book, telling him that "we ought to be a little bit careful about criticizing the Revised Version"; for "the revised text was more accurate than the authorized text in some instances and eliminated the use of confusing or antiquated English terms."⁵⁴ However, after further debate, President McKay acquiesced and allowed Clark to publish the book.

50. Bruce R. McConkie, *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-73), 2:117.

51. Many more examples may be found in Lewis, *The English Bible*, 35-68; Alexander Roberts, *Companion to the Revised Version of the New Testament* (New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, 1881), 75-153; and J. B. Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1891).

52. "The First Presidency Statement on the King James Version of the Bible," *Ensign* 22 (Aug. 1992): 79.

53. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., *Why the King James Version* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1956), viii-ix.

54. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Office Diary, 26 Jan. 1956, in D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 177.

Clark himself was disappointed with the reception of his book. He wrote to the president of George Washington University: "Contrary to your kindly prediction, I have not had many comments on the book. My own fellow communicants, who are of the scholarly class, concluded (I am sure with one or two exceptions) that I knew nothing of what I was talking about and so paid little attention to the book."⁵⁵

To some extent this response was justified. Clark acknowledged that "the author's own scholarship is wholly insufficient to enable him to do any original research in this great field of human thought (which means the author has no standing in that field—and ought to have none)."⁵⁶ More importantly, Clark spends most of his book criticizing the Greek text that was used for the Revised Version—a text which was painstakingly established by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort⁵⁷ using sound text-critical principles—yet Clark admits that: "It is a little difficult, from materials available to the author, accurately to define or understand the matters and problems involved."⁵⁸

As a result of this ignorance, the reader of Clark's book is presented with summarizations and arguments that are false and even contradicted by the very sources quoted in the text. For example, Clark, in attempting to argue for the antiquity of the Byzantine text-type, elicits the support of a fifth-century manuscript, Codex Bezae. The "Codex Bezae type text," Clark tells us, is "likely of the Byzantine type; if it were otherwise, we should probably have been told."⁵⁹ But Clark had been told by many of the authorities cited in his book that Codex Bezae was the Greek exemplar of the *Western* text-type. Frederic Kenyon, on page 97 of Clark's book, tells us: "if it is once recognised that it is not necessary to group in a single family all readings with early attestation which do not belong to the Alexandrian family, it is easy to segregate one group of these which have a common character, and whose attestation is definitely Western. This is the type of text found in Codex Bezae."

Elsewhere, when discussing the Old Syriac version as contained in the Curetonian (sy^c) and the Sinaitic (sy^s) manuscripts, Clark tells us that these Syriac texts "agree rather with the Textus Receptus than the uncials" Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.⁶⁰ Once again to the contrary, Kenyon tells

55. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., to Cloyd H. Marvin, 10 Mar. 1958, in Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark*, 177.

56. Clark, *Why*, 21.

57. "While the work of revision was going on, Westcott and Hort were engaged simultaneously on their epoch-making edition of the Greek Testament, which appeared five days before the Revised New Testament. They placed their critical work at the disposal of their colleagues on the revision company, and to a very large degree their findings on the text were approved by the majority" (F. F. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1978], 139).

58. Clark, *Why*, 288.

59. *Ibid.*, 224.

60. *Ibid.*, 72.

us on page 75 of Clark's book: "we find in the Old Syriac a text including many unquestionably early readings, some of which occur also in the Western group and others in the Neutral (or, as we prefer to call it, Alexandrian [i.e., Vaticanus and Sinaiticus])." If Clark had consulted the work of the man referred to as "the best authority on the subject," F. C. Burkitt, he would have learned that "sy^s is absolutely free from the slightest trace of Antiochian [i.e., Byzantine, from which the Textus Receptus is derived] readings. Not one of the characteristic Antiochian confections is found in it."⁶¹

These points of detail are important, not only for demonstrating Clark's misunderstanding of matters textual, but for clearly establishing the fact that there are no early witnesses to the Byzantine text-type. The great mass of papyri discovered throughout this century has not altered this state of affairs. As Gordon D. Fee recently observed: "From A.D. 150-225 we have firm data from all over the ancient world that a variety of text forms were in use, but in all these materials there is not a single illustration of the later Majority (=Byzantine) text as a text form."⁶² The Byzantine text-type has never been discovered in the early period because it is a recension, the product of critical editing, performed centuries later.

Even when Clark is at his best—for example, in his arguments for the literary supremacy of the KJV—his logic is based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of the Greek New Testament text. He ponders: "Could any language be too great, too elegant, too beautiful, too majestic, too divine-like to record the doings and sayings of Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ?"⁶³ Apparently the authors who actually wrote down the "doings and sayings" were not so persuaded. As Edgar J. Goodspeed explains: "The New Testament was written not in classical Greek, nor in the 'biblical' Greek of the Greek version of the Old Testament, nor even in the literary Greek of its own day, but in the common language of everyday life. This fact has been fully established by the Greek papyrus discoveries and the grammatical researches of the last twenty-five years."⁶⁴ Consequently, Goodspeed argues that the New Testament "calls for a direct, familiar style in translation: an elaborate, elegant style is unsuited to it, and in proportion as it is rendered in a conscious literary style, it is misrepre-

61. F. C. Burkitt, "Text and Versions," in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1903), 4:4,987. See also Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1977), 36-48, esp. 43.

62. Gordon D. Fee, "The Majority Text and the Original Text of the New Testament," in Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee, eds., *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), 186.

63. Clark, *Why*, 355.

64. Edgar J. Goodspeed, preface to *The New Testament: An American Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), v.

sented to the modern reader.”⁶⁵ There are a few modern LDS scholars who are also aware of the uniqueness of the Greek of the New Testament. For example, Philip Barlow has pointed out:

One can hear no King James-like cathedral bells ringing in the background when one reads the Gospel of Mark in koiné Greek (the colloquial dialect in which the earliest manuscripts were written). Mark’s writing is raw, fresh, breathless, primitive. The lordly prose of the KJV, especially as it is heard by twentieth-century ears, is for many biblical texts an external imposition, shifting the locus of authority away from the power of the story itself (the “good news”) and toward an authority spawned by the partially artificial holiness suffusing our culturally created notion of “scripture.”⁶⁶

On other aspects of Clark’s arguments Barlow offers a well-reasoned critique and concludes: “Under careful scrutiny then, J. Reuben Clark’s justifications of the King James Bible do not fare well. While the various points of excellence of the Authorized Version ought not to be treated lightly, to insist on it as an official version guarantees significant misunderstanding (or non-understanding) by ordinary Saints.”⁶⁷

It is most unfortunate that the errors and shortcomings of Clark’s study are not more widely known by Latter-day Saints, for there are now available a number of excellent translations⁶⁸ of the Bible that far surpass the KJV in both the accuracy of the English rendition, and the establishment of the ancient text underlying the translation. Even if the KJV remains the “official” Bible for English-reading Latter-day Saints, they will do well to consult modern translations to improve their understanding. The efficacy of such an approach has been demonstrated at a popular level by Mark E. Petersen in a little book entitled, *As Translated Correctly*: “A comparison of the various Bible texts, and particularly of the modern

65. Quoted in Clark, *Why*, 355. In matter of principle, the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve would appear to agree. They have written: “Only translations which very precisely reproduce the words, phrases, and sentence constructions, as well as the expressions and style of the author of the original, can transmit impartially the sense of what the Lord revealed in the language of the original ... The translation must contain the recurring expressions and also awkward sentence constructions. No attempt may be made to paraphrase in an explanatory way, to make alterations, or indeed to improve the literary ability and knowledge as expressed in the current English text versions” (“Guidelines for Translation of the Standard Works,” First Presidency and Council of the Twelve, 17 Apr. 1980, in Marcellus S. Snow, “The Challenge of Theological Translation: New German Versions of the Standard Works,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 [Summer 1984]: 136).

66. Philip L. Barlow, “Wanted: Mormon Theologians. No Pay, Great Benefits,” *Sunstone* 16 (Nov. 1993): 35.

67. Philip L. Barlow, “Why the King James Version?: From the Common to the Official Bible of Mormonism,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Summer 1989): 36.

68. Four excellent translations, the New Revised Standard Version, Revised English Bible, New American Bible, and New Jerusalem Bible, are now available in one convenient volume: *The Complete Parallel Bible* (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1993).

translations, becomes a great corroborative force to the Latter-day Saints, for it places a strong stamp of truthfulness upon the teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and thus makes the Bible of greater value than ever to the members of this Church."⁶⁹

In conclusion, the eighth Article of Faith was a bold innovation in the understanding of the biblical text. For Joseph Smith and other early Mormon leaders, the Bible is to be considered "the Word of God" *only in so far* as it has been *correctly translated* from an *accurately transmitted* text. In particular, the KJV, though a magnificent effort, is not to be considered free of defects. Indeed, in the eyes of Joseph Smith it is not even the most accurate modern-language translation: the German translation (presumably of Martin Luther) owns that distinction.⁷⁰ In response to these defects, Joseph Smith labored from 1830 on to effect a revision of the KJV: an effort he considered to be divinely sanctioned, but unfortunately was never to complete.⁷¹ Modern biblical scholarship has strongly supported Joseph Smith's perceived need for a revision of the KJV. Many scholars have labored to correct both the errors in the English translation and the errors in the transmission of the ancient text that underlie that translation. J. Reuben Clark's compilation of study notes, published as *Why the King James Version*, should not be considered a vindication of that version. Indeed, it should not even be considered a trustworthy summary of the evidence. In the end no translation of the Bible will ever remain entirely satisfactory, for human language itself is constantly changing. As Brigham Young pointed out, even the Book of Mormon, if it were retranslated today, would in many instances differ from the present translation.⁷²

69. Mark E. Petersen, *As Translated Correctly* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1966), 70.

70. See n17, above.

71. A portion of Joseph's translation of Genesis and the Gospel of Matthew has been included in the Pearl of Great Price under the titles "Selections from the Book of Moses" and "Joseph Smith-Matthew."

72. JD 9:311.

Soft Sculpture

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

I sink into a beanbag chair
shaped like a giant ear
but changing shape to fit my rear

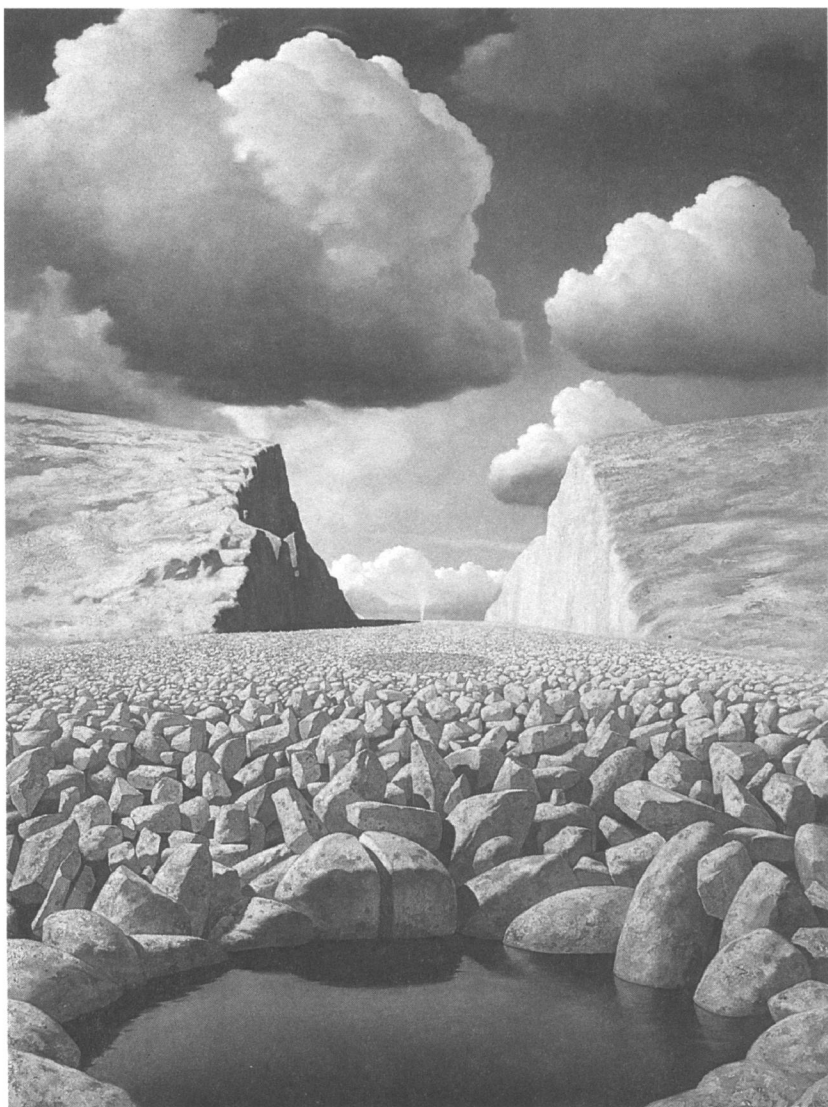
I swim in a giant waterbed
till my back unlocks and floats
and I'm seasick in the head

I climb foam rubber stairs
my legs hanging around my feet
then I somersault in space

My typewriter walks on spindly legs
begging me reach out and rap
but when I do the keys collapse

Claes Oldenburg offers a place
on his largest toilet seat
sewn cunningly of kapoc paste

It takes my body in round embrace
it turns my body to meet my face
in pure and formless grace



Maisie Prayed

Elissa Minor-Rust

DID I DO THE RIGHT THING? Maisie Clay is forty-three years old and here she is, sitting on a tombstone in a cemetery, in the middle of the night. She is here because she wants to ask the woman a question. Her friends have told her the woman will be here; thousands of people have seen her. How could you live in Salt Lake City all these years and never have seen her? they ask. Maisie isn't sure. But here she is, sitting on a plot of earth, her back against the cold stone, on which the name was etched so long ago it can't be made out, with a skinny red flashlight in one hand and a backpack in the other. She's been here for hours. Inside the backpack: two sandwiches, salmon and cream cheese on wheat grain buns, and a full sports bottle of freshly squeezed carrot juice. She hasn't touched either of the sandwiches, but the juice she's sipped slowly since she got here, keeping it hidden in her backpack like a wino, so as not to startle. Startle what? She doesn't know. Supposedly the woman takes a while to appear (to warm up to you?), but she will, she will. Maisie's friend, a woman from her book club, told her that you must sit with your back against this one tombstone in particular, the name says Priscilla something, and she'll appear right in front of a tree near the gate of the cemetery, dancing. It is nearly ten o'clock, and Maisie feels ridiculous, watching the tree for any sign of her, wishing she'd brought a book. There is hardly even a breeze, summers in Salt Lake are hot, hot. The leaves on the tree are barely moving. The bark is solid and in large chunks, like puzzle pieces, like buffalo chips.

Maisie has heard so many stories about who the woman is and where she has come from that she doesn't believe any of them. This ghost is the city's legend. There is this: she was a pioneer, third wife of a faithful Latter-day Saint, and she lost six children as infants as they crossed the plains in order to arrive in Utah. Zion without children? Impossible. So here she is, dancing, swaying, waiting for them, because she can't bring herself to leave this land without having left anything on earth to show for herself. Some say it is the ghost of Eliza R. Snow, dancing to her own music, the hymns that Maisie notices virtually every week in sacrament

meeting because Eliza's name is on the bottom. Or try this: she was a young woman, a girl really, sixteen years old and already a mother, or a mother-to-be, pregnant though unmarried. This one is a lesson for the community. She couldn't forgive herself her sin and ended her own life, and even now she can't forgive herself, so here she is, stuck in the earthly realm, waiting—for what?—a pardon maybe, or someone to understand. Dancing.

Maisie doesn't buy any of these versions, staring at the bark of the tree by the looming gates of the cemetery. Someone deeper, she thinks, with something left to say. She's been thinking about this woman for months. Sometimes she imagines the woman is old, well over eighty, wearing a long navy blue cotton dress with small sprigs of lace running from the tops of each shoulder down in triangles to the middle of the pleat just above her breasts. She is dancing to a music so faint you have to strain to hear it; from the trees maybe? From her own mouth, humming herself in circles? Her hair, a thick, dark silver, is pulled tight into a bun on top of her head and her mouth is stern, dignified: her lips are so thin they are barely visible, and the lines that run softly from the edges of her nostrils to the ends of her mouth are the most distinguishing characteristic of her face. Or sometimes Maisie thinks the woman is young, dancing to no music at all but the wind. She is more contemporary, the last ten years maybe, wearing jeans and a tee-shirt and moving frantically around the tombstones, throwing her hands in the air and laughing.

Maisie works as the sole employee in a catering company she started herself. Her favorite days come when she has a huge wedding to do, maybe one in the Lion House that evening, and she has a whole day and the whole kitchen to herself because her husband is at work. She lays patterns out on several card tables in the living room and begins to work according to the menu. If the menu is her choice: first, the finger foods—small puffs of bread with shrimp tails coming out the ends, strawberries that she can dip in a chocolate vat on the stove and arrange in circles on the trays. Next, the main course: whole chickens set to roasting in the oven, huge, pink salmon cooking in tin foil. She would like to stay that way—food simmering in pots, smells mingling together, designs quietly working like masterpieces on the trays, chocolate, shrimp, veggie scraps, on the tips of her fingers—forever maybe. Food is not to eat; for Maisie it is to smell, or to rub between your fingers, or to look at.

Maisie doesn't have any children, just a husband whose name is Paul. She never thought she could handle children, the time was never right, though Paul pushed her and pushed her. *It is God's work*, he would say, *a commandment*, though Maisie never felt ready. Her role as a traditional Mormon mother? Shot, according to everyone else. And yet. And

yet she has the food part down pat, the obsession with food that might have come from her ties with the Relief Society, with the women in her Utah neighborhoods, growing up. To these women there is no problem food can't fix. Maisie used to laugh about it. Husband diagnosed with cancer? Dog put to sleep? Not to worry. At least ten women are bound to come along and leave casseroles (tuna noodle or shepherd's pie) on your front porch step, lime green Jell-O with grated carrots set inside on your counter top, banana bread wrapped in green Saran wrap, or enchiladas with the tin foil on the top, ready for your oven, 350 degrees, half an hour only. Yes, Maisie has that part down, and when a woman in her ward is sick and unable to cook for herself, she is among the first there, though her foods are different: gourmet, no casseroles or zucchini bread from her oven, no way. Only the finest, as if just the sight and the smell of her art on a tray could cast out even the worst of spirits.

Last month Maisie started to dream about the woman in the cemetery. She tried to tell Paul about her dream, how it happened over and over, but he wouldn't listen through to the end. He told her she was obsessing over nonsense and that he was worried about her.

In her dream Maisie would walk to the graveyard in the evening, just as the sun was going down. She wore a brown sweater and a long broom skirt, the kind she'd seen teenagers and college girls wearing around town, carrying nothing but her backpack. All of a sudden the woman would appear, young and beautiful, wearing a silk nightgown and dancing her way around the cemetery, smiling. Maisie stood watching her and soon the woman would begin to change; wrinkles would deepen on her face, her pink nightgown would darken in color and the fabric would grow thicker, until an old, old woman in blue cornsilk was standing before her, not smiling, the exact image of Maisie's great-grandmother, Fanny Luella. She would not smile, but would move slowly with invisible partners, a waltz, or maybe a stern jig or trot, to no music at all. And Maisie would try to run forward to her, to apologize for not being around more when her great-grandmother was old and dying in the nursing home downtown, but Granny Fan would ignore her. And there Maisie would stand, in the middle of the cemetery, crying, pulling food out of her backpack, offering it to the woman who looked just like Granny Fan but would not listen to her.

Maisie has one set job, every week, a man downtown named Kent Messamer who pays her to cook for him each Friday. She catered his daughter's wedding and since his wife left, it's been television dinners and Top Ramen noodles, every day. For a hundred dollars a week, Maisie cooks elaborate meals for him. She loves his kitchen. It is so large she felt the first time she was there she could get lost in it; she imagined herself

crawling inside the giant cupboards, hiding in giant soup vats, the garbage compactor, the refrigerator. And clean. The place is spotless because he never cooks there, and there is nothing Maisie likes more than messing up a clean kitchen (streaking sauces on the counters, leaving carrot tops on the floors, flour on the shiny black stove top). When she was a child, she would sit on the counter next to her mother as she stirred dough in a bowl or kneaded bread, her hands covered with flour, and Maisie would stick her own hands in the flour and make handprints on her clothing and on her mother's back before her mother noticed and got angry. She loved the sight of her mother's bread pans, black like tar or the sky at midnight, because her mother never cleaned them, left the residue of hundreds of loaves on the metal sides because she said it made the crust taste better.

Kent Messamer loves bread. Every meal she cooks him, whether stew or fancy salad, something Indian with curry or a Japanese noodle dish, comes with a loaf of nut and herb bread, delicious. Three Fridays ago Kent came into the kitchen as he walked in from work and sat at the table on the other side of the counter, watching her. He was never a friendly man, and this day was no exception. He watched her toss herbs, some fresh, some from bottles, into the dough in the big metal bowl on the counter.

Is that the same bread you always make? he asked her.

Why would I change now, with no reason? Maisie said.

Good point. But I'm sick of that kind.

Maisie stood there, annoyed, wondering why he was watching her, heckling her while she was working. She stopped what she was doing and shifted her weight to the other side of her body, running her hands down the front of her apron (maroon and forest green plaid, cotton) to clean them off and looked at him.

There are no ... *creative juices* flowing in this kitchen with you scrutinizing my work, she said to him as if offering a reason for the abrupt stop in her preparation, though he had not asked her. Kent got up and shrugged, left the kitchen, and Maisie watched his back as he walked out of the room, wondering if she should stop and leave now, infuriated as she was by his behavior, though not quite. Not quite. As he walked down the hallway that led to the study, the white dress shirt on his back crumpled up in lines, sticking to his skin. His shoulders, she noticed, were quite broad.

Maisie's great-grandmother was not a pretty woman, even when she was young. Maisie knows, she's seen pictures. Granny Fan was short and thick in the waist and thighs, like Maisie is now. Maisie has a picture on her dresser of her mother and Granny Fan when her mother was just two

years old that she thinks about now, as she sits in the cemetery, waiting. In the photograph Granny is bending over slightly, a bit off-kilter maybe, trying to hang onto the child in the grass in front of her, who looks likely to dart off at any moment. Granny Fan's face is turned towards the camera and she is smirking, yes smirking, Maisie thinks, but definitely not smiling. The picture makes it clear that her nose was sharp, long with a bump in it that Maisie did not inherit, and would have been the dominant feature in her face if it weren't for her eyes which were a deep hazel green and wide, wide; always in the expression of surprise.

Granny Fan looked that way even at age one hundred and three in the nursing home when she died. One Sunday afternoon Maisie and Paul went to visit her. Maisie will never forget the way the place smelled, especially that day: the sweet scent of medicines and sick bodies mixed with the buttery smell of microwave popcorn coming out of the nurses' break lounge. It made Maisie feel sick. When they got to Granny Fan's room, Paul set the basket of flowers on the wooden stand beside her bed. Granny was less aware of them than usual, almost delusional, talking just to hear the sound of her own voice. At first Maisie didn't pay much attention, but soon she began to listen. The old woman was telling them a story about something that had happened when she was just a child, no older than eight, right after their family had moved to Salt Lake City. She said she remembered sitting with her mother on the carpet of their living room because she could not sleep, when there was a hard knocking on the door of their house. Granny's mom, Emmaline, opened the door and two women whispered to her for a full five minutes before she took Fanny by the hand (the older children were already sleeping and could not watch her) and they left the house, Emmaline carrying a lantern in her free hand. Later Fanny learned that the women had told her mother one of their children was sick and close to dying, and the elders had been administering to the little girl but the girl was growing steadily worse. The women decided to run and get Emmaline, they told her, because they had seen how close she was to the Spirit, and it was the sisters' turn to try.

Granny Fan told Maisie and Paul that afternoon that she would never forget watching her mother as she knelt by the bedside of the little girl, who was sweating and feverish. Along with the two other women, she repeatedly soaked a wash rag in a bin of warm water and ran it along the girl's body, as if washing the sickness off her skin and sending water and faith down through her pores. Her arms and legs must have been cold to the touch, like ice under their rags, and Fanny remembered the girl's gaze was set in one spot in the back of the room, not moving. The women next placed their hands on the child's head. Emmaline gave the actual blessing, and though Fanny couldn't remember all the words she

said that night, she remembered how she closed the blessing *in the name of Jesus Christ* instead of *in the name of the holy priesthood* because it was a sister's blessing. Although she was only five, Fanny watched as blood started visibly pulsing harder through the veins of the young girl—before the blessing was even over, the girl had moved her eyes and was focusing her attention on Emmaline, whose eyes were closed and whose words, she later told Granny, were coming from God and not from herself. Before morning the girl's fever was gone.

Maisie wasn't sure she believed her great-grandmother's story that afternoon, but still she thought it was beautiful. But now, in the cemetery, her clothes sticking to her body with heat and her back against a tombstone, waiting for a ghost: Sure, why not, she thinks. Why on earth not?

Maisie had gone to her bishop's office a few weeks before. She sat in the big, cushioned chair, covered with deep maroon upholstery, that sat on the other side of his desk, trying to avoid eye contact with him. He had on a suit and tie, neat and clean, as always, and his hands were sitting one on top of the other on the edge of the desk, waiting for her to speak. Above his head (two, three feet) was a picture of Jesus from the neck up, the air around him painted to look—just maybe—like clouds. She told him she was thinking of sleeping with Kent Messamer, though she didn't say his name, she just said *with another man*.

Have you done this before? Adultery, I mean, Bishop Cleegan asked.
No.

You realize what a serious thing this is?

Well.

Sister Clay, you realize how much I love you. I want to help you. If you go ahead and do this thing, so calculated, there would be a disciplinary hearing, a board would meet. For your own self, your standing in the church would be endangered. You have been through the temple, you have made the covenants. Let's get to the deeper problem here. Would you bring Paul in? Let's talk together, the three of us.

Maisie said maybe. Maybe. Maybe what? She didn't know. As she rose to leave, Bishop Cleegan said, This thing can't make you happier, I can promise you that. She smiled and thanked him, gathered her purse and book from where she'd placed them on the edge of his desk and began to leave.

Maisie?

Bishop?

I'm glad you came to see me.

What happened, in short: It was nothing like before, when Kent asked Maisie to cook for him every Friday. Not very direct, like before when he didn't expect her to say no. Maisie was holding one of her mother's old

bread pans in her hand, coated with that dark, dark residue, and Kent walked in from the hallway. He was trying to be polite, started telling her how much he liked her food, liked the feel of her soup on his throat when it coated it, hot, when it went down. Liked watching her from the door of the study (this she never knew before) when she fried tortilla shells or fry bread for tacos in hot oil on the stove, liked watching the sweat start to bead and drip off her forehead, liked the way the house got warm.

Emmaline, Maisie's great-great-grandmother, was not always spiritual. Maisie learned this in the weeks following her first visit to Granny Fan. She learned that Emmaline was the first member of her family to join the church, which amazed her because it never occurred to Maisie to think how it all started. She had assumed that her family had been members of the church from the beginning, that even when God took the rib from Adam's body to create Eve, there was a message deep inside the bone written just for them that said: *This family will be Mormon*.

Emmaline joined the church because she fell in love with a Mormon man when Fanny was still three years old. Fanny said that he lived in her town, a farming community in Colorado, high in the mountains. It was right after Emmaline's husband had left her for another woman and told her he wouldn't be back, stranding her with seven children and a small farm to look after. The man showed up on her doorstep with a basket of squash, corn, tomatoes, and fresh corn bread muffins that his wife had made and asked him to bring over to comfort her. Emmaline saw the basket and burst into tears right in front of the man, and he stood on her doorstep awkwardly, his hands in his pockets, watching her cry. All he could think to say was, Can I help you with your fields or something? and Emmaline started crying even harder, something she had never done before or since in front of anyone, stranger or no.

The man came back regularly, sometimes with his wife, sometimes alone, and sat with Emmaline while she sewed or baked. He helped her know when to turn her fields, and brought her news from town. His wife sent with him recipes and sometimes freshly baked pies or biscuits, so pleased that her husband was righteous enough to want to comfort Emmaline and help her get through her rough time.

Do you have a testimony, Sister Clay? Of the gospel? Asked Bishop Cleegan that day.

I don't know.

Maisie, are you in love with this man?

That's ridiculous. This isn't about love. It's about food.

Food?

Food.

Maisie was crying.

It was late at night when the man came to Emmaline's door, and she had been expecting him. She'd put aside the heavy black skirt and white cotton blouse she always wore and instead put on a dark green dress, full from the waist down with lace on the sleeves and the collar, that she'd been sewing herself for the last month. She loved the way the dark fabric looked against her bright red hair, pinned back modestly against her neck. As she walked around the house in it, hoping he would come, the fabric was stiff and scratchy against her skin, so she sat down to avoid getting a rash. She could feel warmth radiating out from her face as if from a lantern, her face hot then cold, like sudden fires come and gone.

When she opened the door to him, he looked startled, told her she looked nice, was she expecting company? and walked into the house. He was carrying a book in his right hand and he sat on the couch and handed it to her. She sat next to him, too close maybe because she noticed him stiffen slightly at the neck, and asked him what it was.

It's the book I've been telling you about, he said.

Emmaline looked at the book in her hand. It was light brown and worn, and on the front cover in fading gold letters she could read, the Book of Mormon. It looked like it had been read so many times threads were coming undone from the sides of the covers, and it was rough when she ran her fingers gently over the top of it. She sat there beside him as he told her about his church and she watched his lips move as he talked, watched the sweat form on his upper lip and his breathing get more nervous. Who kisses whom first? Granny Fan doesn't know. Maisie doesn't know. But they both suspect Emmaline. She wouldn't even have to lean in much, because the two were talking so close. The man pulls back and walks towards the door. Emmaline follows him. He turns to her and asks her—passionately? defeated somehow?—if she would promise to read the book. But he doesn't come back. From then on until Emmaline moves her family to Utah, the man sends his wife with the food she has baked, along with his good wishes.

The only other time she sees him is when he baptizes her and all of her children who are old enough in the irrigation ditch on the edge of their fields. Granny Fan told Maisie about it; how she could remember every detail of the event. Maisie couldn't imagine her Granny Fan letting a strange man pull her rickety old bones completely underwater in the name of God. But of course she wasn't Granny Fan then, she was nine-year-old Fanny Luella, and whereas the woman Maisie knows would have given it to him hard in the stomach and cursed at him, she swears it was the most spiritual moment of her life. That when the man took her hand and waded with her into the narrow canal, all she could feel was the March coldness of the irrigation water and a fear that welled up in her stomach telling her to *run! run!* but for some reason her legs wouldn't

budge. And when he placed his arm so close to the bones in her back through her thin white dress, he smiled at her, said, You ready? And spoke the words that changed her life: *Having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.* Still, though, Maisie cannot picture her going under without a fight.

When she came out of the water, dripping wet and gasping for air, Granny Fan told Maisie that the fear had vanished and she felt like a new person; that it was the hand of Heavenly Father himself on her back and his hand also pulling her body up out of the water. The man shook her hand, said, Congratulations Sister McCloud, and they walked back up onto the side of the ditch. She stared into the murky water and the ripples that ran across her face mirrored in the canal were like messages from her old self, the one left utterly behind and alone forever in that ditch, saying I'm gone, I'm gone. Before she could take it all in, though, Emmaline was at her side to take off the white dress, so carefully pieced together out of the purest cotton and Queen Anne's lace, so that her older sister Rosa could step into it, wet as it was, to be baptized in the same waters. There was no time to make more than two dresses: one for the girls, and one for Emmaline. The boys, of course, wore simple white slacks and tee-shirts.

After seeing the bishop, Maisie sat in her kitchen at two o'clock in the morning while Paul slept soundly in bed, holding her own copy of the Book of Mormon with the shiny black leather cover and gold lettering. She thought about Emmaline reading the same book after the man left, by candlelight or at the kitchen table in the middle of the day while waiting for food to come out of the oven. For the first time in months, Maisie tried to pray. She knelt down in front of the refrigerator, but found the pictures of her nephews and nieces and the food stains on the ivory surface too distracting. *Dear Father in Heaven*, she tried, but there was a red stain, deep like marinara sauce, staring her in the face. She stood next, and walked over to the kitchen table, pulled out a chair, sat down. Will it work here? she thought to herself. *I've been really confused lately.* But there was nothing for her hands to do, no place to put them. Fold her arms across her chest like they taught her in Primary? Lace her fingers together like an old Puritan saying grace? No thanks, Maisie thought. She walked over to the kitchen sink, glancing at herself in the window above the faucet. Her hair was pulled away from her face with two pencils and she noticed the weight in her cheeks made her look old. *It's about the thing with Kent*, another attempt. She reached down towards the second drawer beneath the counter and pulled on the hard wood until she could reach an apron to loop over her head and tie around her waist. She looked down: baby blue gingham, no stains. *Or maybe it has nothing to do with Kent*, she

told him. But soon she was pulling things out of the cupboards and pouring them into bowls. *I don't know if this is the thing for me anymore*, she chopped onions under running water, smoothing her fingers over the skins, *And then there's Paul*, she poured dry lentil beans into a huge pot on the stove, *The church thing I mean*, she lifted her huge wooden spoon and lowered it, and stirred, and stirred.

Maisie prayed: I always know when it's going to rain, not because of the smell in the air (that's what most people tell me it is; they say, Maisie, you are probably just smelling the rain in the sky), but Heavenly Father it has nothing to do with the smell of the rain. It's something that comes from inside of me and things start feeling differently, under my fingers I mean, my foods feel soggy, rain drenched; my fingers feel wrinkled, prune-like. I hate doing weddings right before a rain. Once, when I was a little girl, I remember because it was when my mother started having me stay inside (my feet had already started growing soft, changing because the hard wood in the kitchen was softer than the dirt and rocks outside) and I was feeding my baby brother while my mom cleaned and I had that rain feeling, only worse. I had my hand on top of my little brother's head to steady it so that I could get the spoon between his lips, and he felt rough, rough like sandpaper or drying wood, but wet. My mom said he must just be sweating from the heat, but she wouldn't talk to me because my father was coming home and she wanted the house nice but I wanted to tell her that he wasn't coming home, my fingers had told me so, that must be what it was, and I sat there looking at my baby brother, afraid to touch him, my fingers curled in towards my palms when the clouds broke. It rained for days, Heavenly Father, and my father came home but three years later my baby brother died. There are times when I recognize that feeling before a downpour, but I haven't felt it that strong in years, and I don't feel it now, not that way I did when I had my hand on my baby brother's head, filling his mouth with food.

Was Emmaline satisfied? Maisie wonders. It's past three and she's still here, her back against the tombstone but her eyes have closed. Not for sleep, but because she is seeing things more clearly this way: stories on the back of her eyelids. She hasn't thought of Emmaline for weeks and here she is, thinking, That's it! That's it! Emmaline is the woman! But as yet, there is no woman.

Maisie called Kent Messamer's machine the day before and told him she wouldn't be cooking for him Fridays anymore. But all day, still, she has been thinking about it, wondering if some chance has brushed past her. She walked downtown this morning, spent all day there before coming to the cemetery, looking for someone to offer her question to: *Did I do the right thing?* She sat down on a bench in front of Temple Square, watch-

ing the people come out of the ZCMI center, thinking to herself, *This is Zion?* A woman came out of the main entrance wearing a bikini top and cut off jeans, basking in the Utah heat. Two small boys ran up to her and one of them was crying. It was obvious that the woman didn't know the children, but she picked them up in each of her arms and started chirping along with the crosswalk signal, a chirp, then a cuckoo, chirp, then cuckoo. Her imitation was almost perfect, and the boys looked at her amazed. The younger boy stopped crying automatically, as if she'd pushed an off button, his tear-stained cheeks turned attentively her way. Maisie saw that the woman was missing two of her top teeth. When the boys' mother came running out of the doors of the mall, looking frantically for her kids, she saw them in the woman's arms and froze, watching her chirp and cuckoo, watching the half naked stranger sway the boys back and forth. Then she took her children and left.

Did she do the right thing? Maisie gets up from her spot, surprised her back hasn't left a permanent groove in the woman's headstone, surprised her cotton blouse hasn't rubbed even more of the woman's name away. She pulls the sandwiches, still wrapped in thick paper towels inside of Ziploc bags, and places both at the base of the tree she's been watching all night. Maisie will come back. She'll come back every so often and feed the woman, she'll bring things hot from the oven in her best pans, she'll let sauces spill over onto the dirt and the other tombstones. She'll leave bread by the gates, sweet and sour meatballs in the shadows of the headstones, and thick lentil stew, onions galore, in the limbs of the tree, ready for supping. And she'll wait: for the women, for the sounds of consumption (the stealthy slurping of pasta noodles, the heavy sounds of swallowing). For the feel of hands, fingers dripping with chocolate fondue and shrimp juices, on her hair.

Sesquicentennial Pioneer Commemoration Speech

Robert Reynolds

My grandpa Walker Reynolds was a pioneer, too, with a Brigham beard.
Mom says he loved pickles, and dancing music.
Last time we saw him, Grandma said, "It's time to hug goodbye,"
and all I could think is how Grandpa's
four mud-stained layers of clothes stank like malt
liquor, spit, and urine. He pushed and pulled a busted handcart,
packed with sacks of half-eaten burgers, Coors cans,
torn out ads for bras, slot clubs, and strippers
who'd dance in your hotel—his promised land.
"A kiss for you," I, one time, heard him stutter, smoking butts with lipstick.
Grandma'd long since left Walker,
after losing that last chance to win.
The horse's name was P  p  .
"Mother, it was close," he shook his head, looked down,
then threw his hot dog at a brick wall.

Grandpa never got to Utah.
Didn't know a bed outside the blinking neon,
blinding sun, burning heat.
Just like Moses, he spent years making circles,
looking for a destination. We like to think it was Zion.
Don't tell me he won't make it.

The Spirit of '76

Robert Paul Southern

WE ARE NOTHING BUT MATTER, configured into a mass of atoms, configured into molecules, and locked irrefutably into a predetermined arrangement of cells by their genetic codes that link us billions of years to the very essence of our nature.

Hewlett had no idea who wrote it; an odd thing to put on the bathroom stall of the Biggie Burger. All forty words were etched into the metal wall with something sharp. A paper clip, or a knife, he thought. Next to it in orange high-liter pen, someone had scrawled: *Science can no more deny the existence of God than God can deny the existence of science.*

Now Hewlett thought both ideas had some truth, so he pulled out a pen and wrote next to them: *You are both right.*

It just popped into his head. Feeling satisfied, he returned across the street to his duties as the assistant manager of the Faircrest Mini-mart.

Back inside, Hewlett jabbed his mop back into its bucket and splashed himself with filthy water. Staring at the mess covering his shoes, he realized a far wittier and urbane response might have been penned if he had just taken the time to think it out. But that could have proved risky. What if he misspelled a word? Then he might look like a fool. Not that anyone would know. But Hewlett would.

As a liberal arts major, he had in his head the fanciful dream of being a famous writer. That was where he met Laurie Larsen and married her four months later. But Hewlett's ambitions meant nothing to his new father-in-law when measured against the financial security of an M.B.A. When he offered to pay for Hewlett's tuition in return for his son-in-law's unswerving faith in his advice, Laurie begged Hewlett to heed his wisdom.

"I know you want to be a writer," she pleaded, "but if he'll pay for your tuition, then do it. Besides, you'll be good at business management. Maybe some day you could work for him."

There is an old saying concerning the futility of arguing with a woman once she's made her mind up. There's also another saying about a man in an Armani suit. Stake president Richard Larsen was on a first-name basis with two U.S. senators and six general authorities. Kodak mo-

ments of these relationships hung on the walls of his office. One with Ronald Reagan more than illustrated his father-in-law's influence and reputation. It alone sat on his desk, facing out for an unavoidable view.

And so Hewlett reconfigured his dream and learned to appreciate the world of business management. In turn he found a sense of gratification just knowing he could assure this important man that his daughter and future grandchildren would be provided with the comforts of life.

Eight years later the Hewlett Moore family sojourned to their annual Christmas visit to Laurie's parents along Salt Lake's East Bench. Such proximity to the patriarch invariably ushered in the annual son-in-law inspection. But this latest one-on-one had the prospect of bearing good tidings and joy rather than criticism. She could feel it, Laurie assured her apprehensive husband. Their lives would soon change for the better.

"So, Hewlett," President Larsen spoke from behind his massive oak desk, "Laurie's been telling me for quite sometime that you want to work for me."

Hewlett had not forgotten. His wife's dream was as repetitive as a Buddhist prayer. Working for the old man would be the financial boon to lift them out of financial obscurity. And more. Much more.

"So how long have you worked at this ... mini-mart?" There was no hint of sarcasm, none that Hewlett could sense. He had been reassured many times by President Larsen that working in a mini-mart was nothing to sneeze at. Nonetheless, he understood the nature of the inquiry. The time had come for Hewlett to move on.

Finally.

"A year and half, President Larsen," Hewlett answered. He could not bring himself to call his father-in-law by his first name. It wasn't done, not when addressing a stake president. Even if you were married to his daughter.

"And you are ...," President Larsen paused, "the manager?"

"Uh, almost," Hewlett said. "I'm the assistant manager."

"Yes. That. And there are three of those. Right?"

"I'm one of three assistant managers," Hewlett said proudly.

As though he were conducting a temple interview, President Larsen leaned back in his chair, eyes boring into Hewlett's soul. Laurie's father had two things in abundance: Money and Advice. And if the man was generous enough to pay for Hewlett's reeducation, he would be more willing to part with the wisdom that had forged him into a moral and financial icon.

"Tell you what," he finally spoke, "if you make manager in the next six months, I'll bring you on board." Then he leaned forward, eye to eye with Hewlett. "You see, Son, I'm just a little concerned about where your heart is. After a year and a half, a man with a drop of initiative could own

that silly mini-mart top to bottom. So let's see what you can do to prove your worth to me."

The race was on.

Three months later, on Wednesday, Hewlett went back to the Biggie Burger to see if anyone had written a reply. Sensing he had become part of an on-going conversation, he was full of anticipation. Even on a bathroom wall, an intellectual conversation was nothing to sneeze at. And indeed a response did await him, scribbled in black magic marker: *Who gives a shit.*

Hewlett was unappreciative of the profanity and scribbled, *I do!* Then he added after a sudden explosion of creativity, *And who are you?*

Come Thursday Hewlett made his way back during a break to see if anyone had answered his challenge. He found the wall scrubbed clean. Only the first message remained, etched into the metal wall. Dejected, he pushed his leaden feet back to the mini-mart.

Hewlett always found the best bathroom walls full of active graffiti. But when nothing else could be said, no more brilliance offered, the walls would get scrubbed down. Like life itself. Having achieved the pinnacle of your abilities, God would simply extract you with the usual array of diseases, accidents, or crossing your path with the next available serial killer.

On Sunday the Hewlett Moore family went to church and made their home in the back row. It was *their* spot. Every family had *their* spot. Like a side of beef he could diagram the congregation into select cuts. The larger and more fundamental families sat in the middle pews. These were the older and more established families whose church positions equaled their community prominence. You could find them in bishoprics, Relief Society presidencies, and high priest quorums. The smaller but sportier families filled the side rows. These folks were younger and their callings reflected fast-paced lives, zooming to and from softball games and church meetings where they occupied ward committees and served as councilors in ward presidencies. Those in the back rows and overflow section were the more sedate. These were a motley group of ward librarians, Sunday school and primary teachers, and volunteers who labored in the nursery and genealogical library. Then there were those who held no callings. Like Hewlett.

But for all the significance of his rear position, Hewlett found himself more out of sight and mind. Not that he minded the obscurity. Tucked in the back, he felt relatively safe from the bishopric scouting for prayer givers and sacrament passers. Too much trouble was to be had in those missions, especially for a grown man in his thirties. What if he messed up the sacrament prayer or, worse, passed the bread and water to the wrong person on the stand?

No one could receive the sacrament until the highest priesthood authority on the stand first received his ordinance of bread and water. That's what the bishop told him his first Sunday as a deacon. And the man was very clear on that point, almost emphatic. So when little Hewlett proudly handed the bread tray to his bishop, he was shocked to find his service rejected. Frowning and shaking his head, the bishop pointed behind Hewlett to a distinguished gentlemen, regional representative Brenton Fuller.

Hewlett never passed to the front again.

After sacrament ended, Laurie went off to play the ward librarian. Escorting his kids to primary, Hewlett then found refuge in a small, remote bathroom on the far reaches of the building. Seldom used, he would drop the seat and sit. There he could hide from the Sunday school president, a realtor by trade who would roam the halls and herd people to their classrooms. Resisting would only get you a guilt-laden speech about furthering one's knowledge of the gospel. And Hewlett couldn't handle guilt. Besides, expressing your opinion in class would inevitably draw out the resident scripture-chaser with his multi-referenced leather-bound quad and two dozen scriptures memorized for your humiliation.

Even at church Hewlett could not escape the business end of life. Competition also ruled the monthly fast and testimony meetings where a ritual parade of women would express their eternal gratitude for all the wonderful crap their husbands could buy them. Laurie never expressed such gratitude. She would just thank God for her testimony and children and leave it at that. She wished she could do more. Laurie never said so, but Hewlett knew. He just knew.

Waiting out the moment in tranquil isolation, Hewlett took notice of the bathroom stall. So different from other bathroom stalls, he realized, so clean, so pure. At least in other bathrooms you had something to read.

There was nothing impulsive about Hewlett Moore. But when the idea flashed in his brain, he pulled the pen from his breast pocket and wrote on the wall: *No man is better than his fellow man in the eyes of God.*

Would anybody read it? Would anyone answer back? Hewlett doubted. You weren't suppose to write on the walls in church. Notwithstanding his act of vandalism, he smiled contentedly at his bathroom epistle and left.

On Tuesday he drove by the chapel on his way home and another impulse hit him. Making a U-turn, he sped back. Finding an unlocked door, he walked through the quiet halls to his favorite bathroom. The message was gone, leaving the stall seemingly untouched. Staring at the immaculate wall, Hewlett felt ignored and wounded. Taking his pen, he fired back: *We should not tolerate the acts of cruelty we inflict on one another.* He liked it better than his first message, more lofty and intellectual. Surely

someone would respond, he hoped. They had to!

After dinner Thursday night, he slipped out of the house and found the ward building open. In the bathroom his new message was scrubbed off clean. But where his message had been, a white sheet of paper was taped to the wall. On it was written: *Do not write on these walls.*

Finally, a response! But—Don't write on these walls? That wasn't the answer he wanted. It wasn't even an answer—just a rebuff, chiding him like a little child. Grabbing his pen, he furiously scrawled, *Why not?* and then left.

Late Saturday afternoon he returned to find his question scrubbed away once more and a new message waiting him, taped to the wall. *This may be a bathroom, but this is a House of the Lord! Do not write on these walls! It is vandalism!*

Someone smart was challenging Hewlett. Some after-hours busybody in the building for his weekly leadership meeting. Hewlett knew his counter-reply had to be witty and urbane. After nearly twenty minutes of consideration, he finally wrote: *When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one man to dissolve the social bonds that connect holy men to tyranny. What better place to make that stand than in the House of the Lord.* Then Hewlett laughed, adding: *Even if it is in a bathroom.* Who could top that? he admired proudly. He hoped someone would try. Hewlett was starting to have some fun. He had found his niche.

When Hewlett and his brood arrived for church the next day, he excused himself and scampered to the bathroom, anticipating a feeble joust to his clever retort. The wall again was cleaned with a new message. But this one came off a computer printer in bold type: *Doctrine and Covenants 88:35 "That which breaketh a law, and abideth not by law, but seeketh to become a law unto itself ... they must remain filthy ..."*

The law? What law?

Hewlett read and reread the note but still could not understand what the message was getting at. Pulling it down, he stuffed it in his pocket. Instead of joining his family, he went to an empty classroom and looked up the reference with his scriptures. After rereading the entire scripture a dozen times, Hewlett remained uncertain. Turning to the topical guide, he then looked up the word *LAW*. Laws were not just guidelines, he read, but spheres of influence, boundaries that held in check the forces of Man and Nature.

The gist of its intended meaning soon became apparent to Hewlett. Laws were the governing factor in the universe. They held life in place, the predetermined matter of the cosmos, the intelligences created before the world was, many whom were the noble and great ones. Like the engraved quote on the Biggie Burger bathroom wall, life was irrefutably locked into a prearranged order.

Hewlett was left to wonder where that left him, sitting anonymously in the back every Sunday. Only Laurie held a calling. Still, telling people you were the ward librarian never had the same momentous ring as announcing you were the Young Women's president. Laurie never groused of her lowly station. But Hewlett knew she wanted more. Even being a Sunday school teacher would be a quantum leap from her current quagmire. Such a position could amplify her net worth in the eyes of her fellow Saints. Were only such fortune to befall himself, he dreamed.

Elder's quorum president. Now there was a plumb role, the pinnacle of a man's service, second only to the bishop himself. Hewlett knew he would make a good elder's quorum president. But he knew there was as much chance in becoming quorum president—even a councilor—as being named manager of the Faircrest Mini-mart. Besides, who would call him? He—Hewlett Moore?

He wasn't the type. Hewlett could admit that himself without reservation. People were types, each one fashioned with particular characteristics. His father-in-law was a corporate success by his thirty-first birthday. His four sons were either working for him or minding their own Wall Street ventures. But Hewlett's own father was a mechanic, dead at fifty-eight with grease and oil still under his nails. Mother had to go to the funeral home and scrub them clean. If Hewlett died the next day, Laurie would have to go down and wash the smell of heat lamp burritos out of his hair and scrub the mop water out from between his toes.

Like father, like son. No crime. No injustice. No lack of humanity. Simply a law of nature. People must follow their destiny, he realized. Why, look at Jesus. He was a simple carpenter's son.

So ... count your blessings, he heard the congregation sing. Name them one by one—

Hewlett slammed his scriptures closed. Instead of the usual far and remote bathroom, he stormed into the men's room by the east side chapel doors and scrawled in dramatic words: *Does anyone actually believe that our church leaders are divinely called? Or is it just a matter of who you know?*

Hewlett grinned proudly. This time he had hit the nail on the head. It was even better than his previous take on the Declaration of Independence.

But each time he admired his literary effort, the message seemed less revolutionary and more heretical. Just who was he trying to be anyway—Thomas Jefferson? Feeling panic beset him, he tried wiping off the offending message, but simple toilet paper and spit failed him miserably. In great fear he slipped out of the bathroom and returned to his family.

By the time Sunday school began, people were flocking to see the mystery graffiti for themselves, which was being scrubbed off with hot

water and cleanser. Without fail, the bishop interrupted Gospel Doctrine class and delivered a stirring testimony on the sanctity of church leadership. Following this, the elder's quorum and Relief Society presidents bore their own words of testimony to this fact. This was accompanied by others who stood to concur loudly and to call to repentance the misguided soul who had sought to injure the reputation of their ward leaders. Similar platitudes replaced prepared lessons in the priesthood and women's auxiliaries. From there rumors spread that a special fireside was planned for that evening and that emergency phone calls were being made to the area presidency.

Amid this raging storm, Hewlett sat quiet and calm. Inside he quaked and trembled to the pit of his soul. He thought back on the fifth grade when John Otis bravely pulled the fire alarm and sent hundreds of kids and teachers scrambling into the playground without a care or worry of being caught. John could laugh at danger. Hewlett could not. Such bravado was beyond him. No matter the precautions he could take, Hewlett knew he would get caught. Some way, somehow it would happen.

Hewlett had finally pulled that proverbial fire alarm. Right then, amid the panic and hysteria he had set into motion, he swore never again to write on any bathroom walls. Raising a stink was just too much trouble.

That following Saturday afternoon, Hewlett drove back to the church. He came not to write, for he was through with that fit of insanity, but to collect a few tithing envelopes. Laurie always preferred mailing their 10 percent rather than publicly handing it over to the bishop during church like so many others.

"Why doesn't she just do that in private or mail it to the ward clerk?" she would observe. "Everyone knows what her husband does for a living. You're supposed to imagine how many zeros are written on that check. It's like the Pharisees at the temple."

The analogy was not lost on Hewlett. But he only saw his wife's pious nature as a guise to hide the bitterness. She had endured their financial hardships for so long, the lean years when Daddy's money only went for books and tuition, and the disappointment in making his mini-mart paychecks go the distance she wanted. But her incessant pining for the day his promotion would elevate Hewlett into the bosom of her father was clue enough that she longed for more.

And how could she not want a husband like her own father or to be a wife like her own mother? To have all the perks and benefits of her parents' financial standing, Laurie would become more than a ward librarian. Money meant success and success was the ensign of moral and temporal fortitude. Given the chance, he knew Laurie would gladly become the arrogant scum she loathed. Then she could flaunt that burgeon-

ing tithing envelope and wax eloquent from the pulpit on the virtues of her wonderful husband.

But the tithing envelopes would have to wait. The usually unlocked front door of the building was now locked. As it was a nice spring day, Hewlett slowly walked around the building, trying each door as he went, soaking up the brilliant sun. Going around to the back, he saw two cars parked outside the door by the stake president's office. Even though that door was locked, he rang the buzzer on the wall and waited. And waited.

He stared at a bug crawling on the ground, then instinctively crushed it under his foot even though the poor bug had done nothing. Power, Hewlett realized, that's what it was, the uncommon denominator of the world. Some had it, some did not. The bug did not.

A man emerged from a side room. Hewlett expected him to hold the door open but the gentleman held it against his body, sticking only his head out between the door and frame. He had an older face, distinguished by the gray in his black hair and the silk tie complementing his suit. A man of importance, Hewlett deduced.

"Yes?" the man asked. "Can I help you?"

Perhaps it was the tone of the man's inquiry or the way he insinuated himself in the doorway. Right then an irritability overcame a mild-mannered Hewlett Moore, who stood not in a suit and tie but in a T-shirt and gray sweat pants with a permanent grease stain on the upper right thigh. Even in his Sunday best, Hewlett knew he couldn't counterbalance the moment with polyester pants and bargain basement shoes. Jerking the door out of the man's hands, Hewlett marched past him into the building.

"Excuse me," the man said. "Where are you going? You can't be in here. The building is closed."

Hewlett replied, "If it's closed, why are *you* here?"

The man sputtered then managed a complete sentence. "I'm in the stake presidency. Who are you? Do you belong here?"

"Do you?" Hewlett shot back.

"I'm the second councilor—in the stake presidency," he stated. "What are you?"

"What am I?" Hewlett pondered aloud with biting sarcasm. "I'm no longer a who but a what."

When Hewlett hit the end of the hallway, he stopped. To his right was the bishop's office where the tithing envelopes sat in a place-holder on the wall. To his left were the west side doors to the chapel.

"Sir," the second councilor chimed in again, "unless you have a reason to be here, you need to leave."

Hewlett went left to the chapel doors and pulled them open. The chapel was unlit but enough light filtered through the narrow stained

glass windows to provide a dusky illumination.

The councilor cleared his throat and stated dramatically, "Sir, you are trespassing."

"Trespassing?" Hewlett repeated in disbelief.

"There are rules for using this building. And no one is allowed in here unless they have scheduled business."

Hewlett's voice quaked with emotion as he began walking towards the front of the chapel. But his words flowed with unusual eloquence. "This isn't just a building. This is a church. A sanctuary. Think of me as just one of the village peasants. I've come in from the fields to light a candle and to pray for my soul and the souls of my family. That's the way it used to be. Now you call it—unscheduled business."

Hewlett reached the front of the chapel and looked at the empty seats where the bishopric sat each Sunday. With slow reverence, he walked up onto the stand and sat down behind the pulpit. From his vantage point, he could see the entire chapel and imagine a sea of parishioners staring back at him. "I've never been up here before," he spoke aloud. "It's not that bad. Someone could feel really important up here."

"Sir," the second councilor exclaimed, "I'm going to call the police if you do not leave—right now!"

"You're kidding, right?" Hewlett laughed in disbelief. "Call the police? On me?"

"I am not joking," the councilor said. "You obviously have no business here. Now, are you going to leave or do I call the police? This is your last warning."

With the filtered sunlight pouring down on his suit and silk tie, the man struck a powerful image. This was obviously an influential member of the community. How else could he be the second councilor in the stake presidency? Not by being a busboy or a custodian. Or the assistant manager of a mini-mart. The man certainly had to be a doctor, lawyer, or politician. Maybe he owned a business. Whatever Hewlett did next would have serious implications. Finally, he found the words he was looking for.

"Go to hell."

The man's eyes flexed and his mouth dropped open. "I warned you," he said, backing out of the chapel. "You are trespassing and now I am going to call the police."

The man retreated and silence settled on the chapel. It wasn't long after that Hewlett realized trouble was on its way. When the chapel doors burst open minutes later, the second councilor was joined by another man dressed in a suit and tie. This new face smiled, albeit with a great deal of nervousness. Hewlett recognized him as the stake president.

"Hi," the man said, keeping enough running room between himself and Hewlett. "I'm Jim Carlson. I'm the stake president. I'm in charge of

this building."

"I thought he was," Hewlett said, pointing at the irritated councilor.

President Carlson kept his smile and asked, "What is your name?"

"Hewlett. Hewlett Moore."

"Nice to meet you," the stake president said. "Now, Hewlett, I know you like being in here but the building is closed right now. Today is Saturday. Tomorrow you are more than welcome to come back when we hold our services."

"But *he's* here," Hewlett said.

President Carlson put a hand on the shoulder of his second councilor. "He has permission to be here. We're conducting church business. We're scheduled to be in the building."

"I don't think someone has to be scheduled to come into the building," Hewlett reasoned. "It's a church for crying out loud. It's sanctuary."

"If you need some kind of sanctuary," President Carlson answered, "perhaps I can help you find a place downtown."

Hewlett stared back in confusion. "What are you talking about?"

"There are missions downtown to help people in need."

Hewlett's inevitable laugh started from a small chuckle and built into a rolling roar. "You think I'm a bum? A transient? Don't you even recognize me? I came here to get some tithing envelopes!"

"You're a member?" President Carlson gasped. He turned to his councilor then back to Hewlett. "Then I don't understand why you won't leave. You know the rules."

Hewlett just shook his head in disgust. "You got that right. You don't understand. You don't understand anything."

With that said, President Carlson left, followed by his councilor.

What now? Hewlett was left to wonder. Where did they go? Would they be back? Were they going to call the police? The National Guard? Salt Lake?

He picked up a hymn book and thumbed through the pages. For the first time he noticed the "Star Spangled Banner" in the hymn book. He didn't know it was a hymn and wondered if hymn books in Germany had the American national anthem—or if they had the German national anthem. Something to think about during those slow days at work, he considered.

Again the doors opened and the lights to the chapel lit up, illuminating the room in a bright Sunday glow. Not only did he see the stake president and his second councilor, but Hewlett saw his own bishop walking towards him.

"Hewlett!" the bishop exclaimed.

"Hi, Bishop," he answered sheepishly.

"Son, you can't be in here."

"Like I told them," Hewlett said, "I don't think I need an appointment."

"You can't just march into the building," the bishop admonished. "You need a reason to be here."

"I have a reason. I want to sit up here," he replied. "I've never sat up here before."

The bishop looked at the stake president then at his councilor. President Carlson shrugged, "He said he came in to get tithing envelopes."

"Well, that's not what he told me," the councilor complained. "He just marched in here like he owned the place."

"I don't think I have to give you or anyone an explanation," Hewlett said. "It's a church. I belong to this church. I should be able to come in if I want."

The bishop made his way up on the stand and sat next to Hewlett. "I called Laurie. She's leaving the kids with my wife and coming up here."

"Oh crap!" Hewlett cried out. Two-thirds of the stake presidency, his bishop—now his wife. Had the world gone insane?

The chapel doors burst open but it wasn't Laurie. It was Ben Miller, his home teacher. "Laurie called me," Ben said, jogging quickly up to the stand. "She's on her way. What's going on?"

"We're having a little trouble," the bishop explained. "Hewlett came in without permission and now he won't leave."

"He's not scheduled to be in the building," the councilor piped back.

The stake president then turned and walked away. "I'm going to go make a phone call," he called out. "I'll be right back."

Ben went up on the stand and sat by Hewlett. "Why are you here?" he asked. "Did you know you're missing a great game on TV?"

"Is that supposed to get me to leave?" Hewlett asked. "I'm not like you. I don't like sports."

Ben's mouth dropped open. "You don't like sports? I thought you liked sports. We always talk sports when I come over—"

"That's because *you* always talk about sports," he snapped. "I've never liked sports. Actually you and I have nothing in common. Never have. Never will."

Ben seemed to go limp in his chair. "All this time ..."

"He doesn't work at the post office, does he?" the second councilor muttered to the bishop. "I think he's going nuts. You know, he swore at me in here."

The doors burst open again. "Hewlett!" came a familiar cry. It was Laurie. "I'm so embarrassed," she whined making her way up the aisle.

"I'm not surprised," Hewlett said. "I've been an embarrassment to you for a long time."

"Can we go home?" she pleaded. "You're making a scene."

"I don't want to!" he snarled. "Is that OK with you? Is that OK with your father? Or should I call and get his permission first?"

"I already called him," she said. "He wants to talk to you. He's on the phone in the stake president's office. I gave him the number."

"I AM NOT GOING TO TALK TO HIM!" he screamed, clenching his fists. "You'll just have to run a line in here 'cause I'm not leaving!"

When the peal of his cry died down, a voice spoke up. "We have enough extra line," the councilor offered. "I could run it in here from the bishop's office then transfer the call."

"Please," Laurie begged. "If you could."

The councilor quickly spun on his heels and started out. "If it'll get him out of the building ..."

"This is insane," Hewlett fumed. "I'm not going to talk to your father. He'll just go on about how hard I should be working to make manager. I know how hard I'm supposed to be working. I don't need to be reminded every day. Maybe it's not something I really want to do. You ever thought of that? Did any of you think of that when you rammed all this down my throat eight years ago?"

"I am not going to be able to show my face at church tomorrow if you don't leave," she could only lament.

"Go ahead. Think of yourself," he answered. "Who cares what I think. Or how I feel."

She was flabbergasted. "What are you talking about? You're not supposed to be in here. Why can't you understand that? I understand it. Ben understands it. The bishop understands it—"

"I only wanted tithing envelopes!"

"You should have told them that. But no, you just marched right on in—"

"I shouldn't have to explain myself," Hewlett demanded. "How many times do I have to keep saying that? I shouldn't have to bow and scrape every time I want something!" He looked into his wife's eyes but found only contempt staring back. He turned to the bishop who still sat next to him. "What do you people think I'm going to do in here? Burn it down? Steal the tithing out of the clerk's office?"

The bishop just laughed and patted Hewlett on the back. "Heavens, no," he said. "We don't think that. It's just that there are rules. We can't just arbitrarily break them. Once you start doing that, you get yourself into all sorts of trouble. We'd have to let in every Tom, Dick, and Harry who wanted to come inside during the week. We can't have that."

"But what if it was you, Bishop," Hewlett asked, "and you came to the door and wanted inside. No one would have asked you a question. They would have just let you in."

"But they know me," the bishop said. "They don't know who you are."

"Exactly!" Hewlett yelled, jumping to his feet. He lashed out and kicked a hymn book on the floor. "Nobody knows who I am! You don't know who I am! Ben doesn't know who I am! Even Laurie—my own wife! She doesn't know who I am! I'm a nobody! I am invisible!"

The doors swung open. Again the stake president entered, this time, followed by two police officers packing guns, mace, and night sticks. President Carlson pointed to Hewlett as the officers made their way to the front of the chapel. "That's him," he said. "In the sweat pants with the grease stain on the leg."

"There's no way my father is going to take you on now," Laurie cried, tears running down her face. "You've ruined us! Forever!"

As he stared at the men in black, Hewlett considered telling the officers his side of the story. Still, he never doubted the police would drag him out. The choice between a businessman in a suit and the slovenly dressed assistant manager of a mini-mart was rhetorical. But, if he had a nice suit, maybe the police would have a harder time deciding who was right and who was wrong. And if he was the manager of the mini-mart and not just the assistant manager, he might stand a real chance of holding his ground. And maybe if he learned to mop and scrub with enthusiasm and get his promotion and go to work for his father-in-law, no one would ever ask Hewlett to explain himself. Still, if he hadn't listened to his father-in-law to begin with and told his wife how he really felt, he'd be writing books instead of writing on bathroom walls. Sure, maybe things would be different then.

Very different, he considered in the warm sun on that Saturday afternoon. Staring at the man insinuating himself in the church doorway, Hewlett politely asked, "May I come in? I need to get some tithing envelopes."

Multiply and Replenish

Casualene Meyer

Adam's sperm number
one hundred million per cubic centimeter,
hope he can comply with God's command.

Cain, Abel,
and one egg
each month
leave Eve doubtful
if at best
she can add
and relinquish.

More Than Just a Battle for the Ballot

Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896. Edited by Carol Cornwall Madsen (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997).

Reviewed by Janet Ellingson, Adjunct Assistant Professor of History, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

AMONG THE GREAT POLITICAL BATTLES in American history is the heroic struggle of women to gain a voice in government and to overthrow the state and federal barriers which prevented the exercise of women's rights. Women were enfranchised nationwide in 1920 with the adoption of the 19th Amendment. The familiar images from that battle include determined women leading street rallies, picketing the White House, initiating hunger strikes, and defiantly going to jail. In Utah, however, no such events occurred. The territorial legislature extended the franchise to women in 1870, virtually without any female petitions. Eight years after Congress disenfranchised all Utah women as a punitive element of the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act, delegates to Utah's constitutional convention included female suffrage in the state's constitution. Utah's Republicans and Democrats alike had female suffrage in their political platforms and the final vote on the measure was overwhelmingly positive.

Even though the vote came to Utah women with little opposition, *Battle for the Ballot: Essays on Woman*

Suffrage in Utah, 1870-1896, a collection of sixteen previously published essays, strives to give Utah women a determining role by making them fellow soldiers in the national battle. The cover illustration introduces this purpose with duplicate images of Susan B. Anthony, the president of the National Woman Suffrage Association. In an 1895 photograph Anthony is seated among unidentified western women; her image is repeated below the evocative title. Editor Carol Cornwall Madsen's introductory essay continues the connection with a summary of the nationwide fight for gender equality within legal and political systems that had no place for women. Madsen concludes that "gaining the vote, if nothing else, gave women an enduring symbol of the persistent determination of a few to win a constitutional right for all" (25).

Continuing this theme, Madsen included Emmeline B. Wells's and Susa Young Gates's histories of female political activity in Utah first published in the multi-volume national history, *The History of Woman Suffrage*. Wells attributes female suffrage to the aggressive female lobbying following the federal government's disenfranchisement of polygamists in 1882. Lola Van Wagenen, in "In Their Own Behalf: The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise," argues that LDS women were politically prepared for the suffrage battle be-

cause of their involvement in LDS Female Relief Society in Nauvoo, Illinois. Even though some LDS women were politically active, their activity came rather late, and was primarily focused on repeal of anti-polygamy legislation. The first meeting at which the women first debated female suffrage occurred on 19 February 1870, a week after the territorial legislature passed the suffrage bill. Lisa Bryner Bohman, in "A Fresh Perspective: The Woman Suffrage Associations of Beaver and Farmington, Utah," recognizes the difficulty suffrage associations had in recruiting and motivating women to participate in any political activities. The women of Beaver and Farmington seemed to enjoy more the sociability of the meetings and the opportunities perhaps of associating with the communities' elite women.

The determination to see Utah's female suffrage experience within the narrative of the national suffrage movement obfuscates the answers to two essential questions Kathryn MacKay raises in her foreword: why did female suffrage exist in the western territories and states decades prior to 1920; and why did it come at such an early date to the Mormons, a people governed by a theocratic male hierarchy? The answer is not found in the concerted efforts of nineteenth-century Utah women. Nor was it because Mormons were especially enlightened on the subject.

In her 1920s history Susa Young Gates repeats George C. Cannon's thesis that the vote came to Mormon women as a natural extension of their voice in ecclesiastical affairs. Thomas Alexander restates this untenable thesis in his 1970 centennial essay, "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage

in Utah in 1870." As Alexander writes history, Mormons extended the vote to women in 1870 because they were "simply in advance of the rest of the nation and because of their experience and beliefs, the Mormons were willing to move in where others feared to tread" (113). Mormons believed in "the perfectibility of man, the need for equality in the community, and the high place of women in Mormon society" (113). Alexander apparently equates casting a ballot in a congressional election with the perfunctory show of approval by a raised hand in LDS conferences. Even within Mormonism's wildly democratic days of the early 1830s, only men who had been ordained to church offices were counted among the "official" members. Women freely attended public conferences, but they did not attend the meetings at which elders debated and decided matters of policy and church appointments. After the formation of priesthood quorums in 1835, quorum leaders excluded even ordained men from ecclesiastical power, thus effectively ending what at least had been a male democracy. Jill Mulvay Derr nicely counters Alexander's simplistic view of gender equality in "Eliza R. Snow and the Woman Question."

A more satisfactory explanation for female suffrage comes from Beverly Beeton, who in her essay, "Women Suffrage in Territorial Utah," identifies the debates over female suffrage as political debates that turned on whether the female vote would advance or hinder a specific political cause. In Utah female suffrage had everything to do with polygamy. First proposed by eastern politicians who hoped that Utah women would use the ballot to end polygamy, territorial legislators passed the measure with an as-

surance that just the opposite would occur. Within the territory, dissident Mormons were the first to publicly support female suffrage. Mormon leaders did not initiate the measure and Mormon woman had little to say until after its passage, when Eliza R. Snow sent a letter of appreciation to Governor Stephen Mann, who had signed the bill into law. Beeton also presents evidence to counter the popular notion that female suffrage was part of Brigham Young's plan to dilute the growing power of non-Mormons in Utah. Dilution was unnecessary. Between 1870 and 1896 "the Mormon men alone outnumbered the non-Mormon men four to one" (129).

As did most nineteenth-century middle-class men and women, Mormons embraced the Anglo-American ideology of female moral authority. Women were the natural agents of social improvement; therefore, their access to the ballot would facilitate a middle-class political agenda that included restrictions on liquor consumption, child labor laws, mandatory education, and immigration reform. This ideology is evident in Jean Bickmore White's essays "Gentle Persuaders: Utah's First Women Legislators" and "Woman's Place Is in the Constitution: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Utah in 1895." In the latter essay, White examines the debates on female suf-

frage that occurred during the constitutional convention. Although suffrage supporters used moral arguments, the opposition did not. In spite of the strong support for the issue among the delegates, Brigham H. Roberts forcefully opposed female suffrage because he believed it would undermine congressional approval of the state's proposed constitution.

Rather than see female suffrage as the result of Mormons' enlightened view of gender equality and morality, or that Utah women were ardent and persuasive suffragettes, we should recognize that women in Utah voted because the political forces that prevented female suffrage nationwide did not exist in the West. Utah had no powerful liquor lobby that feared voting women would enact severe restrictions on the distribution and consumption of liquor. Prohibition and female suffrage came into the federal constitution virtually hand in hand. This is not an historical coincidence. When the liquor lobby died, so too did the opposition to female suffrage. In this respect, the history of female suffrage in Utah has a great deal to offer the analysis of why women fought fiercely for the vote in eastern states. Historians of Utah women will contribute little to the national history, however, if they continue to see Utah's experience as just a battle for the ballot.

Quilts as Women's History

Quilts and Women of the Mormon Migrations: Treasures of Transition. By Mary Bywater Cross (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1996).

Gathered in Time: Utah Quilts and Their Makers, Settlement to 1950. Edited by Kate Covington (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997).

Reviewed by Judy Elsley, Associate Professor, Department of English, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah.

WOMEN'S HISTORY GOT SHORT SHRIFT when the telling of the past focused entirely on wars and laws, but increasingly, as attention is being paid to the domestic history of day-to-day lives, historians are recovering women's stories. *Quilts and Women of the Mormon Migrations* and *Gathered in Time* contribute to this new wealth of information by telling amazing stories of some of the first white women to settle Utah. Those stories are told through the quilts they made.

Although they were produced independently, these two books complement each other as a way to tell the history of Utah women. Both books focus primarily on the Mormon immigration to the state, telling the story from the women's point of view through extant quilts and the stories of their makers.

Each quilt and maker is given two facing pages in both books, with a full-size color photo of the quilt on the right page and a description of the quilt, its maker, and her story on the left. Both books thus recognize that the story of a particular quilt cannot be separated from the story of the maker's life, for often the most eloquent text of a woman's life was her quilts and what they said for and about her. The woman who did not pick up a pen might well ply a needle, so historians must look to textiles as much as to texts when they search for women's history.

The full color illustrations display a stunning range and variety of quilts, from whole cloth to appliqué, pieced blocks to crazy quilts in cottons, silks, and wool fabrics. The range and art-

istry of the quilts speak visually to the creative energy of these impressive women, with the quilts shown off to their best advantage through the richly colored illustrations of these two large format books. Just leafing through the books without ever reading the text is a treat.

Wherever possible, both books show photographs of the makers. While the black-and-white photo of the quiltmaker often displays a serious face, the hair pulled back, and the mark of hard work and sorrow on her face, the woman's quilt frequently dances with color, movement, and joy. Making these wonderful quilts was perhaps an antidote to the often difficult and sorrowful lives the women lived as they moved to new territory, lost husbands and children, and created homes out of nothing. The reader comes away from both books deeply impressed by the strength, courage, hard work, and fortitude of women who lived difficult lives in hard times.

The differences between these two books are as interesting as the similarities. While Covington's *Gathered in Time* is concerned entirely with the personal history of the quilts and their makers, Bywater Cross, in *Quilts and Women of the Mormon Migrations*, sets the quilts and their makers in the larger historical context of the Mormon migration, giving a lot of background information as well as statistics and tables supporting the history.

Bywater Cross's primary source of information was the International Society of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, the owner of most of the quilts she selected. Her close work with this organization of women who trace their heritage back to the first Mormon pio-

neers is reflected in a full-page letter of validation at the beginning of the book from the president and museum director of the Salt Lake City branch of the organization.

The quilts selected for *Gathered in Time* resulted from a series of Documentation Days, held in twenty-six locations across Utah over a period of six years from 1988 to 1994. On each Documentation Day, the Utah Quilt Heritage Corporation invited local people to bring their quilts to a community center where they were photographed and documented. Volunteers followed up by interviewing the owners of quilts that had particular artistic or historic interest, and this book represents a selection of those quilts and interviews. The Utah Quilt Heritage Corporation is following the precedent set by a number of states which have documented local quilts and quiltmakers in this valuable grass roots way. A state-wide exhibition and book usually come out of such a project, and *Gathered in Time* is the Utah book.

As a result of these diverse approaches to gathering material, the stories in the two books take differing forms. Bywater Cross's biographies tell primarily the external history of birth, marriage, children born, moving from one place to another, and death. Because the story tellers in Covington's *Gathered in Time* are often descendants of the quiltmaker, the biographies are more personal. We are told, for example, that Eunice Reeser Brown's family spent their first winter in Manti, Utah, in 1849 "in a cave dug into the hillside, a home they quickly abandoned in the spring when hundreds of rattlesnakes began crawling from their nests in the warming earth" (2). The story may be apocryphal, but it gives a vivid picture of what life

must have been like for this pioneer woman. While Bywater Cross provides few such personal stories, her book is carefully supported by documentation of the various Mormon migrations.

The difference between the anecdotal style of Covington's book and the less personal style of Bywater Cross's book can be seen most clearly when the same maker and quilt appear in both books. For example, while Bywater Cross describes Elizabeth Terry Heward as overcoming "an unfortunate marriage in Canada" (39), the *Gathered in Time* author tells us more candidly that she "lived two very different lives in the course of her sixty-four years on earth: the first as the lonely wife of an often drunk and abusive innkeeper, the other as the valued companion of an honest, hardworking farmer ..." (6). Together, the two books provide both the individual and larger context of these particular women's lives.

Do these two books tell a full history of women in Utah? Like any history, there are gaps and silences. Both books, for example, focus almost entirely on white, Mormon women. Historians increasingly include such minorities as Chinese, Native American, African American, and Hispanic settlers in the history of Utah, groups whose stories have been overshadowed by the dominance of the Mormon immigration. Although it does not fall within the purview of either book, it would be interesting to know more about the non-Mormon, non-Caucasian women settlers who undoubtedly also made quilts.

We must also remember that most preserved quilts were "best" quilts, many of which were never used but made as show-pieces. Utility quilts,

unlike the show piece quilts, were made to be used, and as a result were used up. Neither the photographs of the women in their Sunday best nor their show-piece quilts can fully reflect the day-to-day working lives of these women.

These two books, then, give us a glimpse of a particular group of women's lives, a piece of the patchwork that made up the complex whole of a lived life. If we hope to find women's stories, we are certainly looking in the right place when we turn to the domestic scene and the quilts that

represent that realm of life. However, although we can "read" the quilted textiles as texts, there is always also as much silence and ambiguity stitched into them as there are stories to be told. Even though the stories are incomplete, the authors of both books deserve our thanks for the labor of love that led to the publication of these two books. Both books help us to acknowledge and honor the pioneer women who paved the way for many of us who now live in the state of Utah.

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