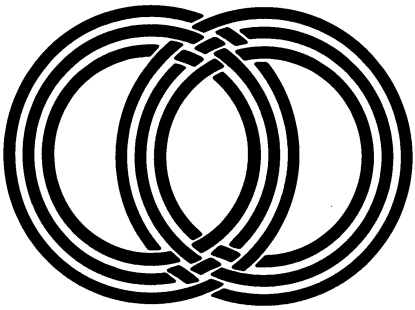
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

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"Coming Out" Again

Many thanks to *Dialogue* for publishing Edwin Firmage's "Seeing the Stranger as Enemy: Coming Out" (Winter 1997). It's not every day that one reads about a noted legal scholar (and, forgive me, an "old white man" to boot) rolling around on the floor of his office, laughing and dancing with a lesbian folk singer, and imagining that Brigham Young might do the same.

After my initial reading of this essay, I found my rejoicing tempered with some puzzlement—how did this anecdote (and others like it) fit in with Thomas Merton, Primo Levi, and the high-toned discourses of law and theology the author plied to the issue of Mormon homophobia? I realized, finally, that Firmage was indeed "coming out"—testifying to the highly personal, even physical dimensions of his struggle to overcome the bonds of ignorance and fear.

Those of us who call ourselves "Mormon feminists" are (like gays and lesbians, and people of color) well accustomed to telling our stories, revealing details of indignities suffered, opening to scrutiny our intimate relationships with God and with other human beings, in front of audiences both friendly and hostile. The act is never an easy one. And rarely are our confessions met with gestures of solidarity. Our auditors are more likely to judge, masking their privilege as "rationality" or "critical method."

In pretending no such critical distance, Brother Firmage demonstrates that the work of building a mutually flourishing community requires vulnerability, sacrifice, and self-examination by all. If his 1989 "Conciliation" address was answered with death threats, let his "Coming Out" be met with amens and blessings. Mine among them.

Joanna Brooks
Los Angeles, California

Building the Kingdom with Total Honesty

I enjoyed and empathized very much with Robert Anderson's article on "The Dilemma of the Mormon Rationalist," and appreciated the response of Allen Roberts, both in the winter 1997 issue. I wish to comment on two of President Hinckley's recent statements cited by Roberts.

The first was President Hinckley's response to questions asked by the national media about the Mormon doctrines of God having once been a man, and about the potential of humans to become gods (on p. 99). Roberts found Hinckley's responses, which seemed to be questioning the validity of these ideas, to be "refreshingly honest and human." However, I believe his equivocating to be just an extension of Mormon leaders' efforts since the turn of the century to publicly distance the church from its more radical teachings, in order to make it appear more mainstream. It's difficult for me to imagine that President Hinckley seriously questions doctrines which have been central to the Mormon concepts of God and man ever since Joseph Smith proclaimed them in Nauvoo. The second statement of President Hinckley referred to by Roberts was his seemingly callous dismissal of the five intellectuals excommunicated by the church, explaining "... that given the baptism of hundreds of thousands of new members that year, the loss of five was insignificant" (on p.

100). Roberts wonders if "the worth of souls is no longer great in the eyes of God." I wondered the same thing many years ago as a result of my own inquiries of the brethren regarding an issue then troubling me. Ironically, that issue also concerned church leaders' public equivocation on the topic of the Mormon doctrine of God.

For several years, beginning with challenges presented to me in the mission field, I had been struggling with the many conflicting statements of church leaders about the Adam-God doctrine. Initially, I deemed the subject to be one of those dangerous "mysteries" best left to the proverbial "backburner." Much new provocative material on the subject was coming to light in the mid-1970s through the early 1980s, however, and was being used very effectively by anti-Mormons to attack the church and its leaders. Concerned, and feeling my own testimony challenged, I wrote a letter to President Spencer W. Kimball in the summer of 1980, asking why he, as well as Mark E. Petersen, Bruce R. McConkie, and other general authorities, had been so vocally denouncing the Adam-God doctrine, while at the same time denying that Brigham Young had been the source of the idea, when there was an abundance of good evidence to the contrary (for example, see Kimball, *Ensign*, Nov. 1975, 77: Petersen, *Adam: Who Is He?* [Deseret Book, 1976], 7, 13-24; and McConkie, "Adam-God Theory," *Mormon Doctrine* [Bookcraft, 1966], 18; "The Seven Deadly Heresies," *1980 Devotional Speeches of the Year* [BYU Press, 1981]). I pointed out that this approach created a double dilemma for church members aware of the facts: first, how a prophet (Brigham) could claim as revelation and promote to the church an idea deemed by later leaders to be a dangerous heresy: and, second, why later church leaders would dishonestly deny the true source of the "heresy," claiming it originated with "enemies of the church." Neither proposition felt very comfortable to me, a faithful member raised to believe that church leaders, particularly the prophet, could never lead the church astray, and that they were honorable, trustworthy men. I indicated in my letter, and truly believed it at the time, that I felt this dilemma was simply the result of a misunderstanding or lack of information on the part of the brethren. I suggested that a thorough investigation of the subject might be undertaken by the church historian's office to provide better information to the general authorities.

My letter received no response, and in that fall's general conference both brothers Petersen and McConkie again spoke out strongly against the Adam-God doctrine in their usual forceful manner (see *Ensign*, Nov. 1980, 16-18, 50-52). Dismayed, I phoned the First Presidency's office and spoke with their secretary, Michael Watson, about my letter, asking why I hadn't received a response. He indicated that the brethren had intended to write to me, with the recommendation that I read Mark E. Petersen's book *Adam: Who Is He?*, but when it was pointed out that I had already read the book, and felt it to be part of the problem, they felt they had nothing else they could say to me. Giving them the benefit of the doubt, I felt I had somehow failed to properly communicate the problem. At Michael Watson's prompting, I met with an informal committee answering to Mark E. Petersen, which had been set up to help members confronted with issues

raised by fundamentalist Mormons (the Adam-God doctrine being one of the chief of these). I'll spare you the details here, but the net result of my meetings with these people began to make me realize that Brother Petersen wasn't acting out of ignorance of the facts regarding the Adam-God problem, and neither was Bro. McConkie. I still wondered about the extent of President Kimball's knowledge of the subject, however. I suspected that my letter had never reached him.

In February 1981 I again phoned Michael Watson, and urged him to grant me a personal interview, which he did. He was surprisingly candid with me, revealing that my letter to President Kimball had been forwarded to Mark E. Petersen. Brother Watson showed me a memo written by Brother Petersen to the First Presidency with his recommendations as to how to respond to me. He informed them that the issues I had raised were real, that Brigham Young had indeed taught these things, but that they could not acknowledge this lest I would "trap them" into saying this therefore meant Brigham was a false prophet (which, of course, they did not believe). He therefore recommended that I be given a very circuitous response, evading the issue, which he volunteered to write. I asked Brother Watson, as well as members of the committee I had previously met with, how this approach would help people like myself who knew better? Wasn't there concern that some might be dismayed and disillusioned by their church leaders' lack of candor? Their response was very similar to President Hinckley's statement mentioned earlier about losing a few through excommunication: they said, in essence, "If a few people lose their testimonies over this, so be it; it's better than letting the true facts be known, and dealing with the probable wider negative consequences to the mission of the church." I said, "What about Jesus' parable where the shepherd leaves the ninety and nine of his flock to pursue the one who has gone astray?" Again the response was that the brethren had to be more concerned for the majority of the flock.

Since it became abundantly clear to me that I would never find the answers I was seeking from church leaders, I continued to pursue the subject on my own. The end results were three essays published in *Sunstone* and *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, two of which were later published in *Line Upon Line: Essays on Mormon Doctrine*, edited by Gary Bergera and published by Signature Books (cited by Anderson, 80n35). So it is from this perspective that I have difficulty accepting at face value President Hinckley's hedging about the Mormon doctrine of God. I have it on very good authority that building the kingdom is a greater priority than total honesty. Joseph Smith had already set that precedent with his public denials about polygamy when he was secretly practicing it in Nauvoo. The ends justify the means. And looking back on this episode now, I see how incredibly naive it was of me to expect it to be otherwise.

Boyd Kirkland
Newhall, California

Dilemmas Everywhere

I suppose it is useful periodically to revisit the basic differences between the "rationalist" and "fundamentalist" understandings of religion, including Mormonism, even though the

great majority of Mormons cannot fairly be characterized as representing either one of these viewpoints totally ("The Dilemma of the Mormon Rationalist," Winter 1997). Both strains have always been present in the LDS heritage, with first one and then the other seemingly dominant in the leadership and in the culture more generally. It is a predicament that has been discussed in the pages of *Dialogue* regularly, if in somewhat different ways, at least since Richard Poll cast it in terms of the "iron rod" vs. the "liahona" mindset thirty years ago. Even if there is nothing new here, perhaps each new generation of readers is entitled to express its disillusionment upon discovering the same predicament.

Yet I find it somewhat surprising that apparently mature and sophisticated thinkers would expect Mormonism or any other religion to find its justification in rationality, whatever may be the claims of its advocates. Religion is but one way of satisfying the common human tendency to place faith in the "unfalsifiable"—that is, in that which cannot readily be disproved ("the substance of things hoped for"). That is a characteristic which religion shares, incidentally, with psychoanalysis: both invite their clients to accept definitions of reality that can neither be proved nor disproved but which hold the promise of enhanced understanding of oneself and one's place in the universe. Retrospective accounts of religious conversion, and testimonies of lives changed for the better through such conversion, have their counterparts in clinical accounts of enhanced social and emotional functioning by clients who will offer testimonials to the benefits of psychoanalysis. Religion and psychoanalysis both are thus not so much "irrational" as *non*-rational in their truth-claims. The same might be said for other forms of "unfalsifiable" faith that people exhibit in astrology, regular gambling, or even remarriage ("the triumph of hope over experience")! There are but few of us who do not invest our time, treasure, and/or energy in *some* causes or enterprises for which the "pay-off" is so far in the future, or so uncertain, as to be ultimately tests of faith. In any of these enterprises, disillusionment is constantly lurking in experience, or in the discovery that the initial promises (or premises) were misrepresented, even if by well-meaning advocates. To expect any religion to function outside of such common human experience is to expect too much.

Nor should anyone be surprised to find in religious communities certain organizational imperatives similar to those operating in other communities, including the periodic deference to authority over truth. Actually, it is rare that there is only one "truth" in historical or other accounts, so the role of authority is to determine what the *operative* truth shall be in a community. To see that as a process affecting a particular religious organization is again to overlook a much more common social predicament. Even in scientific "communities" or disciplines, which, after all, might be expected to operate at the peak of rationality, history illustrates repeatedly that major "paradigm shifts" are often made in defiance of the "conventional wisdom," which is enforced by the authority of the leaders of the discipline. Even Galileo, let us not forget, was as much out of step with the scientific authorities of his day as with the church authorities. Freud's early struggles

with the medical authorities of his day would be another illustration. Even today a study across time of the diagnostic manual used in psychiatry and psychology would show drastically different "authoritative" diagnoses now, in DSM-IV, from those which have appeared in earlier versions (e.g., for homosexuality); and practitioners have always disputed the "established" definitions and diagnoses at their political and professional peril. Not all "excommunications" occur in ecclesiastical courts.

All of these common traits in human social life might well present "dilemmas" for the rationalist that are more difficult to tolerate in religious communities than in others, or for some individuals than for others. Like other common human predicaments, they should make all of us sympathetic with each other's anguish as we each work through our feelings and our church relationships as best we can. Active church membership entails a somewhat different "cost-benefit" assessment for each of us. We must extend our love and understanding, not our condescension or condemnation, to those who can no longer deal with these dilemmas and opt to leave active church life; those who are still hanging in and struggling are entitled to the same, of course. Yet no one should be surprised at finding these dilemmas in the LDS church or in any other community.

Armand L. Mauss
Pullman, Washington

A Warm, Grateful Feeling

I am grateful for the decision to publish critical biblical scholarship in *Dialogue.* John Meier, whose work appeared in the winter 1997 and spring 1998 issues, is legendary, and I have enjoyed his writings over the years.

When I was a young missionary in Spain in 1972, I contracted hepatitis, requiring of me a two-week quarantine, followed by a two-week recuperation. Hepatitis made me yellow and tired, but I otherwise felt fine. I determined to study the four Gospels intensely during this hiatus; it turned out to be an effort that changed my life.

Principally, I concluded that the Gospel of John was not a history at all. I wasn't sure what it was at the time, but I was certain that "John" had never heard about the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels, and vice versa. I was disturbed by this discovery, enough to compel me to a degree in philosophy and a life resolved to searching for truth. I became a trial lawyer along the way, but I've always remained my biggest case, constantly weighing the evidence and searching for the appropriate perspective for life. Even while serving as a bishop for years, I was probably the most tentative Judge in Israel around, quite unwilling to define testimony or knowledge.

If there had been a Lazarus, the event of his rising from the dead would have been too noteworthy to have been missed by the synoptic authors. John's Jesus never spoke one parable, was probably never born, was omniscient, declared "I am" sayings and his own divinity, and experienced post-resurrection events at complete odds with the other accounts. It seems, except for an occasional Marcan reference, there is no correlation at all with the other Gospels. James Talmage's efforts notwithstanding, any attempt to harmonize the two major traditions is, at best, in

vain and, at worst, dishonest. Critical scholarship allows for the study of scripture in an atmosphere of sincerity and honesty.

Meier is most accurate in placing Nazareth as the birthplace of Jesus. The two Gospel accounts are irreconcilable on this matter, and bear such similarity to both pagan and Hebrew archetypes that they may be easily rejected as nonhistorical. Meier is also likely correct in his identifying Jesus as an apocalyptic, radical prophet; without this fact about Jesus, his disciples could not have coalesced into the eventual Christianity which followed. The Jesus Seminar's reliance on "Q" to reach a contrary conclusion is misplaced.

However, Marcus Borg, John Dominic Crossan, and the Jesus Seminar lay claim to the better rationale as to Jesus' last days. Why insist that Jesus' riding the donkey into Jerusalem is historical, when two generations had pondered the relevance of Zechariah 9:9 before the matter was reduced to writing? Why lay any credence to midnight court proceedings which, obviously, no disciple of Jesus could have witnessed? The Jesus Seminar is correct in relying upon evidence extraneous to the Gospels in order to explain these events in Jesus' life for numerous sound reasons.

I admire Meier's and others' efforts to discover the historical Jesus. No one of these critical scholars can be totally correct; but collectively Jesus' reality is most ably considered. I read them all; I am encouraged to continue to understand Jesus and the human efforts to define him in the Gospels. My first book of critical New Testament scholarship was the late Morton Smith's *Jesus the Magician.* While I accepted only some of his conclusions, I still get a warm, grateful feeling for his opening to me a grand vista of scholarship, just when my own traditional resources for study seemed so narrow, dead-ended, restrictive, and untenable. Thanks Mr. Smith, Mr. Meier, Mr. Crossan, Mr. Sanders, and all the rest.

Lane J. Wolfley
Port Angeles, Washington

True Intolerance

I found personally offensive and exceedingly unperceptive the effort of Reed Neil Olsen in the spring 1998 issue to tar Jessie Embry with the filthy brush of "ironic hypocrisy" and "intolerance and prejudice" by swiping her with my review of Leslie Reynolds's *Mormons in Transition* for statements in her review of Altman's and Ginat's *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society* in the fall 1997 issue. Perhaps he did not realize that there is a qualitative difference between attaching the label "Christian" to all who believe they are saved through Christ's atonement and attaching the label "Mormon" to contemporary polygamists. In most areas where the LDS church has wards and branches, the practice of Christianity is not a crime. Anyone may worship Christ and the law not only does not object, it protects them. By contrast, in much of the same area, polygamous marriage is illegal.

Unless he is absolutely ignorant, Olsen must be aware that in common discourse most people use the term "Mormon" to refer to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. LDS church leaders try to discourage this terminology, and have for some time tried not to refer to themselves in print as Mormons. This has

had little effect since most people, including most Latter-day Saints, refer to us as Mormons.

Contrary to Olsen's charges, the problem with categorizing polygamists as "Mormons" for those who do not share the prejudice he condemns is legality and practicality rather than hypocrisy and intolerance. At least since 1904, members of the LDS church have tried—often, unfortunately, with little success—to convince others that we have abandoned the illegal practice of polygamy and that we now generally try to live as Christian monogamists and as law-abiding citizens. When scholars like Altman and Ginat or, more frequently, popular journalists use the term "Mormon" to refer to those who practice polygamy, they imply in the mind of many readers (however unintentionally) that members of the LDS church also practice polygamy, that we are unchristian, and that we are criminals.

Anyone who has spent much time outside of areas with large populations of Latter-day Saints, and particularly those who have served as missionaries, will understand the practical problem. Simply stated, the linking of the term "Mormon" with "polygamous families" generates prejudice against us.

One example from my own mission will illustrate the point. In addition to the usual charges made by people we met while tracting, on one occasion we found the popular perception reinforced through the linking of the terms "polygamist" and "Mormon" on posters plastered throughout German cities. The Harlem Globetrotters were making a tour through the country at the time, and their advertisements carried the notice that they would play the House of David, a team made up of "Mormons," each of whom had, the poster said, brought two wives along. Our mission president objected and many of the posters were covered or taken down, but not before the message had reinforced an unfortunate public prejudice.

Under such circumstances, it becomes exceedingly difficult to get past the perception that Mormons are unchristian criminals before missionaries can give people the message of the restored gospel.

Personally, I have no problem, and I expect that Jessie would have none, if others who trace their teachings to Joseph Smith and who try to live law-abiding lives were to call themselves "Mormons," or if scholars and others were to call them such. I suspect, however, that many do not wish to be called by that name. Many members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, for instance, prefer not to be called "Mormons." I would not object if many of the fine Evangelical Christians I know called themselves "Mormons," though they would undoubtedly prefer to be called Baptists, Nazarenes, or Pentacostals.

There are, of course, numerous examples of intolerance and prejudice among the Latter-day Saints. Before 1978 much of it was directed against African Americans; some of it still is. There are far too many instances of persecution of Protestants and Catholics in Mormon-dominated areas. More to the point, Mormons direct a great deal of prejudice against fundamentalists who practice polygamy. It is very difficult for many to deplore the illegality of their polygamous marriages while respecting the people for their religious beliefs. There is, nevertheless, a qualitative difference be-

tween insisting on tolerance for those otherwise law-abiding people who break out of religious conviction on the one hand, and insisting that Latter-day Saints who do not practice polygamy are intolerant and hypocritical because we decline to categorize them with ourselves as "Mormons." We simply do not wish to have our religion associated with an illegal activity.

Moreover, Jessie Embry is hardly the right target for Olsen's wrath. Jessie is one of the least hypocritical and most tolerant people I have ever met. She has gone out of her way to befriend African Americans and Hispanics, and she met and conversed with numerous members of polygamous families as she did research for her book *Life in the Principle.* She served as president of the John Whitmer Historical Association, the bulk of whose members belongs to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Olsen and others who rightly deplore intolerance, prejudice, and hypocrisy might serve their causes more effectively if they found real examples rather than fabricate bogus instances out of whole cloth.

Thomas G. Alexander
Provo, Utah

The Times—They Are Still A' Changin'

Martha Sonntag Bradley

WHEN ALLEN ROBERTS AND I BEGAN our tenure with *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* in 1992, it was a craze-filled time, not unlike that of the 1960s—the debate over academic freedom at Brigham Young University, the excommunications of the "September Six," the LDS church's condemnation of participation in the Sunstone Symposium, or even the discouragement BYU faculty members felt from publishing in either *Sunstone* or *Dialogue* created a sort of tension in Mormon studies that was slow to dissipate. We stepped into our roles as editors of this journal believing that we would steer it through what might be troubled waters and, perhaps more importantly, that the direction we pointed our vessel would matter, that it would make a huge difference.

When we first met with Ross and Kay Peterson, *Dialogue*'s previous editors, they showed us their offices and talked to us about the joys and difficulties that came with running *Dialogue.* Ross said the journal was largely driven by submissions. I didn't believe him. I believed instead, somewhat naively, that the journal would take on the shape of our vision, our dreams of a more inclusive community, of better ways of being together in this amorphous world of Mormonism.

I have spent considerable time recently thumbing through the issues we tried so carefully to produce and have realized that in large measure he was right. I am proud of what we have done, although our choices have sometimes met with criticism. We have tried to provide a place where voices not always heard in this "dialogue" have been included, a greater variety has sometimes graced our pages.

I miss the historical articles written by BYU professors, the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute fellows and others, the essays written by those who have chosen for whatever reason not to appear next to an ever more diverse grouping. But it has not been by design. We have invited many to write, but our issues are largely shaped by what came to us and what we thought represented the best in that group.

In all of it, scripture studies and personal essays, fiction and historical studies alike, I am moved by how earnestly we Mormons try to understand what our lives mean, where we fit into the universe, and how we might better live.

There is a wonderful passage in Barry Lopez's book *Arctic Dreams* in which he considers the many valuable lessons we might learn from the earth, from the natural world around us.

> One of the oldest dreams of mankind is to find a dignity that might include all living things. And one of the greatest of human longings must be to bring such dignity to one's own dreams, for each to find his or her own life exemplary in some way. The struggle to do this is a struggle because an adult sensibility must find some way to include all the dark threads of life. ... The dignity we seek is one beyond that articulated by Enlightenment philosophers. A more radical Enlightenment is necessary, in which dignity is understood as an innate quality, not as something tendered by someone outside.

He continues: "The other phrase that comes to mind is more obscure. It is the Latin motto from the title banner of the *North Georgia Gazette:* per freta hactenus negata, meaning to have negotiated a strait the very existence of which has been denied. But it also suggests a continuing movement through unknown waters. It is, simultaneously, an expression of fear and accomplishment, the cusp on which human life finds its richest expression."

What has been most striking and moving to me as we have read hundreds of articles, essays, and stories submitted to *Dialogue* is this very effort—this longing to bring dignity to our lives and to enable others to do the same. The second notion is the idea that this often takes us through very difficult terrain, places that some deny exist or would be possible to traverse. As frightening and as dangerous a prospect as it might feel at times, it is well worth the risk and the effort. It is the depths we probe, the most difficult and challenging walls we climb which make life, as Lopez says, find its richest expression.

Native American writer N. Scott Momaday, in an essay about the way his grandmother enriched his life with her stories, describes the power of carefully chosen words and the way those words and ideas help us span the gaps that divide us as human beings. He writes:

> When she told me those old stories, something strange and good and powerful was going on. I was a child, and that old woman was asking me to come directly into the presence of her mind and spirit; she was taking hold of my imagination, giving me to share in the great fortune of her wonder and delight. She was asking me to go with her to the confrontation of something that was sacred and eternal. It was a timeless, timeless thing; nothing of her old age or of my childhood came between us.

I think when one of us submits our work for publication, it requires a monumental act of trust. We assume that our work will be scrutinized, measured perhaps against certain standards we hold in common about excellence, care, and interpretation. We ask that it be respectfully and thoughtfully considered. In the way Momaday describes, we also ask others (an audience we presumably respect) to come "into the presence" of our minds and spirits, to try to see the world or our history or what we care about from our vantage point. I value this experience and consider it one of the great benefits of having worked with *Dialogue,* and to have shared it with others has made the experience more meaningful.

It has also been a great privilege to have worked with such fine men as Allen Roberts and Gary Bergera. Allen's probing and fine-tuned mind has pushed us always to wait for the stronger article, the more carefully written or interpreted piece; his own standards of excellence have touched everything we have done. His fine sense of what is beautiful and aesthetically of value has brought the level of art produced in *Dialogue* to a new height. We are proud of our covers, the art that has graced our pages, and the variety it represents. Our timeliness and regular production schedule have been Gary's work. His editing and recommendations to authors have improved the quality of work we have published. Besides that, I consider Gary one of the finest human beings I have been privileged to know. He is a true and constant friend.

The past six years have also been years of great loss—many of our own mentors and friends have died—including Lowell Bennion, Sterling McMurrin, Delmont Oswald, Lowell Durham, Robert Paul, and Sam Taylor—each taught us by his example to care about the quality of the lives we live and what we bring to each other as members of this community.

The members of our editorial board—Susan Howe, John Sillito, Alan Smith, Bill Mulder, and Michael Homer—have been tireless in their efforts to improve the quality of the journal, and we acknowledge their important contribution. We also appreciate the fine technical and creative work provided by Warren Archer, our art director, and Mark J. Malcolm, the production manager.

Unlike so many returned missionaries who stand before congregations and emotionally describe their missions as the best two years of their lives, I am at a loss to know how best to describe these years with *Dialogue.* It has certainly been an interesting time. To describe it as a profoundly moving experience is so vague as to lose a sense of what it has meant to me on a personal level. I value the "dialogue" that has transpired; it will stay with me and, I believe, make me a better person.

But "the times, they are a' changin'." In some ways the next editors of *Dialogue* have been preparing for this new challenge for decades—both Neal and Rebecca Chandler are writers—Neal a well known writer of fic-

tion, and Becky a master teacher of English at Laurel School, a private school for girls in Shaker Heights, Ohio.

It seems appropriate that, in the wake of all the hoopla about the Mormon trek west, *Dialogue* should make the trek back East, missing Kirtland by a hair and landing instead in Cleveland with the Chandlers. We believe this move will strengthen *Dialogue* and pump new life and energy into the enterprise.

Neal Chandler is the director of the Creative Writing Program at Cleveland State University where he also teaches fiction writing, playwriting, and English composition. Since 1995 he has been business manager of the Cleveland State University Poetry Center, an important publisher of contemporary poetry. Since 1990 he has been director of Imaginations, a successful writers' workshop and conference held annually in Cleveland. He serves as a board member for the CSU Poetry Center, Writers' Conferences and Festivals, the Writers' Center of Greater Cleveland, and on the editorial board of *Weber Studies.* He has been a frequent presenter at Sunstone symposia, and his essays and short stories have appeared in *Sunstone, Dialogue,* and *Weber Studies.*

Rebecca Worthen Chandler's B.A is in history. She holds an M.Ed. degree from Brigham Young University, and has her own editing company: Works in Progress. Her many editing projects include the summer 1980 issue of *Exponent II* and various other newsletters and publications. Her essays and short stories have been published in *Dialogue, Sunstone, Exponent II,* the *Ensign,* and the *New Era.* She has taught in high schools and middle schools in Ohio and Utah, and has taught English composition and teacher education at Cleveland State and Brigham Young universities. For six years she was director of Laurel's Gifted Writers' Workshop, and she currently directs and coaches Laurel's writing team in Ohio's Power of the Pen competition. In 1995 her team won the state championship. Neal and Becky have eight children and six grandchildren.

Beginning with the spring 1999 issue, their first as new editors, we wish them godspeed as they chart *Dialogue*'s future course.

A *Dialogue* Retrospective

Allen Dale Roberts

LOOKING BACK AT *DIALOGUE* from a perspective of six years seems to me a lot like looking at my six-year-old child and wondering how she grew so fast and unpredictably, while pondering where the time went. It really does seem like just a short time ago that Marti Bradley and I took the baton from Mary Kay and Ross Peterson at the reception honoring their five-year stint as editors (Winter 1987-Winter 1992). I recall the mixed expectations I had back then—part familiarity due to my own five years of *Dialogue* experience with Jack and Linda Newell and Lavina Fielding Anderson, and part newness and a sense of optimism that we, too, had something unique and important to contribute. It was a sort of self-calling, supported more tenuously than we might have liked due to a complex and extended selection process. Still, once the "mantle" had descended, with it came a sense of responsibility to the trust that had been given to us. At the same time, we believed that as the LDS church itself was changing as it grew, *Dialogue*, too, needed to grow and move forward.

One issue we addressed early on was if *Dialogue* should be mainly an interpreter or reflector of church life and culture or if it should serve a larger role in trying to improve the Mormon experience by providing constructive criticism and advocating progressive change. Some among our group felt it might be inappropriate to move away from a strictly academic, juried approach, patterned after university periodicals whose role it is to inform dispassionately with evidence, logic, and plenty of footnotes. I enjoy good theological discourse and history pieces as much as anyone, and they remain the cornerstones of *Dialogue*'s literary foundation, but ours is a social gospel of interacting people, personally moved by ideas, sometimes lofty, sometimes otherwise. The dialogue about how ideas influence us to various courses of action lies not in the domain of scholarship alone. The interplay between humans and their religions is expressed as well, though differently, in poetry, fiction, essays, and the visual arts, all of which are important venues in *Dialogue.* They give to the mind companionship of heart and soul. It remains my view that *Dialogue* should include multiple visions, vehicles, and voices for carrying out our

mission: the independent exploration of Mormon culture and the examination of "the relevance of religion to secular life." As the narrowing of the spectrum of Mormon orthodoxy continues, we must reaffirm our thirty-three-year-old mission statement which "encourages a variety of viewpoints."

Thus I have seen in *Dialogue* a place for the discussion of any subject which helps us to bring our "faith into dialogue with the larger stream of world religious thought and with human experience as a whole ... " To me, this means it is as legitimate and valuable to devote pages to observations on spiritual abuse, the temple experience, or homosexuality in a Mormon context, as it is to discuss Joseph Smith, church growth in foreign countries, or Mormon megatrends for the twenty-first century.

Not only is variety of subject needed, but diversity of voice and format is also worthwhile. The heartfelt passion of an essay's advocacy is as insightful in its way as the brilliance of a new insight on a problematic scripture or a well-documented revision of an error in history. I am pleased that *Dialogue* has been both a soulmate and a watch dog of the church, just as *Commonweal* has been a force for good in the Roman Catholic tradition. So I am still convinced that the seven pieces, mostly essays, in our first issue (Spring 1993) made an important, if not "breakthrough," contribution to Mormon thought. We lost some readers, including a few charter subscribers (apparently more because of the cover art than the articles), but gained many more new readers. The greatest loss was experienced by the authors who paid a high price for their courage. Of the seven, three have been excommunicated, two have been on probation, one has become "less active" (read, lapsed), and the last, Richard Poll of "Liahona-Iron Rod" fame, has passed on to a hopefully more loving, tolerant, and inclusive existence.

We decided to take on the work of editing *Dialogue* because we respect and deeply value the journal and its key role in the community of Saints. Our primary goal from the first was to maintain its tradition of excellence. The present masthead shows the organizational structure has remained about the same, although most of the names have changed in an effort to bring "fresh blood" to the body. Comparing the "Contents" page today with one, say, ten years ago, also reveals little change in format or venues. Wanting to improve on a good thing and inspired by the untimely death of a promising young scholar, Steven Molen, we determined to include in each issue at least one article or story by a young writer. Our Spring 1997 issue was devoted almost entirely to the writings of thoughtful young Mormons. To better serve readers interested in serious theological analysis, we added a new, regular feature called "Scriptural Studies," edited by Mark D. Thomas. The popular "From the Pulpit" title disappeared, but the essays which once appeared under this heading were

simply relocated under the long-standing title "Articles and Essays" to eliminate confusing redundancy. As always, the Letters, Fiction, Poetry, Reviews, Contributors, and About the Artist sections are found in each issue, along with occasional Notes and Comments. Having just reviewed the titles of all of the articles we've published since 1993, my (admittedly subjective but not uninformed) appraisal is that *Dialogue* during this period has been as strong as it has been at any pervious time. Following the wisdom of our predecessors, we have avoided writing our own editorials, excepting this farewell and our introduction, "The Times—They Are A' Changin'," in our first issue.

Longtime readers of *Dialogue* will have noticed that the last twenty-four issues of the journal have come out regularly without missing any issues, in large part because of the managing editorship of Gary J. Bergera. *Dialogue*'s size also has increased with the average issue running about 200 pages and some exceeding 300 pages. This we somehow did despite just one small price increase, only the journal's third in more than three decades. For these advances we are indebted to our loyal readers and generous donors who support the journal's vision in invisible but tangible ways.

Our commitment to publishing fine art in each issue has remained constant. We have introduced new, previously unpublished painters, sculptors, and photographers, and have brought the work of already well-established artists to our covers and pages for the first time. The art has ranged from realism to experimental and avant garde work, bringing new messages and fresh voices, just as we have sought to do with the written word. We are pleased that donor generosity allows us to continue to give cash awards to the authors of the "Best of *Dialogue*" articles, fiction, and poetry each year. It was also a privilege to have been the means for publishing former *Dialogue* editor Mary Lythgoe Bradford's award-winning biography of Lowell Bennion, bringing it off the press just a few months before his death. In addition, we have appreciated the kindness of Elbert Peck of *Sunstone* for allowing *Dialogue* to host several sessions and panel discussions in various symposia over the last six years.

On an even more personal note, I suspect that the handing off of the *Dialogue* baton to a new team of editors will mark the end of my own twenty-four years' work in independent Mormon periodical and book publishing and editing. This near quarter-century has been a richly satisfying chapter in my life, and I feel gratitude and a lingering sense of spiritual kinship with my many colleagues at *Dialogue*, *Sunstone*, Signature Books, the *Journal of Mormon History*, and the Mormon Alliance. I appreciate especially my co-editor and co-workers at *Dialogue* who, through our six years, have shared willingly in our ups and downs. Nothing can compensate the loss of no longer working closely with Marti Bradley and

Gary Bergera on this enterprise. Marti's thoughtfulness and humanity have given us balance, wisdom, and caring; Gary's craftsmanship and commitment to process have given us professionalism and consistency.

I join with Marti in expressing how much we greatly miss those *Dialogue* luminaries who have left us. They cannot be replaced but they will be remembered thanks, in part, to the fine works they left us. I suppose we cannot know how any of the journal's writings specifically impact individual members or the church at large. My sense is that the church is better today because of *Dialogue*, not just because of its writings on blacks and priesthood, presidential succession, the temple experience, the problems of proselyting, women's issues, or religious abuse, but also because it is a symbiotic relationship, even if both parties may be reluctant to admit it.

I have little advice to offer the new editors, Neal and Rebecca Chandler. One suggestion is to publish another index covering all of the issues since the Twenty-Year Index was done. Second, you may want to conduct another readership survey to reestablish contact with the journal's readers and to reappraise what is relevant for *Dialogue*rs today. Most importantly, stay true to *Dialogue*'s mission statement and keep a real dialogue going in *Dialogue*.

Ordinary Light

Marilyn Bushman-Carlton

One hour of a particular day,
like a sudden flu it descends upon you
the first time.
You could not have known.
It wasn't in the plan.
You were in love,
doing too much right.
You knew how to please—
the common skills of cooking,
living anywhere he took you,
making love. But
after those extravagant
nights on the steps,
the warm bulb of the moon
outweighing its stained eggshell,
it happens—
the one you love
disappoints.

You are never quite the same.
The slivered scars,
the errors left to fondle,
and you learn how to plant a hedge of caution,
to expect some sunny morning
a dread to enter unannounced,
a mute to keen the birdsong.
You go about your job unsurprised
when spilled garlic garbles the stew,
when the flame nasturtiums dim,
when the faithful cat cannot be found.

As for him, from this day on
he must be satisfied
to be seen in ordinary light.

The Private versus the Public David O. McKay: Profile of a Complex Personality

Newell G. Bringhurst

THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF DAVID O. MCKAY, ninth president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is overwhelmingly positive. Impressive in physical appearance, with a large frame, McKay stood six feet one inch, making him the tallest church president since Joseph Smith. McKay appeared "vigorous and well-preserved" even as an elderly man approaching his eightieth birthday, noted a non-Mormon Oregon newspaper account published in the early 1960s. "His massive, well-groomed mane of white hair tops a handsome face that shines with strong character."[1]

Giving further credence to this positive image are McKay's many accomplishments, first as a member of the Council of the Twelve—a position to which he was ordained in April 1906 and held for some forty-five years—and then as Mormon church president—his tenure lasting from April 1951 until his death in January 1970.[2] McKay's call to the apostleship, at the young age of thirty-two, came in the wake of an already-impressive record of church service—first as a missionary to England from 1897 to 1899, where he served as president of the Scottish Conference; then as a member of the Weber Stake Sunday school superintendency be-

1. As quoted in Terry W. Call, "David O. McKay," in *Church News, Deseret News*, 25 Sept. 1993.

2. For a good descriptive overview of McKay's varied accomplishments throughout the period of his apostleship and presidency, see Jeanette McKay Morrell, *Highlights in the Life of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966).

ginning in 1901. In the latter capacity he inaugurated a number of innovative reforms in teaching and curriculum. He also had been principal of the Weber Stake Academy (later Weber State University) from 1902 to 1908, where he presided over that institution's rapidly growing enrollment and successfully promoted expansion of its physical plant.

Early in his apostleship, McKay implemented his highly successful program of Sunday school curriculum reform on a churchwide basis, thanks to his role as a member of the general superintendency of the Deseret Sunday School Union commencing in 1906 and through his service as Mormon church Commissioner of Education beginning in 1919. The following year McKay was assigned to undertake a one-year tour of various Latter-day Saint missions and schools throughout the world. In 1922 he assumed even more responsibilities when he was appointed president of the European Mission. This meant taking up residence with his family in Liverpool, England. He remained abroad until 1924. These latter two assignments were critically important in that they made McKay sensitive to Mormonism's international potential. They foreshadowed his later efforts to vigorously promote the church as an international movement.

In 1934 McKay was appointed second counselor in the First Presidency by then-church president Heber J. Grant. Following Grant's death in 1945, McKay was reappointed to this same position by new president George Albert Smith. Within the First Presidency, McKay was actively involved in the day-to-day running of church administration. This was even more the case during the latter years of both Grant's and Smith's administrations, as each aging president, in turn, suffered declining health. In 1959 McKay, as senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve, assumed additional responsibilities as president or presiding officer of that body while concurrently serving as second counselor in the First Presidency.

McKay's own nineteen-year tenure as church president, commencing in 1951, resulted in a number of significant milestones. Total church membership increased almost threefold from 1,111,000 to 2,931,000. During this same period, the number of stakes increased from 184 to 500. In the spirit of McKay's basic creed that "every [church] member is a missionary," the number of missionaries increased from 2,000 to 13,000. Under his leadership, the church completed more than 3,700 buildings, including five temples: two in California (Los Angeles and Oakland), and the other three abroad in Switzerland, New Zealand, and London, England.[3] Completion of the latter three edifices underscored McKay's fundamental commitment to church growth outside the United States. It

3. Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "David O. McKay," in *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 87-91.

also represented a bold departure from Mormonism's longstanding doctrine of "the gathering," whereby all church members were admonished to gather to Zion in anticipation of the Millennium, believed to be imminent.[4] McKay described his greatest accomplishment as "Making the Church a worldwide organization."[5]

McKay's positive image is further underscored by his behavior and statements relative to family and home. Throughout his tenure as president during the 1950s and 1960s, McKay effectively presented himself as a loving husband to his wife, Emma Ray Riggs, and devoted father to his seven children. McKay's family symbolized the ideal "role model" for all Latter-day Saints. Reenforcing this image, David O. McKay frequently and publicly praised the virtues wife Emma Ray, his companion of sixty-nine years. She was, David O. would say, "the sweetest, most helpful wife that ever inspired a man to noble endeavor. She has been an inspiration, my life-long sweetheart, an angel of God come upon the earth."[6] Through poetry written by David O. himself, and published in various church periodicals, the Mormon leader publicly praised Emma Ray, thus inspiring Latter-day Saint readers.[7] The importance that McKay placed on the ideal home and family is reflected in his oft-quoted statement that "No other success can compensate for failure in the home."[8] On another occasion the Mormon leader characterized "the home [as] the fundamental institution of society."[9] "The dearest possession a man has is his family," he added.[10]

Along with concern for family, McKay vigorously promoted the concept of service to others—a responsibility of primary importance, one that takes priority over self-interest. "We live our lives most completely," McKay stated, "when we strive to make the world better and happier; it is to deny self for the good of others."[11] He often quoted the New Testament verse: "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. 19:39). McKay interpreted this scripture in the broadest sense, stating that "Our lives are wrapped up with the lives of others, and we are happiest as we

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4. A good discussion of early Mormon millennialism is Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

5. As quoted in Call, "David O. McKay."

6. Ibid.

7. For various examples of McKay poetry written in tribute to Emma Ray, see Llewelyn R. McKay, *Home Memories of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book), 171-93.

8. David O. McKay, "Address Given at 134th Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 4 Apr. 1964, as contained in *Report of Discourses.*

9. McKay, *Home Memories,* 212.

10. Clare Middlemiss, comp., *Cherished Experiences from the Writings of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1955), 19.

11. McKay, *Home Memories,* 235.

contribute to their happiness."[12] With effusive praise, son Llewelyn McKay observed that David O. lost "himself entirely" in giving all of his energy "in service to mankind," adding that his father was in fact "never less than he has been; but is ever greater than he was before."[13]

David O. McKay promoted both family and service to others as essential virtues to be embraced by all devout Latter-day Saints. But beyond the ideals of family and service, and in certain ways related, McKay manifested certain attitudes and patterns of behavior—less public and less idealistic.

David O. McKay's concept of family was based on strongly held principles of self-control and self-discipline. "Lack of self-control is the greatest source of unhappiness in the home," McKay asserted, noting that "Children should be taught self-control, self-respect, and respect for others."[14] All problems within McKay's own family were handled "quietly and settled ... in strict kindness," recalled Jeanette McKay Morrell, David O.'s younger sister. There were "no company manners in the McKay home," she added. All family members exhibited the "same courtesy and respect for each other" in private as "when the most respected guests were [present] in their home."[15] As David O. himself explained, "The best lesson that a child can learn is self-control and consideration for the rights and feelings of others."[16]

Discipline within the McKay home was based on "expectations," recalled oldest son David Lawrence McKay. "It was very clear what Mother and Father expected us to do." Both parents set a proper example by their own "self-disciplined" behavior so that there was never any confusion. "Father never used physical punishment on any of us, but he had a firm rule: 'Never repeat a clear command.'" Also "scolding was not a part of [his] repertoire ... Father never talked much. He just looked. And we knew." "The look," as it was termed, generally had the desired effect. Such "gentle loving discipline," moreover, was coupled with high expectations. As David Lawrence recalled, "Father expected the best. No one ever wanted to disappoint him."[17]

Self-control and self-discipline were also essential hallmarks in David O. and Emma Ray's relationship. They never argued openly or in front of their children, preferring to settle all matters of disagreement or contro-

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12. Middlemiss, *Cherished Experiences*, 176.
13. McKay, *Home Memories*, 272.
14. Ibid., 214.
15. Morrell, *Highlights*, 47.
16. McKay, *Home Memories*, 231.
17. David Lawrence McKay, *My Father David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 99-191, 219.

versy in private and away from their children and other outsiders. "I never heard my parents disagree let alone quarrel," recalled David Lawrence.[18] Such restraint was in keeping with David O.'s strong conviction "that a married couple ought not never to speak in loud tones to each other unless the house is on fire."[19] David O. had a fundamental advantage in all aspects of their relationship. Physically, he towered over his almost petite five-foot three-inch wife. More important, as the male, his status as head of the family was undisputed, in conformity with prevailing principles of Mormon patriarchy.[20] In turn, Emma Ray seemingly accepted her subordinate status without question.

Emma Ray, moreover, adjusted to the frequent absence of her ever-busy husband, with the family seeing "little" of David O., particularly after he became an apostle. His extensive church responsibilities often took him away from home for extended periods of time.[21] At the same time Emma Ray assumed significant latitude in running day-to-day affairs within the household. "Father was gone a great deal too much" for Emma Ray to wait for him to resolve problems, recalled David Lawrence. Thus she made decisions in his absence, but with the essential caveat that: "Your father would want ..."[22]

Emma Ray summed up her subordinate relationship with David O. in the following revealing manner: "Peace in the home is really a woman's responsibility, and if she wants happiness, she must work for it—yes, and pay for it, too—by being at all times kind, loving, self-sacrificing, ready to help, ready to serve, in fact, loving to do anything the head of the house desires because his desires are also hers."[23] Emma Ray took this concept of subordinate submissiveness one step farther, advocating that the "ideal wife" repress all feelings of anger and/or frustration in the name of "patience," which she characterized as "the most important ... qualification ... to be a good wife and mother." One must have "patience with children's and husband's tempers, patience with their misunderstandings, with their desires, with their actions." She then added the following remarkable statement: "a sure way to bring gloom is to show that your feelings are hurt."[24] Such repressed submissiveness was evident early on, and is reflected in an incident that occurred two weeks after the birth of the McKays' first child:

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18. Ibid., 11.
19. McKay, *Home Memories,* 223.
20. McKay, *My Father,* 12.
21. McKay, *Home Memories,* 39.
22. McKay, *My Father,* 103.
23. Ibid., 12.
24. Ibid., 13.

> The nurse had been discharged, David O. kissed his wife goodbye, and left for a [Sunday school] board meeting. Emma Ray was distressed, and at first she could not believe that her husband would leave her alone with the baby and the dishes. As she started to cry, she remembered her mother's advice: "Don't cry before you're hurt" and "Don't cry over spilt milk." Well, she had asked her mother, "If I can't cry before I'm hurt and I can't cry after I'm hurt when can I cry?" the obvious answer: "Don't cry at all." Emma Ray told herself not to be foolish, and she quickly vowed that she would never feel bad when David O. had to leave on a church assignment.[25]

Such strongly held McKay family traits of self-control and self-discipline were the products of a complex set of factors; some of which transcend and predate the January 1901 marriage of David O. and Emma Ray. A primary factor was the strong, lingering influence on David O. of his parents, David and Jennette Evans McKay. The elder McKay, a native of Scotland, had immigrated to Utah in 1859 as a fifteen-year-old with his parents, William and Ellen McKay, and family, all recent converts to Mormonism. The McKays ultimately settled in Huntsville, Utah—a high mountain community located some ten miles east of the city of Ogden. As David McKay reached adulthood, he met and married David O.'s mother, Jennette Evans. The daughter of Thomas and Margaret Powell Evans, Jennette along with her parents were natives of Wales who after converting to Mormonism migrated to Utah at about the same time as the McKay family. Jennette had grown up in Ogden in fairly comfortable circumstances thanks to her father's success as a large landowner and landlord.

Following their marriage, David and Jennette settled in Huntsville where they prospered economically, thanks, in large measure, to timely investments in agricultural land and livestock. Economic success, in turn, made David McKay a community leader both politically and ecclesiastically—the latter reflected in his appointment as bishop of the Huntsville Ward. It also enabled David and Jennette to build the spacious fourteen-room home in which David O. was born and which still stands in the center of Huntsville.[26]

The success of David and Jennette McKay did not come by chance, but was the product of two strong-willed, highly motivated individuals seeking to provide adequately for their large family of ten children, eight of whom reached maturity—the oldest being David O. born 8 September 1873. The elder McKay has been described as "somewhat of a martinet," reflecting "the very rigidly, disciplined Victorian" environment in which

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25. As described by James B. Allen in "David O. McKay," 285, in Leonard J. Arrington, ed., *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986).

26. For a good overview of the experiences and background of David McKay and Jennette Evans McKay, see Morrell, *Highlights*, 1-39.

he was raised. His own family was "very structured ... very disciplined, and very motivated," according to one close family member.[27] What David McKay "did, he always did right—second best was never good enough," noted grandson Llewelyn R. McKay, adding that "it was he who imparted this ideal of perfection" to his son David O.[28] The elder McKay clearly embodied the spirit of the McKay family motto as emblazoned on the family crest: "manu forti," meaning "with a strong hand."[29] Such influences were profound on David O. and particularly evident in the response of the younger McKay to the question: "Who is the greatest man you ever met?" He replied "without hesitation, 'My father.'"[30]

David O. was also profoundly influenced by his equally strong-willed mother. Described by contemporaries as a women of exceptional beauty, Jennette had a striking personality to match.[31] "Though high-spirited she was even-tempered and self-possessed. Her dark brown eyes immediately expressed any rising emotion, which, however, she always held under perfect control," recalled grandson Llewelyn R. McKay.[32] Jennette demonstrated her strong will and initiative in taking over complete management of the family farm in the wake of her husband's departure to serve a church mission in Scotland, lasting for two years from 1881 to 1883. At the time Jennette had three young children, including David O. then age seven, plus she was pregnant with a fourth.[33]

A further demonstration of Jennette's strong will was the fact that her husband, David, never practiced polygamy, despite being bishop of the Huntsville Ward, and even though some fourteen families in Huntsville were polygamous along with an additional five or six in nearby Eden. When asked why he never practiced polygamy, David McKay reportedly replied, "You don't know my Jennette!"[34] Thus this "handsome, soft-spoken but strong-willed woman" "bore the distinction of being the only Mormon bishop's wife who did not have to share her husband with another woman," noted granddaughter Fawn McKay Brodie, adding that Jennette's "extraordinary capacity to maintain the Victorian amenities [of monogamy] in so alien an atmosphere was a testament of her ability to get her way."[35]

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27. Hugh Garner, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 29 Sept. 1988.

28. McKay, *Home Memories*, 23.

29. Morrell, *Highlights*, 2-3.

30. As quoted in Call, "David O. McKay."

31. Morrell, *Highlights*, 10.

32. McKay, *Home Memories*, 3.

33. Morrell, *Highlights*, 23-25.

34. LaVerna Burnett Newey, *Remember My Valley: A History of Ogden Canyon, Huntsville, Liberty, and Eden, Utah from 1825 to 1976* (Salt Lake City, 1977), 111-13.

35. Fawn M. Brodie, "The Protracted Life of Mrs. Grundy," 2, unpublished manuscript [n.d.], copy of typescript in my possession.

David was extremely solicitous of Jennette's welfare in other ways. "He refused to let her work in the fields, and insisted on obtaining help for her in the house—particularly because he so admired her beautiful hands and lovely, clear complexion."[36] Jennette was also "a very socially proper woman," recalled one McKay relative.[37] She along with her husband were "conscious of the immigrant status and the educational deprivations they had suffered as a result." Jennette was determined that her children "enjoy the advantages" that she and her husband had missed out on. Thus upon receiving an unexpected gift of $2,500 from her mother, Jennette set aside the money for her children's education, seeing to it that all eight, including David O., attended college—a remarkable feat for the time.[38]

Jennette was also extremely socially conscious about whom her children associated with, according to another McKay family member.[39] She even restricted her children in their interactions with the children of other Huntsville McKay relatives, in particular the Gunn McKay family, distant relatives who lived in the house immediately north of the David McKay residence. Jeanette's aloofness was the result of her strongly held convictions that the Gunn McKay family was beneath her own, both socially and economically. Jeanette's behavior was reenforced by the parallel perceptions of local residents. One of Gunn McKay's descendants colorfully recalled that the two McKay families were designated as: "the god-blessed McKays and the goddamned McKays," carefully adding that it was "obvious which ones we were."[40]

Jeanette's social concerns notwithstanding, David O. chose to reflect on his mother's virtues years later, characterizing her as a "saint." "Her influence, and beauty," he noted, "entwined themselves into the lives of her sons and daughters as effectively as a divine presence!" David O. also recalled his mother's relationship with his father: "She was loved—almost reverenced—by [my father] the best and noblest of husbands and fathers."[41]

In addition to the pervasive influence of both parents, David O. was

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36. McKay, *Home Memories*, 26.

37. Quinn McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 23 Sept. 1988.

38. Francis M. Gibbons, *David O. McKay: Apostle to the World, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 26-27.

39. Gunn McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 26 Sept. 1987.

40. Monroe McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 21 July 1986.

41. David O. McKay to Lou Jean McKay, 5 May 1921, as quoted in McKay, *My Father*, 131.

strongly affected by his religious environment. Early on, however, he manifested apparent ambivalence concerning his Mormon faith. David O. confessed to being a "roguish boy."[42] He possessed "the normal vitality of youth"—and more, "as evidenced by his aunt's statement while taking care of him as a youngster." She told David O.'s mother: "Jennette, if you will just take care of this boy, I'll gladly cook for the threshers!"[43] Years later David O. referred to his "extremely active, somewhat reckless days of youth."[44] He confessed that his mother's influence had given him "the power more than once during fiery youth to keep my name untarnished and my soul from clay."[45] And on another occasion he expressed gratitude "for the wise and careful guardianship and training of noble parents" which "kept me from turning to paths that would have ended in an entirely different kind of life!"[46]

More to the point, David O. confessed to being "a doubting youth."[47] This despite the fact that David O. had been ordained to the priesthood office of deacon shortly after his twelfth birthday, and then to the higher office of teacher, all in conformity with a recently implemented church-wide practice of ordaining teenage boys into the Aaronic priesthood.[48] Also David O., as early as age thirteen, was bearing his testimony in quorum meetings.[49] He possessed "an intense desire ... to receive a manifestation of the truth of the Restored Gospel." Young David O. prayed "fervently and sincerely ... that God would declare to me the truth of his revelation to Joseph Smith." But he was disappointed at the response or rather lack thereof, lamenting: "No spiritual manifestation has come to me. If I am true to myself, I must say I am just the same 'old boy' that I was before I prayed."[50]

McKay's doubts persisted even as he reached adulthood and completed his education, attending first Weber Stake Academy and then the

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42. David O. McKay to Thomas E. McKay, 12 Dec. 1938, as quoted in Morrell, *Highlights,* 29.

43. As quoted in McKay, *Home Memories,* 6.

44. Ibid., 209.

45. As quoted in Leonard J. Arrington and Susan Arrington Madsen, *Mothers of the Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 146. Along this same line, McKay further recalled carrying on the following conversation with his mother while a college student: "'Mother, I have found that I am the only one of your children whom you have switched [whipped, as with a willow shoot].' She said, 'Yes David O., I made such a failure of you I didn't want to use the same method on the other children.'" Ibid., 148.

46. As quoted in McKay, *Home Memories,* 209.

47. As quoted in Morrell, *Highlights,* 38.

48. William G. Hartley, "From Men to Boys: LDS Aaronic Priesthood Offices, 1826-1996," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Spring 1996): 89-136.

49. Allen, "David O. McKay," 285.

50. "Prayer Answered in God's Own Due Time," as dictated by President [David O.] McKay in 1938, as contained in Middlemiss, *Cherished Experiences,* 16.

University of Utah where he graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1897. McKay's ambivalence was evident in the response to his mission call to Scotland immediately following graduation. David O. "was upset with this interruption of his plans" in the wake of having been offered a teaching position in Salt Lake County after his graduation.[51] Upon receiving written notification of his mission call, David O. reportedly "read [the letter from church headquarters]; flung it across the table with disgust exclaiming: 'Ain't that Hell!"[52]

Further complicating David O.'s mission call was his lack of preparation. Early in his mission when a woman attacked David O. on his theology, he "found out [he] knew nothing about the Bible" and thus could not respond adequately. He immediately sought to remedy this deficiency through an intense course of self-study of the Bible.[53] But his doubts persisted for, upon arriving in Scotland, he confessed to finding it "a gloomy looking place & I ... *a gloomy-feeling* boy."[54] His insecurities and ambivalence intensified as a result of his appointment as president of the Scottish Conference in June 1899. "I just seemed to be seized with a feeling of gloom and fear lest in accepting this I would prove incompetent."[55]

But then McKay experienced a sudden change in attitude because of two critical events. The first involved the influence on the young missionary of a written inscription he happened upon which was emblazoned on a building in the Scottish countryside. The inscription read: "Whate'er thou art, act well thy part." "This message struck [David O.] forcefully, and he decided to devote himself completely and wholeheartedly to his 'part' which was the role of missionary."[56] The second event was a particularly moving missionary meeting which he attended with a number of fellow missionaries, a gathering presided over by James L. McMurrin, a councilor in the European mission presidency. As McKay later recalled, McMurrin delivered a discourse in which he directed a number of remarks directly at McKay, stating: "Let me say to your Brother David, Satan hath desired you that he may sift you as wheat, but God is mindful of

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51. McKay, *My Father,* 2.

52. According to the recollections of Thomas E. McKay who was living with his older brother at the time, as described by Fawn M. Brodie to Dale L. Morgan, 13 June 1963, original in Dale L. Morgan Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California. Gibbons, in *David O. McKay,* 35, while conceding that "a mission was not the top item on his agenda for the future," attributes McKay's reluctance "to a combination of factors," including a family sense of "obligation to start working soon to replenish the McKay family's meager education fund so that his younger brother and sisters could receive university schooling."

53. McKay, *My Father,* 17.

54. As quoted in ibid., 18.

55. Ibid., 24.

56. Ibid.

you." He then added: "If you will keep the faith, you will yet sit in the leading counsels [sic] of the Church." In recalling this meeting, McKay noted "that an excellent spirit of love and unity was amongst us. A peaceful Heavenly influence pervaded the room ... It was the best meeting I have ever attended."[57] The total experience, he asserted, "was the manifestation for which as a doubting youth" he had prayed for years before.[58] McKay's long and difficult religious odyssey undoubtedly had the cumulative effect of further reenforcing his already strong tendencies toward self-control and self-discipline.

David O. McKay was also significantly affected by his relationship with Emma Ray Riggs, specifically the nature of their courtship and her family's unusual, ambivalent relationship with Mormonism. Both of Emma Ray's parents had initially embraced the Mormon faith. Emma Ray's father, Obadiah Higbee Riggs, a native of Library, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, had joined the Mormon church in 1866 at age twenty-two.[59] Emma Ray's mother was Emma Louisa Robbins, a native of San Francisco, whose parents were members of the church, having arrived on the west coast in 1846 as part of Samuel Brannan's *Brooklyn* Mormon contingent.[60] Emma Louisa herself was baptized a member of the church in 1860 at age nineteen. In May 1867 Emma Louisa and Obadiah were married and sealed in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City.[61] Obadiah and Emma Louisa were apparently both well-educated, as reflected in the fact that both taught at the University of Utah.[62] Obadiah went on to serve as Utah's territorial superintendent of schools from 1873 to 1877, in which capacity he promoted a number of reforms designed to improve the quality of public education throughout the territory.[63] His proposals, however, generated controversy, with Obadiah leaving his position after just one term.[64]

Obadiah and Emma Louisa were the parents of six children with

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57. Ibid., 32.

58. As quoted in "Predictions and Spiritual Manifestations," 27 Oct. 1934, in Middlemiss, *Cherished Experiences,* 13.

59. From information on Obadiah Higbee Riggs family pedigree chart, original in LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

60. As noted in Lorin K. Hansen, "Voyage of the *Brooklyn,*" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 71.

61. From information on Obadiah Higbee Riggs family pedigree chart.

62. McKay, *Home Memories,* 171.

63. John Clifton Moffitt, *A Century of Service: A History of the Utah Education Association, 1869-1969* (Salt Lake City: Utah Education Association, 1961), 29-30, 40-42, 282-83, 418-19, 511-13.

64. A more detailed discussion of such activities is contained in Newell G. Bringhurst and Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Forgotten Odyssey of Obadiah H. Riggs: Early Pioneer for Education Reform," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Winter 1998): 48-64.

Emma Ray, the fifth child and only daughter, born 23 June 1877.[65] But difficulties developed within the Riggs family when Obadiah entered polygamy, taking two plural wives, Annie Wilson in 1882 and her younger half-sister, Almina Wilson, in 1884. Eventually, both Emma Louisa and his first plural wife, Annie Wilson, left him. To make matters worse, Riggs himself was excommunicated from the Mormon church. Then Riggs left Utah, abandoning his second plural wife, Almina Wilson, and their small child, Lisle.[66]

Obadiah moved to the east coast, where he changed professions, choosing medicine. He attended and graduated from Long Island College Hospital at Brooklyn, Kings County, New York, and then located his practice in Cincinnati, Ohio. Here he met and married Hattie Fruhauf in 1895. Also while living in Cincinnati, Obadiah joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.[67] In 1900 Obadiah along with his family moved to Independence, Missouri, and relocated his medical practice to nearby Kansas City. He was extremely active in the Reorganized Church, becoming personally acquainted with its leader, Joseph Smith III.[68]

Meanwhile Obadiah's daughter Emma Ray continued to live with her mother in Salt Lake. She attended the University of Utah, graduating in 1898. She met David O. who along with his younger brother and two sisters were also attending the same institution. The four McKays all lived together in a cottage which they rented from Emma Ray's mother, Emma Robbins Riggs.[69] David O. and Emma Ray did not immediately become romantically involved. David O. was "dating a beautiful classmate, and Emma Ray was engaged to a fine young man in the business world," according to the recollections of sister Jeanette McKay Morrell.[70]

Eventually David O. became interested in Emma Ray near the time of his graduation in 1897, and just before his departure for missionary service in Scotland. The young couple corresponded steadily for the first several months that David O. was gone, from August 1897 to March 1898. But then there was a gap of twelve months from March 1898 to March

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65. From information on Obadiah Higbee Riggs family pedigree chart.

66. This is according to information given by David O. McKay family members to Lavina Fielding Anderson as related to Newell G. Bringhurst. Telephone conversation between Lavina Fielding Anderson and Newell G. Bringhurst, 7 Mar. 1996. Also see Bringhurst and Buchanan, "Forgotten Odyssey," 59-69.

67. Susan Easton Black, comp., *Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, Vol. 5 (Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1993), 100-19.

68. The extent of Riggs's interaction with Joseph is evident in the fact that the leader of the Reorganization preached at Riggs's funeral following the latter's death in October 1997. See *Saints' Herald* 57 (2 Oct. 1997): 899. Also see *Saints' Herald* 83 (3 Oct. 1936).

69. McKay, *My Father*, 1-2.

70. As quoted in Morrell, *Highlights*, 32.

1899 when no correspondence was exchanged.[71] The reasons for this are not completely clear. It appears that David O. and Emma Ray had completely broken off their relationship. This was the possible result of changes in Emma Ray's life. Emma Ray's mother had died suddenly, apparently in August 1897 at age forty-seven. Then Emma Ray left Utah, moving to Cincinnati immediately following her graduation from the university in 1898. Here she joined her father and studied piano at the Cincinnati College of Music.[72]

In March 1899 David O. and Emma Ray suddenly renewed their correspondence. David O. was still on his mission. Shortly thereafter Emma Ray returned to Utah and became a teacher at Madison Elementary School in Ogden. Meanwhile, in August 1899, David O. returned home from Scotland and began to court Emma Ray in earnest. Emma Ray, however, manifested apparent ambivalence over their relationship. A year and a half passed. Finally in early December 1890 David O. proposed. Emma Ray's response reflects apparent initial ambivalence: "Are you sure I'm the right one?" David O. quickly answered in the affirmative. Just one month later on 2 January 1891 David O. and Emma Ray were married in the Salt Lake temple.[73] The historical record is unclear concerning the precise qualities that ultimately drew the young couple together in marriage. Years later McKay asserted that one should choose a mate "by judgement and inspiration, as well as by physical attraction," adding that "Intellect and breeding are vital and important in the human family."[74]

David O. McKay became the dominant figure not just within his own immediate family, but also in directing affairs affecting the extended McKay family, particularly his three younger brothers and, to a lesser extent, his four sisters, along with their families, as they married and had children of their own. His dominance relative to the larger McKay clan was particularly evident following the deaths of his parents. First, his mother died suddenly and tragically at the relatively young age of fifty-four in January 1895, then his father passed away at age seventy-three in November 1917.

McKay "was very much the family patriarch," recalled niece Fawn Brodie, adding that he "dominated all of the McKay family, to an extraordinary degree, just like an old Chinese patriarch."[75] McKay reportedly in-

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71. McKay, *My Father,* 3-4.
72. McKay, *Home Memories,* 171-72.
73. McKay, *My Father,* 4-10.
74. As quoted in McKay, *Home Memories,* 213-14.
75. Fawn M. Brodie, "Biography of Fawn M. Brodie," Oral interview conducted by Shirley E. Stephenson, 30 Oct. 1975, original in Oral History Collection, Fullerton State University, Fullerton, California, 3.

fluenced his children's choice of spouses, particularly his three oldest. This assertion was made by another niece, Flora McKay Crawford, who also claimed that McKay attempted to influence the choice of spouses by extended family members, albeit with less success.[76] All of McKay's brothers and sisters went to him "for advice," according to Fawn Brodie who also asserted that "none of his brothers [would] accept a job" without first consulting their older brother.[77]

But the positive aspect of this arrangement was the help and influence David O. rendered in securing employment for various family members. One particular situation in 1937 involved younger brother Thomas E. McKay. The younger McKay had lost his position, a political appointment, with the Utah State Public Utilities Commission due to a change in the state's political climate. In response, David O. apparently used his influence to facilitate his brother's appointment as president of the church's Swiss-German mission, a paid position in which Thomas served from 1938 to 1940, allowing him to support his family. Then in 1941 David O. apparently intervened on his younger brother's behalf a second time to gain for Thomas appointment as one of the newly created assistants to the Council of the Twelve, which, like his mission presidency, was a paid position. Thomas E. McKay held this position until his death in 1958.[78]

But David O.'s success in helping his younger brother was offset by failure in speculating in land and commodities during the late 1910s and early 1920s. This failure had adverse economic consequences for all concerned. In making such investments, the two McKay brothers along with their two younger brothers, William and Morgan, chose to borrow the needed funds by refinancing, and increasing, the mortgage on the family's Huntsville farm—a property which all four had inherited jointly following the deaths of their parents. The money so borrowed was apparently invested in various schemes, including "Arizona Cotton," citrus fruit orchards near Tempe, and also "Canadian Wheat." The McKays also speculated in at least one venture closer to home, cattle and land at Birch Creek, an area just south and east of Ogden. But in every case the investments failed.[79] The lasting effect of all these failures was an increase in the total mortgage debt to $35,000—a sum considered astro-

76. Flora Crawford, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 29 Sept. 1988.

77. Fawn M. Brodie to Maurine Whipple, 12 Nov. 1941, copy of original in hands of Verda Hale, St. George Utah.

78. Flora Crawford, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 29 Sept. 1988.

79. Flora Crawford, Oral History Interview conducted by Shirley E. Stephenson, 5 June 1986.

nomical at the time. This debt fell most heavily on Thomas E. McKay because he directly held the mortgage. This was Thomas's lot by virtue of his position as the primary resident living with his own family in the old McKay family homestead and holding the bulk of surrounding farmland. This financial burden remained "immutable, fixed as the polestar, the absolute around which the [Thomas McKay] family revolved," according to the recollections of Thomas's daughter, Fawn. Thomas, manifesting the McKay family creed of self-control and self-discipline, held in check whatever resentment he might have harbored against his older brother. Instead, Thomas bore his burden over the next thirty years "like Atlas, without hope and without lament" and *most* important without complaint.[80]

David O. McKay's role in speculative ventures was one aspect of the Mormon leader's strong, almost compulsive attachment to his childhood home and community. He would spend as much time as possible in Huntsville, when his extensive church responsibilities would permit, including weekends and during the summer. In his haste to get to Huntsville, McKay's reputation as a fast and aggressive driver was amply displayed. McKay would leave his home or office in Salt Lake City, heading north "driving with his foot right to the fire-wall all the way," recalls one close family member, adding "that must have been quite an experience for all of the [Utah state] highway patrolmen."[81] On one memorable occasion, in his later years, McKay received a speeding ticket. But he was undeterred, telling the officer: "I'm glad to get this ticket. Some have said I am slowing down [but] this is proof that I'm not."[82] McKay was ever anxious to reach his destination, asserting: "The air is better in Huntsville. That's what keeps me young."[83] He looked upon the high mountain community as "a cherished haven, where he could ... relax from the cares and burdens of his official duties."[84]

David O. McKay went through the annual ritual of actually living in Huntsville for three months every summer beginning in the 1910s and continuing into the 1950s. McKay with his immediate family took up residence in the old McKay family homestead. This was the case even though David O. maintained his primary residence some distance from

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80. Fawn M. Brodie, "Inflation Idyll: A Family Farm in Huntsville," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (1972): 113-15.

81. Hugh Garner, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst.

82. Gunn McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Mary Jane Woodger, 28 July 1995, copy in my possession.

83. As quoted in "David O. McKay," in Van Wagoner and Walker, *A Book of Mormons*, 189.

84. Preston Nibley, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1959), 432.

Huntsville—first in Ogden in the years immediately following his marriage, then, after 1920, in Salt Lake City.

While living in Huntsville, the David O. McKays moved in with younger brother Thomas E. and his family. Moving in with another family for such an extended period every summer would appear to violate the essential privacy of the family affected. But Thomas never complained, at least not openly. The younger brother, in fact, had no choice but to go along with this arrangement because actual ownership of the old McKay homestead was held jointly by the eight surviving children of David and Jennette Evans McKay through a legal entity known as "the McKay family corporation." In this arrangement the four brothers and four sisters each had an equal voice in making decisions involving the McKay homestead. In actuality, the McKay family corporation was dominated by David O. and, to a lesser extent, the four McKay sisters, Jeanette McKay Morrell, Elizabeth McKay Hill, Ann McKay Farr, and Katherine McKay Ricks, who were strong, assertive, dominant personalities in their own right—all clearly taking after their mother. They were "a formidable quartet of big, handsome women who marched through the family's problems in an unbreakable phalanx," recalled niece Fawn Brodie.[85]

By contrast, the two youngest McKay brothers, William and Morgan, exerted limited influence mainly because both lived with their families far away from Huntsville. At the same time David O.'s third brother, Thomas E., despite being the most affected by decisions made by the McKay family corporation, also had minimal influence. This was because of his relatively docile personality and almost obsessive desire to avoid conflict. This made Thomas E. ill-suited to oppose David O. and his sisters, even on decisions affecting him and his family in a potentially adverse way, which was often the case.[86] "We were the low family of the McKay clan," lamented Thomas E.'s oldest daughter, Flora McKay Crawford.[87]

In fact, two of the four sisters, Jeanette McKay Morrell and Elizabeth McKay Hill, along with their families, followed the example of their oldest brother, taking up residence in the McKay family homestead every summer, primarily to take advantage of the cooler mountain climate thereby escaping the oppressive summer heat of Ogden and Salt Lake City where each maintained their primary family residence. While this significant influx of McKay relatives invaded the privacy and disrupted the domestic independence of the Thomas E. McKay family, the fourteen-room house was large enough to accommodate them all, even though the residence, for many years, lacked the basic amenities of running water

85. Brodie, "The Protracted Life of Mrs. Grundy," 4.

86. This somewhat complicated family arrangement is discussed in vivid detail in ibid.

87. Flora Crawford, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 29 Sept. 1988.

and indoor plumbing.[88]

David O. McKay looked forward to his extended stay in Huntsville as more than simply an escape from the oppressive summer heat of the Wasatch Front. Time in Huntsville represented one of the few forms of recreation enjoyed by the ever-busy Mormon leader.[89] Huntsville also offered McKay an idyllic, temporary escape from the pressures of his responsibilities as a general authority. While in Huntsville McKay assumed the role of "gentleman farmer," spending a significant amount of time working some 400 acres of cultivated land and 2,000 acres of rangeland which he shared with brother Thomas. David O. enjoyed getting out in the fields, asserting a physical robustness going back to his youth. David O., in fact, continued to work his farm acreage alongside his sons and others under his supervision until well into his eighties.[90]

In particular, McKay enjoyed being, and working, with his horses. His "love for horses [was] proverbial," asserts sister Jeanette McKay Morrell, with his horses being "more than farm animals—they were friends and were treated as such."[91] But McKay was not reluctant to "wrestle the horses and ... gave them the whip ... if they didn't mind," suggests another family member.[92] In fact, McKay on occasion would deliberately "rile up" a team of horses that he was driving, according to the recollections of one old-time Huntsville resident who spent significant time working for the Mormon leader. McKay would "tighten up the reins to get [the horses] started up [and] work them up by tightening back on their bits." As a result, "the horses would get ... stampeding a little bit and then [McKay] would start saying, 'Th' go' d' s' bit'!' You could hear him in the back saying, 'Those goddamn sons of bitches.' It would never get fully out, he would only get the first letters of the words." McKay's heavy-handed behavior towards his horses was designed "to demonstrate how masterful he was" and to prove to those around whom he worked that he "really knew horses."[93]

McKay demonstrated another important skill to residents of Huntsville—his ability as an effective public speaker—an attribute particularly evident during services in the old Huntsville LDS meetinghouse. McKay was dubbed "the silver tongue" and compared to early-twentieth-century orator and three-time Democratic presidential candidate William

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88. Brodie, "The Protracted Life of Mrs. Grundy."

89. McKay, *My Father,* 203.

90. Barrie McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 16 Sept. 1988.

91. Morrell, *Highlights,* 293-94.

92. Barrie McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 16 Sept. 1988.

93. Jarvis Thurston, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 16 May 1988.

Jennings Bryan by one old-time Huntsville resident. Like the more famous Bryan, McKay was able to deliver a sermon on virtually any topic with "grand eloquence."[94] His sermons, moreover, were "heartening [and] optimistic," recalled niece Fawn Brodie, noting that her uncle avoided discussing "the complexities of Mormon theology ... 'I bring you a note of encouragement and cheer' [was] a frequent theme ... To thunder over the pulpit and denounce the world for its evil [was] never his technique."[95] McKay "loved to appear before an audience [and] spread himself around," making such oratorical performances a memorable experience for all.[96]

David O. McKay's visits to Huntsville and extended stays in the old homestead also afforded him the opportunity to visit and interact with his brothers and sisters as well as with other members of the extended and extensive McKay family. This, in turn, gave further validation to the Mormon leader's well-cultivated public image as a caring, empathic family man.[97] Certain McKay family members, however, recall a somewhat different image of David O. "He was not a very loving man," according to niece Flora McKay Crawford, who noted that he had minimal interaction with his various nieces and nephews.[98] "He never was very loving even to his own children, let alone his nieces and nephews," continued Crawford, adding that he was loving only "to strangers and people that he [thought] he could influence."[99]

Such a contrasting and negative view on the part of Flora Crawford was undoubtedly due, in large measure, to the fact that she was both the daughter of Thomas E. McKay and the sister of Fawn M. Brodie. The particularly difficult relationship between David O. McKay and Fawn Brodie had stemmed from the latter's writing her controversial biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History,* and the firestorm following its 1945 publication. This episode brought to the surface various long-standing, simmering family tensions, particularly between certain members of the Thomas E. and David O. McKay families. Brodie believed, with some justification, that her uncle had played a leading role in her public excommunication from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in

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94. Ibid.

95. Fawn M. Brodie to Maurine Whipple, 12 Nov. 1941.

96. Jarvis Thurston, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 16 May 1988.

97. As clearly noted and strongly developed in Morrell, *Highlights;* McKay, *Home Memories;* and McKay, *My Father.*

98. Flora Crawford, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 29 Sept. 1988.

99. Flora Crawford, Oral History Interview conducted by Shirley E. Stephenson, 5 June 1986.

May 1946.[100] David O. McKay was reportedly angry about the whole episode, particularly over the extensive publicity it generated. But at the same time he was scrupulously careful not to show it publicly. He avoided discussion of his wayward niece even within the privacy of his own immediate family.[101] Such behavior was in keeping with a long-standing McKay family tradition of avoiding all topics of a controversial nature.[102] It was also in keeping with David O.'s own well-honed and long-practiced behavior of self-control and self-discipline.

In summary, David O. McKay was an individual of great complexity, evident in the Mormon leader's private versus his public behavior. McKay could project himself as extremely gracious, open, warm, loving, and empathic. In the words of noted Mormon historian D. Michael Quinn, "McKay loved intimate association with crowds and individuals, [and] treasured close fellowship" with his fellow Latter-day Saints.[103] However, Francis M. Gibbons, past secretary to the First Presidency, characterized McKay as "a private person who kept his own counsel and who did not easily admit someone into his inner circle of confidentiality."[104]

To others McKay came across as a "very arrogant, vain man," noted one relative. Even McKay's own son conceded that "if father had any weaknesses they would be two: He drives too fast; and the other is vanity."[105] "He was a little bit of a showman," recalls another relative.[106] His dress included, on occasion, flowered shirts, but more notably his trademark white, double-breasted suits. He thus broke ranks with his conservatively dressed colleagues in the church hierarchy. Also McKay "intentionally left his snow-white hair slightly longer than the prevailing style to increase its striking effects," notes Gregory Prince.[107]

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100. For an extensive discussion of David O. McKay's reaction to Fawn Brodie's biography as well as the reaction of various other McKay family members, see Newell G. Bringhurst, "Applause, Attack, and Ambivalence—Varied Responses to Fawn M. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1989): 46-63.

101. This according to David O. McKay's son Edward R. McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 23 July 1987.

102. This particular McKay family trait is vividly discussed in Brodie, "The Protracted Life of Mrs. Grundy."

103. D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 116.

104. Gibbons, *David O. McKay*, 32.

105. Gunn McKay, recalling what David O.'s son had told him, as noted in his Oral History Interview conducted by Newell G. Bringhurst, 23 Sept. 1988.

106. Gunn McKay, Oral History Interview conducted by Mary Jane Woodger, 28 July 1995.

107. Gregory A. Prince, "David O. McKay and the Rise of the International Church," unpublished paper given at the Mormon History Association Meeting, 16-19 May 1996, privately circulated.

The obvious question is: What is the significance of exploring the "private" David O. McKay and noting the contrasts with the better-known "public" image? Certain little-known aspects in McKay's background and behavior influenced and affected certain crucial actions McKay undertook as Mormon church leader. For example, McKay's own early doubts concerning Mormonism, combined with the unconventional background of wife Emma Ray Riggs's family, quite likely influenced McKay's tolerance of diversity in its varied forms. "Sound independent thinking should be encouraged rather than discouraged," McKay asserted on one occasion, adding that "careful logical analysis, coupled with a sincere desire to find the truth is praiseworthy." McKay was tolerant of "groups of people interested in doctrine and in Church policies [meeting] together independently of Church functions to discuss questions of importance, wherein there appears to be differences of opinion in interpretation."[108] As son Llewelyn R. McKay noted: "Father's religion is concerned with large, all-embracing spiritual issues which reach out to *include* rather than to *exclude;* it unites rather than divides."[109]

Such essential openness and tolerance was also evident in McKay's view of different peoples and cultures—attitudes reenforced by McKay's own early exposure to different nationalities and races. "When you are in a country other than your own ... view life from that country's point of view," he admonished his son on one occasion. McKay further asserted: "The need to learn foreign languages should be accentuated and the acquisition and use of such languages stimulated."[110] Such attitudes were in conformity with McKay's desire to extend Mormonism throughout the world, making it a truly international religion. He saw as a major impediment to this goal the church's policy of excluding men of African descent from ordination to the Mormon priesthood. He sought, unsuccessfully, to change this policy in 1954-56, early in his tenure as church president.[111]

McKay's ultimate failure to eliminate the church ban on black priesthood ordination was, to a significant extent, the product of his own upbringing and background—specifically his tendency to avoid unpleasant topics and situations. This attribute had been impressed upon McKay from his formative years on, and enforced within his own family. Thus he failed to vigorously promote repeal of black priesthood denial, particularly in the latter years of his administration, not wanting to alienate certain conservative men in the church hierarchy, notably Harold B. Lee, increasingly influential by the late 1960s and adamantly opposed to

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108. McKay, *Home Memories,* 154-55.

109. Ibid., 272.

110. Ibid., 142-43.

111. Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 117.

abandoning the practice. Consequently, McKay, with deep personal reluctance, continued to uphold black priesthood denial—a practice with which he was, at the very least, uncomfortable.[112]

McKay's basic "dislike of confrontations of any kind" also affected his complex relationship with J. Reuben Clark, his longtime associate and counselor in the church's governing First Presidency. In varied ways McKay and Clark stood in sharp contrast to one another. In personality, McKay was open, optimistic, feeling that "man's nature was basically good." Whereas Clark, in the words of his biographer D. Michael Quinn, "was an unreconstructed pessimist." In administering church affairs, McKay "favored expansive growth and a more liberal expenditure of funds," whereas Clark "favored slow growth and cautious, even parsimonious, expenditure of funds." In leadership style the two clashed, with McKay willing "to make immediate decisions based on his personal impressions," while Clark demanded "thorough research prior to a decision."[113] Despite such differences, McKay, upon becoming church president in 1951, retained J. Reuben in the First Presidency. This reflected, at least in part, McKay's reluctance to confront the unpleasant task of completely replacing the conservative, doctrinaire church leader. But Clark's retention involved a demotion in rank from first counselor—which position he had held for some seventeen years under previous church presidents Heber J. Grant and George Albert Smith—to that of second counselor.[114] Clark's position of first counselor was given to Stephen L. Richards, McKay's longtime close friend and associate. McKay, moreover, carefully but discreetly excluded Clark "as much as possible from decision-making," such exclusion becoming "nearly total during the last two years of Clark's life," according to Quinn.[115]

David O. McKay's strict avoidance of controversy also conformed to the Mormon leader's well-cultivated image as the idyllic husband and family man. Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, David O.'s family was promoted as the absolute "ideal" for all Latter-day Saints to emulate, by virtue of the apparent peace and harmony that seemed to prevail within. But such an "ideal" was exaggerated, even within McKay's own family. In reality, this ideal was largely based on "myth"—a fact that became more and more apparent during the unsettling decade of the 1960s and beyond. Indeed, it could be further argued that the idyllic, widely

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112. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 13-14. Also see Newell G. Bringhurst, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People within Mormonism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 171-96.

113. Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark,* 116-17.

114. Ibid., 129.

115. Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power,* 26.

publicized images of the McKays—specifically David O. as a caring but dominant husband acting in seemingly perfect harmony with his devoted but deferential wife, Emma Ray—promoted unrealistic expectations among both Latter-day Saint men and women. The reality was much less idyllic, with Latter-day Saint couples confronting the same types of tensions and marital difficulties experienced by their non-Mormon counterparts—problems leading to approximately the same levels of separation and divorce.[116]

Finally the fact of David O. McKay's weaknesses of character, specifically his avoidance of controversy, overbearing behavior within his own family, and vanity, does not diminish from his status as perhaps the most important Mormon church leader of the twentieth century. Such traits make David O. McKay more believable as both a human being and an effective, charismatic leader.

116. In this regard, see Tim B. Heaton, Kristen L. Goodman, and Thomas B. Holman, "In Search of a Peculiar People: Are Mormon Families Really Different?" 87-117, in *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives*, ed. Marie Cornwall, Tim B. Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

Fashion Show

Lewis Horne

Did she think, "Depression,"
As banks collapsed,
Men took to the road, farms
Reclaimed and lost?

In home ec. class she sewed
For their fashion show,
Giving each shy stitch its care.
She knew how.

But to think of crossing the stage
At Franklin School
Gave a chill like Utah frost
To bone and muscle

In the warm Arizona weather
Where she's new.
Was "Depression" a time?—or money
Still just slow?

Cleaned shoes, new dress, and hair
Combed carefully so.
"At Molly, before me, they laughed."
(Ha, ha. Ho, ho.)

"She runs a women's store now.
Is well-to-do."
But she who expected the laugh,
The blushful to-do,

Made it across the stage
With the simple poise
Of the modest, of those who believe
That neither praise

Nor censure is their due
In a public place,
Or performance the game expected
Of their race.

From Morality to Politics

Claude J. Burtenshaw

A FEW YEARS AGO DURING THE UTAH CAMPAIGN against pari-mutuel betting, an LDS church leader justified his involvement by claiming that it was a moral issue. The implication was that church leaders have jurisdiction over morality. Christian church leaders in the United States often justify their involvement in political campaigns because, they claim, morality is threatened. Religious organizations do this while claiming to accept the separation of church and state.

Church leaders' claim over morality includes the frequent assertion that all good state law rests on Judeo-Christian moral principles. This leaves us wondering what the constitutional separation of church and state actually separated or if there exists a separate political morality that is not separable from religion and thereby remains under church control. Morality and the claimed religious jurisdiction over it suggest a reason for inquiring into morality, its meaning, and how it and the churches' moral claim relate to politics.

Morality is not an easy word to define; it is a term with many meanings. It usually identifies a belief that humankind has individual, internal control over personal thoughts and actions separate from the physical forces of nature. Those who believe in this sort of personal morality generally claim that there exist somewhere within our grasp general standards or principles that are available for directing right choices about behavior, including politics. This implies that we have the capacity to recognize those standards and can be accountable for and to them. The location of these standards, how they are discovered and imposed, the consequences of non-compliance, and how the consequences are detected are not clear. Nor is it obvious if or how morality is distinguished from religion, since religious beliefs usually include a code of behavior administered temporally by a church. There are non-religious beliefs, however, that do accept the existence and control implications of a moral code. A pluralistic religious and secular society has problems dealing with often conflicting claims.

Politics, too, is about rules that control human behavior and seems to

be related by implication to moral-like standards. The authorizing institution of these moral-like standards in politics, however, is the state. The state is the institution that claims ultimate authority to control human life and property. The individual citizen, in one way or another, has the capacity to be accountable to the requirements of the state. This includes not just an ability to understand requirements and obey them, but also in the United States, at least, the capability of authorizing political controls. This human capacity to know and be politically responsible resembles the capacity to know and be morally responsible. The question of humankind's capacity to choose and effect its choices has been a favorite topic of philosophers. This necessary human feature central to the claims of politics and morality is sometimes called "free will," or human agency. I will try in this essay to explain how "free will" relates to both politics and morality.

The Unfree Agent

Some philosophers do not accept free will, denying that humankind has choices that control personal destiny. Their philosophies claim that the individual has little or no choice about personal behavior. These philosophies are broadly associated with notions of chance and fatalism (including determinism in its many variations, historical, scientific, and other). Christian philosophers, too, are not clearly defenders of free will; they vary in their support of human control over personal destiny. Calvinism asserts that God has absolute control over our destiny and through his church total control over our world. Lutheranism leaves us some choices with some non-religious worldly controls. Catholicism divides the controls separating the earthly from the spiritual, leaving humankind some controls in each. Mormonism attempts to distinguish our involvement with our destiny by distinguishing a foreordained destiny from a predestined one, claiming that in this separation we are sometimes in control. Whether or not God is omnipotent in religious philosophies seems central to how much control we have. To all of these philosophies, secular or religious, humankind is in various degrees a part of the world's, or God's, control forces. For non-religious philosophers, even thinking that we have free will is the probable result of forces beyond our control. Those who do not accept free will assert that God, nature, or nobody is in control.

The Free Moral Agent

There do, however, seem to be some observable human traits that suggest a capacity for control over some aspects of humankind's destiny.

These include devising a language with which to explain our human understanding and proposed involvement with world forces—building on and inventing from humanity's observations, manipulating the discoveries, changing health habits, preventing and curing diseases, emotionally responding, caring for and inflicting injuries on each other. These apparent emotional responses to others' feelings are made effective by a guilt response which also has a blame release mechanism. Believers claim that these are evidences of moral self controls. It is also these evidences that lead believers to make sense out of political controls. In spite of their intertwining, politics and morality may be distinguished in their origin and implementation. Let me attempt to separate them and explain their relationship.

The state, the central feature of politics, with its government, creates and coercively imposes its regulations. The state's control depends on a citizen's belief in and loyalty to its supremacy. This belief in and loyalty to the state seems to be a necessary part of a moral-like feature useful to political pursuits. These individual responses to political control seem also to be the features that stimulate the establishment of many different forms of government. The differences in the governments of the 175 or so states of the world vary in the way individual citizens historically became involved in making and enforcing their laws. For example, the U.S. constitutional system claims to provide a unique procedure for citizen representation to make laws with procedural protection from abuses in their enforcement. Its pursuit from its revolutionary beginning was to make political access equal among individual citizens. Like all states, however, their prime business is to settle conflict among citizens in an orderly fashion. The whole political activity, however, rests on the built-in human capacity of each citizen to respond to political controls.

Morality and the Individual

Morality, to its believers, is an individually stimulated control. To them, human behavior is directed by an individual human capacity to make choices. This built-in capacity makes each individual responsible for personal choices. How the individual discovers the standards and makes choices is explained differently by different believers. For example, to Thomas Jefferson, an outspoken moralist, the discovery was simple. "He who made us," he wrote, "would have been a pitiful bungler, if he had made the rules of our moral conduct a matter of science." To him a lecture on morality was useless. No one knew the moral rules any better than any other. Humans being destined for society were "endowed with a sense of right and wrong ... this sense is as much a part of his nature, as the sense of hearing, seeing, feeling ... The moral sense, or con-

science, is as much a part of man as his leg or his arm."[1] This view, which identifies a something with the religious sounding name called "conscience," was developed from secular, not religious, philosophies. This moral conscience, for Jefferson and his associate James Madison, was secular. It was the something that Madison intended to protect when he proposed the first constitutional amendment that finally included the four freedoms: religion, speech, press, and the right to assemble. For Madison and his co-founders of the U.S. political system, humankind had the capacity to establish a good—that is, a morally secular capacity essential to living.[2] This morality feature was even more apparent in Madison's original proposal. In the amendment's first draft to the first U.S. Congress, he proposed, "The civil right to none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, nor shall any national religion be established nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner, or on any pretext, infringed. No state shall violate the equal rights of conscience."[3] To Madison, the central feature of the civil right was the conscience—the morality source—the something that existed independent of religious claims but, like religion, ought to be politically protected.

In a similar view, a Mormon one, the source of morality was given by Moroni in the Book of Mormon. "The spirit of Christ," he wrote, "is given to every man, that he may know good from evil; wherefore, I show unto you the way to judge" (Moro. 7:16). This built-in, divinely granted feature, similar to the New Testament conscience, seems to be accepted by many Christians. Secular variations, however, for knowing good from bad, central to believers in morality, are achieved through a personal process of reason or intuition.

The Moral Person

Implied in the morality claim are two elements: personal qualities and behavioral standards. Their plausibility is more understandable if I separate implied personal qualities from behavioral standards, and identify five apparent qualities:

1. The moral agent does more than choose the right, the good. She pursues it. The pursuit seems to involve a personal responsibility for it, a control. This pursuing feature may be noted as an expanding effort to in-

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1. Thomas Jefferson, *Timeless Treasures*, American Classics Series (Freeman Institute, 1981), 99.

2. William L. Miller, *James Madison and the Founding* (University of Virginia Press, 1992), 251-54.

3. Richard Morgan, *The Supreme Court and Religion* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1972), 21.

clude others, to organize them. Here are some examples. Moses included all Israelites in his aspiration to organize God's political kingdom. All Israelites were expected to be individually and morally able to respond to his organizing aspirations. Jefferson and his associates' Declaration of Independence intended to involve all of colonial America in the revolution for an independent political system. Each colonist was expected to share the leaders' aspirations to build a better society.

Joseph Smith invited other individuals to respond to his aspiration to restore and organize a new Zion. He made many inviting appeals to his fellow frontiersmen. Note some of his scriptural invitations: Men should engage in a good cause—do many things of their own free will, seek learning, get understanding, be industrious and diligent, cease to be idle, seek knowledge and God-like intelligence—all necessary moral features for restoring God's kingdom.

Significant to Mormonism's dependence on individual aspirations is its scriptural reference to morality: "That every man may act in doctrine and principle pertaining to futurity according to moral agency, which I have given unto him, that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment" (D&C 101:78). This statement about separate individual accountability seems also to imply an individual's aspirations that include the use of leadership. Separate individual accountability, however, in the Mormon claim includes a final accounting to God's judgment for his rewards and punishments. This definition, without God's judgment, may also be paraphrased to identify secular morality. Secular morality makes every person capable of aspiring to and being personally accountable for his or her own pursuits. Accountability to God is replaced by accountability to and through self to others, the community and state. Judgment and its consequences apparently are a here-and-now self-evaluation.

The English language provides words that accommodate the self-aspiring, self-accountable agent. In contrast to the command language of the words "shall," "must," and "will" from external control directives are the self-aspiring words "ought" and "should" that speak to the self about its aspiration to be right and do good. "I should" or "I ought" anticipates the moral agent's pursuits. We note the individual's use of this moral language to identify pending decisions all the time. We often hear and use them: Should I go to school? Should I become a school teacher? Should I study law? Ought I marry Susan? Ought I drink Coke? Ought I be a Republican? Ought I vote for Bill Clinton? Ought I go to the temple tonight? Should I announce that I am gay or lesbian? Ought I live with my boy friend? My morality assumes that I can decide. My wife says she lives a life of "should haves": I should have married a richer man. I should have married five years earlier. We should have bought a better arranged

house. Her variation of moral, self-aspiration requires only hindsight. Her self evaluations, however, are still part of the same "ought." In passing, maybe I "ought" to include the moral agent's capacity to judge the behavior of others with a "you ought." I am suggesting, however, that the moral person primarily aspires and directs impending decisions about the future self.

2. Aspiring moral agents seek philosophic and artistic expressions. The moral agents' survival needs and aspirations are about more than pursuing food and shelter. Some moral agents write literature, some compose music and create instruments to play it, others paint, sculpt, dance, write, and perform plays, all useful expressions for satisfying their moral needs. For participants in these expressive activities, moral agents in their various ways shape and give meaning to their lives. The moral self is easily identified with the spiritual. Spiritual and philosophic expressions are to many people indistinguishable. It is from these artistic and philosophic expressions that moral agents share with each other and gain courage. The courageous, romantic, and beautiful are often equated with the moral. Listen to the poet William E. Henley, who years ago provided the poem-hymn "Invictus" that stirred my young high school spirit. I sang it then with enthusiasm and conviction. I thought audiences were stirred by it, too, by words that identify the aspiring spirit and its declaration of self-responsibility.

> Out of the night that covers me
> Black as the pit from pole to pole
> I thank whatever gods may be
> For my unconquerable soul
>
> In the fell clutch of circumstance
> I have not winced or cried aloud
> Under the bludgeoning of chance
> My head is bloody but unbowed
>
> Beyond this place of wrath and tears
> Looms but horror of the shade
> And yet the menace of the years
> Finds and shall find me unafraid.
>
> It matters not how strait the gate
> How charged with punishments the scroll
> I am the master of my fate
> I am the captain of my soul

3. Aspiring, moral agents assume a degree of freedom even while claiming accountability to existing standards. Even though to moralists

the standards are universally fixed, they are often altered or adjusted to accommodate a changing world. I note that in current society the words "values" and "morals" are sometimes used interchangeably. A student friend was advised that if he valued a certain style of home and car, he ought to change his aspiration from teaching to an occupation that could pay for them. His choices, he was advised, ought to be guided by what he valued. When once I was convinced that I couldn't afford to raise my family on a farm income, I changed. The value of family, car, or home all seem to be within the accountability requirements of the moral agent. Changing the moral agent's behavioral guides from standards, rules, and principles to values does not seem to change the self-accountable feature of morality. It may leave us with a question, however. If a value can become a moral standard, can an aspiration become a value? When values and standards change, they redirect ones' pursuits. Thus moral standards shift with moral aspirations.

4. The aspiring moral agency is about *all* choices, not just sexual behavior. The capacity to be self-accountable includes buying a home, managing a business, teaching a class, signing a note, courting a woman, joining a church, selecting a diet, and on and on. To be self-accountable requires total self-control. The moral person's self-control feature is the same regardless of one's pursuits: in the market place, on a date, about religion, in the home, or pursuing learning. My neighbor's wife's decision to qualify for the Publisher's Clearing House invitation to win a million dollars uses the same moral, self-control tools as does my senior citizen neighbor to qualify for a temple recommend. My older friend, Oscar, is just as conscientious about saving from his retirement income for a trip to Europe as is my friend Joe about saving for his grandson's education. My neighbor's son's decision not to be active in the church uses the same moral facility as does his daughter who chooses to be active. All of them are responses to values, values that direct choices and behavior, pursuits involving decisions. They judge the value of their pursuits by the satisfaction of their "oughts." The values or standards which the moral agent sets do for the individual what morality was intended to do; they direct choice and behavior. The labeling of some issues as moral may imply that some are not, which suggests a distinction between moral and non-moral. Since all are made by the moral individual, the distinction is difficult. Sometimes the distinction is made as to whether the choice is between good and evil, right and wrong, implying that some choices do not involve these distinctions. But these distinctions, too, though with apparent qualitative and priority differences, are made by the moral agent. The attempted distinctions are difficult and may not be as useful as we would like.

5. The aspiring moral agents compete with each other. In a world of

scarcity, economic and otherwise, the accountable moral agent competes for almost everything—power, goods, services, attention, income, etc. The successful pursuer is the one who is fastest, most skillful with the most resources. Winning over other moral agents often becomes the test of goodness, rightness, success, and the ability to be accountable. The contest-like element is difficult to remove. Sometimes we claim that the pursuit of excellence replaces competition, but the claim of excellence seems unable to avoid comparison. For example, the recent attempt to improve the American educational system began by comparing U.S. students' scholastic tests scores with those from other countries. Independent standards of excellence are difficult to find. The failure to find them leaves the aspiring moral agent searching for new ways to compete. Consider the sports world and the market place.

The Standards, Moral Persons in Conflict

Now to the second part of the morality claim, the standards. The implication is that the standards exist independently of the moral agents. According to most believers, however, the standards are only discoverable by the individual, the moral agent. As noted above, for Jefferson the standards came with birth, like an arm or a leg. Similarly, to Moroni the discerning spirit came with the spirit of Christ given to every person. This dependency for behavioral standards on the individual makes the moral agent central to the search for standards. The notion is that from the moral individual's pursuit there would be uniform standards resulting in orderly relationships. This seldom happens. In place of compatibility, these pursuits of standards frequently bring conflict. The conflicts add a new feature to the moral control language. The "I ought" is changed to "you ought," language which initiates conflict. One's judgments about others' behavior and aspirations threaten friendly relationships. History, ancient or current, between persons or nations seems to tell us that violent conflicts have persisted from the beginning. Moral conflicts dominate historical writings. Mormon history is a story of conflict. From Joseph Smith to Gordon B. Hinckley, Mormonism's exclusivity claims of truth and light have been in constant conflict with the rest of the world. The Book of Mormon is a story of conflicts. From Nephi's encounter with his brothers and with Laban, to Moroni's encounter with the last Lamanite, the book is a story of violent conflict. The morality claim that behavioral standards can be uniformly discovered and peacefully implemented is not apparent. Moral agents have conflicts about standards, aspirations, and jurisdiction. Politics results from unresolved moral conflicts. Thus politics is the result of a failure to find common moral standards. An appeal to the state with its coercive resolution, the law,

changes the moral "you ought" to the legal "you shall," from the voluntary to the involuntary. The change may be noted with the coercive threat "there ought to be a law" or "I'll sue," transforming moral conflicts into political ones. Political resolution absorbs, not accommodates, moral conflicts, altering the involved human relationships. Punitive law usually intensifies the conflict rather than alleviates the hostility of the disputants. The state, however, retains its supreme, morally neutral role. It is a nonperson.

There is no agreement among historians about how or when the state, the supreme control institution, developed, but it does seem clear that whenever or however it happened, the same moral-like human pursuit to control that now puzzles us was present and probably caused its establishment. It is also clear from historical writings that a claim of a God, a supreme non-human authority, was useful in legitimizing coercive control. With that political supremacy, the moral agent became something less than free. A god's authority justified the state's control over human conscience and behavior. Apparently it was this total control over the citizen, the moral agent, that so concerned Jefferson, Madison, and their associates.

It was the religious God who legitimized political authority in the beginnings of seventeenth-century colonial America. The divine claim, however, was weakened over the 150-year colonial period with numerous diverse religious claims in each British colony. The rebellion of the thirteen colonies, during the 1765-76 period, in the absence of a single church and a single god, permitted political leaders to seek non-religious moral authority to justify their rebellion. As in all conflicts, moral authority and standards were devised and appealed to. It was under a Jeffersonian-type morality that the American colonial revolution was defended. It was the secular free moral agent, according to the Jefferson-authored Declaration of Independence, that demanded not just colonial, but personal independence. The Jefferson-Madison conscience that came with every human life was to be politically free to pursue happiness. This happiness was intended by a creator, not a partisan religious one, to equally endow all men with certain inalienable rights. With this declaration and the success of the Revolution, a secular morality was claimed for American politics. A Jeffersonian secular "creator" who authorized the rebellion left no doubt about the secular source of morality. Freed from church authority, governments were to be established by "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The political system that followed the secular Revolution was established by a secular superlaw, the Constitution, which declared itself and "all laws made in pursuance thereof, the supreme law of the land." The certainty of the religious exclusion was not only evident by its omission

in the Constitution, but by a declaration of exclusion in its First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The declared supremacy of the secular document gave the necessary authority to control conflicts, leaving the conscience free, but accountable to the political process for behavioral regulations. The preamble to the Constitution identified its authority as the secular "we the people" and then declared its secular moral purposes to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." With its secular supremacy, a government was established.

I hope I have distinguished by their origin and implementation the control claims of morality—the church and the state. I have not found it an easy task. I believe, however, that the colonial secularization of political morality and the U.S. Constitutional protection of the individual conscience make the distinction possible. Distinguishing individual moral pursuits and conflicts, their transition to political ones, and noting the effect of the constitutional church-state separation make other questions I raised at the beginning more understandable.

Conclusion

What about the church's jurisdictional claim over "moral" issues? The statements of Moroni and Jefferson, which I believe are representative of religious and secular believers in morality, leave the individual moral self the sole source of moral standards. The church's moral claim echoes the earlier Old Testament-like political claim that God's will to the prophet authorizes its moral jurisdiction. That claim, the U.S. Constitution's founders believed, intruded onto the civil and, to Madison, at least, the moral conscience. That intrusion, in the interest of moral freedom, was what Utah statehood constitutionally prohibited. The 101st section of the Doctrine and Covenants supports the Constitution's denial of the church's moral jurisdiction: "According to the laws and constitution of the people, which I have suffered to be established, and be maintained for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles: That every man may act in doctrine and principle pertaining to futurity, according to the moral agency which I have given unto him, that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment." A political system that insures the moral agent's accountability appears to be divinely preferred.

As noted earlier, all politics are the results of moral conflicts. Moral persons, including church leaders, like all political combatants in secular political arenas, are indistinguishable in political pursuits. The moral

equality claim extends to all conflicts denying exclusive political jurisdiction to any moral agent, including church leaders.

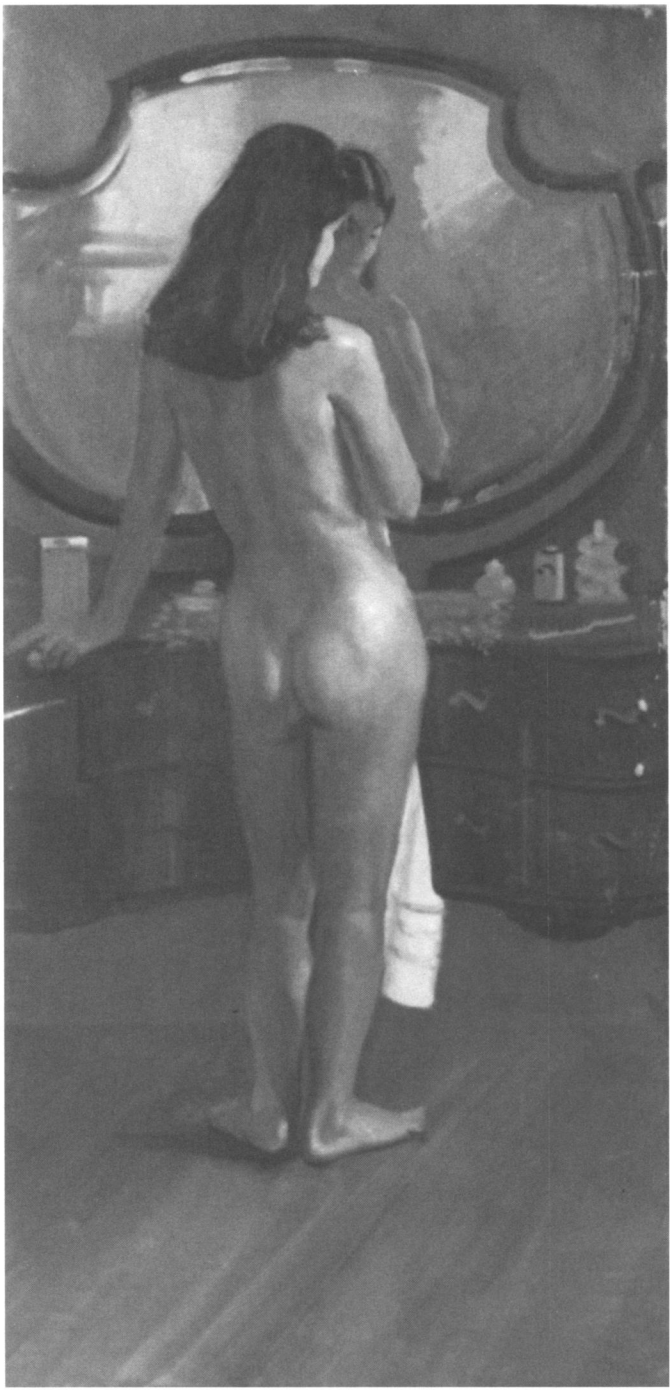
The church's method of control also, according to Doctrine and Covenants 121, excludes the coercive force of politics. Note this restrictive control language: "No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned." Even though the church in its early history aspired to use or to be the state, this scripture seems to limit church control to the persuasive, the teaching method. To resort to political control is for the church to abandon its friendly instructive role for an unfriendly punitive one. Political controls tarnish all participants with unfriendliness.

The U.S. political system does not, however, exclude anyone from its political arenas. The First Amendment excludes religion from the state and makes it neutral in religious conflicts. Politically protecting Madison's conscience with the four freedoms and accepting the Revolution's declared secular political morality add a significant dimension to religious freedom. Church leaders attempting to exploit members' faith in them with a claim over political morality hardly accept that freedom preference. Neither do they seem to accept the risks inherent in participation in the political arena. The risks are from the secular church-state separated culture with its divisive, inescapable "no holds barred" campaigns. To the church comes the risk of secularizing it, to participating church leaders the risk of destroying the members' trust in them, creating doubts and secularizing their faith—all weakening the spiritual influence of the church.

Even the persuasive method, when combined with church leaders' authority to punitively withhold God's blessing, threatens the moral agent's accountability. Obedience as the first principle of the gospel, with punitive implications, political or otherwise, conflicts with the self-accountability principle. This morality-political paradox is emphasized when we realize that only the convictions of a free moral agent can stimulate genuine religious faith.

I have only hinted at the similar current conflict involving some individuals' moral claims against the supremacy of the U.S. government. Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death" is not very different from the moral outbursts of the Davidians at Waco, Timothy McVeigh at Oklahoma City, and Ranchers at the Montana-FBI stand-off. Probably it is too much to say that this political moral independence claim began at Philadelphia in 1776, but it certainly provides a credible political boost. The secular moral agent's claim may find moral legitimacy in the Declaration of Independence which is useful to the international freedom claim of human rightists and their opposite, international terrorists. And even

though we have now replaced the American revolutionary natural rights with international human rights, conflict between political power and the morality claim of the individual has not changed. The rights of the individual conscience are still the central claim for defending the personal and political accountability of the rebel. Moral conflicts about the rights of the moral agent are and always have been the stuff of politics. Meeting the state's demands for compliance with its laws as a needed protection of moral agents from the violence of other moral agents is still the political enigma. The prospects of the Christian second coming or the successful extension of the U.S. Constitutional system for solving this dilemma hardly look promising. Both, however, could use the intervention of a savior.



To a Cymbidium Orchid *Blooming on December 25th*

Michael R. Collings

You must have burst surprised
thrusting up your single spear
so soon past All-
Hallow's-Eve

to break your segment buds in
nearly cruciform display
only to discover
Easter

far asquint beyond
pale west-borne suns—& with it
warmth and nighttime
wealth-

scented air breathed from peach
and pear and apricot. No, now
alone you raise a
Christmas

star in subtle violets above
rough beds of redwood
bark and
waive

all rights to springtime's
soft ascent—accept
the harsh descent
of life

implicit-cradling death. And so
you raise your lonely sheath
and bloom a single five-point
Star.

The Logical Next Step: Affirming Same-Sex Relationships

Gary M. Watts

RECENTLY I HAD TWO LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS with local LDS church leaders about homosexuality. Those discussions convinced me that the problem faced by homosexual Mormons and their families in their relationship to the church, and the problem faced by the church in its relationship to its homosexual members and their families, are not insoluble. I use the word "problem" advisedly, when in fact we have before us today two conundrums.

I would like to identify these two conundrums and then conjecture about a possible solution—one that makes sense to me but may be nonsensical to others. Intricate and difficult problems rarely have simple answers. I am not so naive as to expect that everyone will embrace these ideas, but I am willing to make the effort because both the church and its homosexual members are important to me.

Identifying the two conundrums is rather simple. For homosexual members of the church, it is represented by a church policy that, in effect, forces its gay members to make a choice between two core identities. On the one hand, there is their inner core of same-sex attraction, which countless gay members will testify they discover, not choose; and on the other, there is their belief in the authenticity of the gospel of Jesus Christ as embodied in the LDS church. While virtually everyone concedes that the causes of homosexuality are complex, almost every gay person I know tells me that choice is not really operative and that their same-sex attraction just happened.

The reality of the matter, regardless of the origins of homosexuality, is that a small percentage of our LDS members find themselves romantically/sexually interested only in members of the same sex. These individuals are aware that church policy has "zero tolerance" for any

sexual activity between members of the same sex, or for that between any of its members outside marriage. They realize that this means they can never become romantically/sexually involved with someone of the same sex and remain a member of the church in anything approaching good standing. Hence, they are forced to choose between a romantic/sexual relationship and full membership in the church. I've previously referred to this as a veritable "Sophie's choice," because it is so difficult and so painful for anyone who is already integrated into and has developed a testimony of the truthfulness of the LDS church. Some actually do choose the church and thereby a life of celibacy and service in much the same manner as Catholic priests and nuns, but by far the majority choose a relationship and ultimately leave the church voluntarily or via church discipline.

To my knowledge, there is no substantive data on this, but I am privy to a survey done by Ron Schow, co-editor of *Peculiar People,* in 1995 at an Affirmation conference in Las Vegas. The survey sample included approximately 100 Mormons, the majority being returned missionaries who identified themselves as gay, and dealt with their activity in the church. They ranged in age from twenty-two to sixty-six, with an average age of thirty-six, and came from fine church families. (Six of their fathers had been stake, mission, or temple presidents; eight of their mothers had been Relief Society presidents; twelve of their fathers had served as bishops or branch presidents; ten more had a father who had served as a counselor in a bishopric.) Their church attendance averaged 93 percent as children, 94 percent as teenagers, 94 percent as young adults, but currently was 14 percent. This, despite the fact that 65 percent had counseled with an average of 3.3 church leaders, 40 percent had gone to LDS Social Services for therapy for an average of nine sessions, and another 50 percent had gone for other counseling for an average of eighteen sessions. To suggest that these previously active, contributing church members failed as members from a lack of effort seems disingenuous to me. These numbers simply corroborate the latest scientific research that sexual orientation is not readily amenable to change. The exodus of so many good, substantial members of the church is unfortunate, both for the church and for the individual, and should cause great concern among church leaders.

The conundrum faced by ecclesiastical leaders begins when their gay members choose a relationship. Most leaders are aware of the intense feelings that precede the choice of a relationship by gay members. Most leaders are truly empathetic and saddened that these circumstances have occurred, but are also loyal to the church and feel duty bound to adhere to church policy. In many cases they initiate a disciplinary council which usually results in the expulsion of their gay members from the church. Anyone who has sat on such a council will testify that they are gut-

wrenching and clearly represent some of the most difficult decisions imaginable because of the intensity of the love by the gay member for the church and for his or her partner. Part of the difficulty for the church leader is his awareness that his gay members are valuable, that they may have been making a contribution to the ward, and that the expulsion from membership will likely mean the end of what some would identify as "a beautiful friendship."

These realities occur in many wards and stakes in the church and are the source of much discomfort for members. Gays and lesbians and their families are torn between the reality of same-sex attraction and their love for the church. Church leaders and members are torn between their love and empathy for their gay members who are forced to make this "Sophie's choice" and their duty as leaders to implement church policy and remain loyal to the doctrine of the church.

The following story about the experiences of a gay couple I know illustrates some of these complexities. Interestingly, and to add to the complexity, both men met at Evergreen, an LDS Social Services-supported program for gays and lesbians which stresses behavioral modification and/or celibacy. They have been in a committed, monogamous relationship for the past six years. During the first three and a half years of their relationship, they were active and welcome members of their LDS ward in Salt Lake City. Their bishop was aware of their relationship, welcomed them in the ward, and encouraged their participation in ward activities. One of the men was called as priesthood organist and played faithfully every Sunday for almost three years. They met with their bishop on a quarterly basis and received encouragement to be faithful and monogamous in their relationship and to continue to concentrate on improving their spirituality and to do the best they could to live Christ-like lives.

About four years ago, they purchased a new home in a new stake in south Salt Lake and came under the jurisdiction of a new bishop and a new stake president. The new stake president and bishop were not supportive of their relationship. Consequently, disciplinary councils were called and both men were excommunicated. Neither claims to be bitter, but neither has attended church since then. Their former bishop was disappointed with the excommunications because the Spirit had told him, when he had made it a matter of prayer, that they should not be disciplined but should be encouraged to stay active in the ward and committed in their relationship to each other. He had read the *General Handbook of Instructions* and was aware that the purpose of excommunication was to help individuals repent of their sins, change their feelings and behaviors, and start anew. He was skeptical that sexual orientation was changeable and felt that these two young men would be better served by encouraging their activity and acceptance by fellow ward members. In

fact, he confided to them that he would "rather empty the Great Salt Lake with a teaspoon than excommunicate [them] from the church." The bishop has been the subject of some criticism by, to use Richard Poll's term, "iron rod" Mormons, while at the same time supported and praised by "liahona" Mormons.

The unfortunate part of these two young men's experience is that it is being repeated too often in the church. Faithful gay members seek out ecclesiastical leaders they know to be tolerant and informed about the complexities of homosexuality and are occasionally successful in maintaining activity and acceptance in wards and branches with such "spirit of the law" leaders. When gay and lesbian church members sense their ecclesiastical leaders are uninformed, intolerant, and judgmental, they become inactive or try to find a ward with a more tolerant leader. Eventually, most gay couples encounter leaders who are uncomfortable with having them participate in ward activities while in a relationship, and, as a result, they migrate out of the church to seek a more gay-friendly environment.

Many church leaders and members simply wring their hands and suggest that God in his infinite wisdom will sort it all out in the next life. In the meantime, we continue to experience the pain and anguish inherent in these horrible conundrums. Can anything be done to improve the situation?

In thinking about various options that might be employed to resolve these two conundrums, we need first to accept and understand some necessary realities. These are: (1) The church will not amend its law of chastity. Bolstered by tradition, scripture, and prophetic pronouncement, church leaders will continue to stress the need for compliance to this law. (2) Most of gay and lesbian members and their families will continue to see their same-sex attraction as a normal biological variation that is rarely, if ever, chosen and not readily amenable to change. That position is certainly supported by the three major professional organizations that deal with homosexuality: the American Psychological Association, the American Psychiatric Association, and the National Association of Social Workers, who issued a joint statement in their 1994 "friend of the court" brief to the U.S. Supreme Court that "research firmly and consistently rejects the widespread assumptions that sexual orientation is the same as sexual conduct, that sexual orientation is freely chosen and readily subject to alteration, and that homosexual or bisexual orientation is a mental disorder causing impairment of psychological or social functioning" (see *Romer v. Evans et al.*, U.S. Supreme Court, no. 94-1039). (3) Current church policy as it relates to homosexuality has and will continue to produce significant pain, anguish, dissent, and consternation among both straight and gay members. That bitter fruit is unlikely to go away and will continue to plague the church until some accommodation is made. (4) It is ir-

rational to believe that allowing gay members in committed relationships to remain full members will usher in a new era in which heterosexuals will begin to seek homosexual relationships. People who do not have same-sex attractions are not going to seek a same-sex relationship simply because the church validates committed same-sex relationships. (5) Church policy as it relates to homosexuality evolves as our understanding of sexuality increases, and it is vitally important that no one comes to the current debate assuming that current policy is fixed and immutable. The very title of my essay, "The Logical Next Step," implies prior steps.

When one compares the first substantive statements by the church about homosexuality published in the *1973 Welfare Packet on Homosexuality* with the 1992 brochure *Understanding and Helping Those with Homosexual Problems*, or with Dallin Oaks's article in the September 1995 *Ensign*, some changes in policy are evident. The earlier pronouncements implied that homosexual thoughts were "learned behavior (not inborn)" and resulted from sexual abuse and/or dysfunctional parents or families, and that heterosexual relationships should be encouraged for gay members by their leaders. The church has now recognized that "some thoughts seem to be inborn," that "parents should not be blamed for the decisions of their gay children," and that "marriage should not be encouraged" as therapy. Unfortunately, these positive, progressive steps taken by the church have not yet significantly improved the church experience for gay and lesbian members.

For the remainder of this essay, I would like to build on the church experience of my two gay friends to explain why I think the logical next step for the church in ministering to its gay members should be some form of sanctioning or affirming committed, monogamous same-sex relationships. I would like to speculate about what might be the probable outcomes if bishops and other local leaders were encouraged, rather than discouraged, to follow the example of my gay friends' former bishop. Let's face it: most bishops, without encouragement from the First Presidency and/or general authorities, will continue to be uncomfortable about providing support for gay members who have chosen a committed, monogamous relationship. Such encouragement would not necessitate a change in doctrine, but would require a change in the way the church implements policy regarding sexual intimacy outside the bonds of marriage. I believe this has the potential to provide some reward and incentive for gay members to sustain a committed, monogamous relationship that would have value for the church. If gay members in committed relationships were able to feel that their relationship had value and that it would enable them to remain members of the church, I believe that most of the animosity currently extant would evaporate overnight. Other benefits to the church would flow naturally. Gay members would continue to

be active in the church and would be able to make contributions which are sorely missed presently.

Recently I attended a funeral service for one of the great women of Family Fellowship, Carol Mensel. (Family Fellowship is an LDS-oriented support group for the families of gays and lesbians.) Her gay son, Robert, is a talented musician who left the church shortly after discovering his same-sex attraction. He is currently in a committed relationship in Oregon, where he was music director for St. Stephen's Episcopal Church for four years and is currently conductor of the Portland Gay Men's Choir and director of the Rose City Freedom Band. The family asked Robert to make the musical arrangements for her funeral. The music was perhaps the best I have ever heard at any funeral. Robert is a Mormon expatriate who, I am convinced, would still be an active, contributing member if, as a church, we had been able to value the integrity of his relationship with his partner. He is just one example of thousands. It is inconceivable to me that the church doesn't feel his loss, but many former members who are gay will so testify.

Does the LDS policy of "zero tolerance" for sexual activity outside marriage necessitate that all relationships between gay members have no value? Present policy makes no distinction between committed, monogamous same-sex relationships and promiscuity; no distinction between responsibility and sexual license. It occurs to me that placing no value on committed, monogamous same-sex relationships is at the root of the strained relationship between the church and its gay members, as well as their immediate and extended families. One way to value a committed, monogamous same-sex relationship is to institute a policy that allows gay members in such a relationship to maintain their membership in the church. Temple recommends and attendance could still be restricted to members who are in full compliance with the law of chastity. We have many members of the church who do not qualify for temple recommends for a variety of reasons. How many of our members really comply fully with the law of tithing or live the Word of Wisdom without deviation? Perhaps we would do well to de-emphasize the word "law" and emphasize the word "ideal." Most members who are unable to live these ideals completely nonetheless remain active, contributing members and benefit from their participation in the church. Ironically, the church did not oppose domestic partnership legislation in Hawaii, accepting such legislation as a quid pro quo to prevent same-sex marriage from becoming legal. The church's lack of opposition is a tacit admission that committed, monogamous same-sex relationships may already have some value in its eyes.

The reality is that few gay members can function in a heterosexual relationship or want to live in celibacy. A policy that recognizes this reality

and stresses responsibility and fidelity in a committed relationship would create a "win-win" situation for the church, its gay members, and their families. If such a policy were in place, the majority of gay members would stay in the church and feelings of bitterness, hurt, anguish, and hostility would dissipate. Gay members would be better served by attending church and working on their spirituality than by being excommunicated. Immediate and extended family members could take some pride in encouraging their gay children to be in committed relationships just as they encourage their straight children. Such a position would disarm critics who suggest that too often the emphasis on the family comes at the expense of homosexuals and those who, for a variety of reasons, are unable to find or live in the ideal family of a father, a mother, and their children. Jonathan Rauch, writing in the *Wall Street Journal* (29 Nov. 1994), aptly states that "divorce, illegitimacy and infidelity are the enemies of the family." He points out, however, that "reports and articles by 'pro-family' groups devoted obsessive attention to homosexuality while virtually ignoring divorce."

A policy of including gay members who are in committed relationships would allow for the formation and recognition of non-traditional families, but families nevertheless. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, gay members are not anti-family; they simply fail to see "family values" as universal when their own relationships receive no value whatsoever. Gay and lesbian members would, for perhaps the first time, feel welcome that they finally have a place in the church. The church could even become a place where gay members with an interest in things of the spirit could socialize rather than congregate in gay bars. The exodus of so many gay members and their families and friends from the church would cease, and acrimonious feelings and expressions would certainly diminish. Many individuals, unable to give unqualified support to the church because of this issue, would return to the fold and once again become its advocates.

Aside from the excommunication of my own son, the most painful experience for me has been witnessing the failure of attempted heterosexual marriages involving gay Mormons. Current church policy discourages such marriages, but gay and lesbian members continue to try them as long as there is no acceptable alternative for inclusion in the church. Sooner or later, most of these marriages fail, and the pain and anguish thus produced are incalculable. The straight spouse, their children, and their extended families are victimized by both the gay member and a church policy which continues to stress the importance of a heterosexual temple marriage without exception. Placing some value on committed, monogamous same-sex relationships would benefit the church and its members by substantially reducing the incidence of these tragedies.

In creating a "win-win" situation, the church should consider distancing itself from those radical elements which continue to spew homophobic rhetoric and refuse to treat gay members and other homosexuals with the dignity and respect they deserve as human beings. Church leaders who hold responsible civic positions on school boards and in state legislatures should be encouraged to be sensitive to and aware of the needs of these men and women. Young people discovering they have same-sex attraction need solid information about homosexuality, not condemnation. Some believe the church has abrogated its responsibility to these young members when it opposes inclusion of information about homosexuality in school curricula and provides no credible information about homosexuality in priesthood and young women's lessons. To the credit of current church leaders, families affiliated with Family Fellowship have seen a noticeable decline in condemnation of gay family members from the pulpit in general conference over the past two years.

In closing, I would like to comment briefly on the morality of homosexuality. Perhaps I could begin by sharing some of the lyrics from a Billy Joel song entitled "Shades of Grey."

> Some things were perfectly clear, seen with the vision of youth. No doubts and nothing to fear, I claimed a corner on truth. These days it's harder to say, I know what I'm fighting for. My faith is falling away, I'm not that sure anymore. Shades of grey wherever I go, the more I find out the less that I know. Black and white is how it should be, but shades of grey are the colors I see.

Those who have read my previous essay in the December 1997 issue of *Sunstone* entitled "Mugged by Reality" will understand why those words have relevance for me. My wife, Millie, and I have six children whom we love deeply. They all have strengths and weaknesses, but in my judgment they are all responsible men and women. Four of them identify as straight, two as gay. I don't know why two are gay, but all six are similar except for their sexual interests. When people ask me what I want for my gay children, I respond: I want them to have the same rights and opportunities as my straight children. I do not believe their sexual orientation is amenable to significant change and I would prefer that they not live alone. Intuitively, it seems to me that they have the same capacity to become involved in a moral relationship as my straight children. The morality of a relationship should be judged on the way the relationship is conducted, not on who is involved in the relationship. In my judgment, it would be immoral for my gay children to attempt a heterosexual relationship simply to comply with church and societal norms. Heterosexual relationships are not "natural" for my gay children and homosexual relationships are not "natural" for my straight children. To insist that my gay

children change or act as if they are heterosexual seems inappropriate to me. I have encouraged my gay children to seek someone they can love and share their life with and to be moral in that relationship. I would prefer that such relationships have the church's blessing and am sad and disappointed that this is not possible at present. I lament the fact that my gay children and other gay members of the church do not have a place to meet in the church and, too often, feel they must socialize elsewhere.

People sometimes criticize me for relying on my own intuition when it comes to the morality of homosexuality and suggest that I am going against God. My own intuition also tells me, however, that our current understanding of what God may have said about homosexuality is incomplete. I've read the passages and am not prepared to accept the literal interpretation of what was written since it flies in the face of reason and our current understanding of homosexuality. God's commandments are not arbitrary and should be able to stand on their own merits. When someone's only defense for suggesting that a committed, monogamous same-sex relationship is immoral because they believe God has declared it so, they are on a "slippery slope." As Peter Gomes points out in his new book, *The Good Book: Reading the Bible with Mind and Heart* (New York: Morrow, 1996), a literal interpretation of the Bible as "God's word" has been used in the past to defend slavery, anti-semitism, and anti-feminism, as well as to justify hostility towards homosexuals. Fortunately, we rarely see literal biblical interpretation used today to justify racial, ethnic, or gender prejudice. I'm hopeful that we can make similar strides in understanding homosexuality as we learn to read the Bible with heart and mind. A commitment to reason, as well as to things of the spirit, is indispensable when trying to decide what is just and unjust, moral and immoral. Discussion is essential in revealing new possibilities for understanding morality. I offer this expression sincerely and with the fervent hope that it may precipitate more dialogue and hopefully contribute to solving these vexing conundrums.

Joseph Loved His Women

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

Joseph loved his women
beginning with strong Lucy
who prayed him back to health.
He loved his sister Sophronia,
and he loved sweet Emma to distraction,
trusting her to translate without the hat.
He trusted her to bury the plates
inside her house, inside herself.
He loved intellectual women best
like Eliza and Diantha,
who were true as scripture.
No woman ever denounced him
not even Emma who stayed behind
to rear strong sons
while others railed against her:
"If you hadn't been born a woman,
You'd be Perdition's son."

It was his love of women
that hammered his courage into gold.

A Ministry of Blessing: Nicholas Groesbeck Smith

Lavina Fielding Anderson

NICHOLAS GROESBECK SMITH WAS BORN INTO MORMON ARISTOCRACY. He was a grandson of Apostle George A. Smith, a son of Apostle John Henry Smith, and a half-brother of George Albert Smith, who became eighth president of the church. If he had been the oldest son of John Henry Smith's first wife, rather than the oldest son of the second wife—who knows? Perhaps he would have become president of the church. He was a missionary in Holland, a bishop for ten years, three times a mission president, a counselor in the Salt Lake temple presidency, acting Church Patriarch, and one of the first five Assistants to the Twelve.

In this essay, however, I do not want to explore his ecclesiastical callings, real and possible, as much as I want to pay tribute to a man who was never administratively a mover and shaker, and who has consequently largely been forgotten. Instead, he was a servant, a minister, a healer, a consoler, and a bridge-builder. He welcomed and accepted every church calling that came to him, regardless of personal inconvenience. He loved people and cherished opportunities to serve. He was sincerely modest about the visibility, power, and administrative prerogatives of his positions, but he relished the opportunity for one-to-one ministration.

I encountered Nicholas when Mary Ellen Stoddard Smith, whose family histories I have edited for a decade, finished her own maternal and paternal lines and moved on to prepare a family history of her dead husband's ancestors. Her husband, Stan, was the third of the four sons of Nicholas G. and his wife, Florence Gay Smith. Among the materials she gave me was a photocopy of a journal which Nicholas began as a missionary in Holland and continued, with occasional gaps that sometimes lasted for years, right up until his death in 1945. Nicholas G.'s youngest son, Nicholas G. Smith, Jr., became interested in the project. He had arranged for photocopies of the diary to be made in the 1960s after his mother's death, but neither he nor his two older brothers had read them

recently because Nicholas's handwriting was fatiguing to decipher. He welcomed the prospect of a typescript edition.[1]

I want to talk about Nicholas's life chronologically, pausing periodically over incidents that deserve more detail or that highlight an aspect of his character or personality. Two of those incidents are a conflict with his first employer after his return from South Africa where he was mission president for seven and a half years, the second was the excommunication of his kinsman, Richard R. Lyman.

Background and First Mission

Nicholas was born 20 June 1881, the second child of John Henry Smith and Josephine Groesbeck Smith. Josephine was John's second wife. By his first wife, Sarah Farr Smith, John fathered eight sons, then three daughters. The oldest surviving son, George Albert Smith, became president of the church. The seventh, Winslow Farr Smith, was born eighteen months before Nicholas, and the two were inseparable friends, not only as boys but as men. Nicholas was the oldest son and second child in Josephine's family of eight.

The Edmunds-Tucker Bill, which was passed the year after his birth, impacted his life. His father was called to preside over the European Mission when Nicholas was three. Josephine and Nicholas visited him for a few months, arriving on 2 November 1883 and departing eight months later on 26 July 1884. In an unfinished, undated manuscript, Nicholas half-jokingly reports, "Under his [Father's] presidency I filled my first mission."

After returning to the United States, Josephine and her steadily increasing brood spent almost a decade on the Underground, avoiding arrest for polygamy. They were able to return safely to Salt Lake City in 1897, where her eighth child and fifth daughter, Josephine, was born in 1898.[2] Nick was then sixteen. He graduated from West High School in 1902 with decent, though not spectacular grades; however, he shone in

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1. Lynne Kanavel Whitesides and Martha Dickey Esplin did much of the inputting for most of the volumes; then during the course of proofreading the diaries, I discovered gaps and missing pages. At that point the whereabouts of all but five of the originals were unknown. Nick remembered that his older brother, John Henry Smith, had loaned the diaries to the Historical Department archives of the LDS church in 1983 where they were microfilmed, then returned to the family. This decision to microfilm turned out to be a fortunate one. I completed the transcription of those in the historical department; there are no restrictions on who may see them. The final transcription is about 1,500 pages long. I appreciate the permission of Mary Ellen and Nick to draw on the diaries for this essay; but they, of course, are not responsible for my conclusions and interpretations.

2. The other children were Sarah Ann (1878), Nicholas (1881), Joseph Harmon, 1885, Lucy, 1887, Elizabeth, 1890, Glenn, 1893, and Arzella, 1895.

athletics, captaining a football team that went undefeated for three straight years.[3] For the rest of his life he avidly followed local ward and collegiate sports. It was an enormous pleasure to him that his three older sons were also athletically gifted.

His patriarchal blessing urged him to cultivate cheerfulness, and his good nature was certainly a trait that drew people to him. Tall, handsome, and sunny of disposition, he was praised in tributes after his death as "a marvelous maker of friends." His entire life was characterized by a disposition eager to be happy and easily contented. By demanding little for himself, he had much to give others. Service was a reflex, and the church was blessed that so much of his adult life was spent in significant church callings.

Nicholas began keeping his first diary on the day he was set apart for his mission to Holland just ten days after his twenty-first birthday in 1902. For over half of the time, he was president of the Amsterdam Conference, in frequent and close communication with Heber J. Grant, president of the European Mission. Simultaneously, Winslow was serving in Germany; the two wrote regularly and visited two or three times. They made something of a "grand tour" after their missions, traveling through Germany, Italy, and France. By special permission, Win met Nicholas when he reached Holland, and they were able to spend several days together. When Winslow left, Nicholas wrote in his diary (1 August 1902): "Winslow the dear old boy, took train for Germany, leaving me in one of the bluist spells I ever had but as I had given myself up to the spreading of Gods work I bore it as best I could and resolved to be cheerful."

This is a significant statement because his diary *is* determinedly cheerful, even when he has to force the jocularity a little during those first few days and weeks of adjustment. Groningen, his first assignment, was a shabby agricultural town. Although the church's few members were struggling financially, they willingly shared what they had with the missionaries. Nicholas was appalled at the dirt, the insects, and the coarseness in which he had to live, but his journal account is deliberately humorous. He writes things like this:

> In the evening with Bro Platt visited some investigators. Bro. Platt talked while I looked wise.

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3. According to his son, Gerald Gay Smith, Nicholas manifested unusual racial tolerance for the times in his relationship with "Ab" Howells, an African American teammate. When an Ogden restaurant refused to let Howells eat with the rest of the team in the dining room, Nick said, "Then we'll all eat in the kitchen with him." When the rest of the team celebrated their victories by getting drunk, Nick and Ab, both of them teetotalers, "would see that they got home." Gerald told these stories during the response period of the Sunstone presentation in which I read an earlier version of this essay in August 1997. Audiotape SL97 #254 in my possession.

> Arose and attended meeting. Most of the saints bore their testimony and a good spirit prevailed. ... had a dinner on a table without a cloth. The Menue consisted of the following: String beans, Potatoes, Sausage and Grease which they dole out by the cup full.
>
> At the evening meeting I spoke for about a minute Bro. Joseph C. Platt translating. ...
>
> In the evening we called on one of the Saints and feasted on burnt chocolate till I thought I would die.
>
> In the morning received two letters ... which drove away a horrible case of the blues.
>
> Had a horrible bed last night almost bent double sleeping over a hill right in the middle of it ...
>
> Fleas almost finished Pres. Platt and they did finish me. ... A fine supper of bread, butter, cheese, and water.
>
> Had a dinner of Potatoes and meat and a few hairs for desert. Came to the conclusion that if Christ got the same kind of food among the poor that we did, I didn't blame him for fasting forty days.
>
> ... dinner ... consisted of the old favorites, bread, butter, cheese, and water.[4]

Interestingly, we get a much different picture of this emotionally arduous time at the beginning of his mission from an undated manuscript about his missionary experiences that Nicholas began writing, probably in the early 1940s. He is more candid, both about conditions, about his insecurity, culture shock, and the spiritual resolution to his situation. He wrote:

> ... District President Joseph C. Platt felt that I should start at once to learn the business but I wanted to study the language & be able to talk first. My Arguments were of no avail and so he took me to the head of one of those streets and said "take every door. Don't miss one or you might miss an Israelite. I must finish some work on another street—goodbye."
>
> I looked down that street & wondered how I would dare go to a door and ha[n]d out a tract without being able to talk a word of Dutch. Finally I knocked at the 1st door and the little woman who answered tried to talk to me but I put the tract in her hands and tried to talk with my hands but she couldn't understand. I created quite a sensation and finally ran onto some

4. I suppose it's natural for a young man with a healthy appetite to pay close attention to his food, especially when he can't speak the language and when comparisons with home are close to the surface. Nicholas was not just being picky. He was personally fastidious and had a mild and healthy sensuous streak in him. For the rest of his life, he describes his pleasure in "stripping off," as he called it, to mow the lawn in his swimming trunks or "work up a good sweat" doing yardwork, then soaking in a hot bath or shower. He always recorded the quality of the meals he was given and the bed he slept in while he was a visiting general authority. If either was bad, he didn't complain, but if they were good—and they usually were—he recorded that fact appreciatively.

one who could talk English and was that a relief. I talked so long to them that Pres Platt becoming concerned came along. ...

My first night in Groningen will never be forgotten. ... Partitions had been pulled out of the downstairs to make a little hall that would seat about 40 people. The upstairs was reached by a stairway that was almost perpendicular, from about the 4th step from the bottom you could stand and look right into the room with you[r] head a few inches above the floor above. There were three rooms above two chairs & a couple of boxes to sit on. A table. No floor coverings at all just plain boards, not even a bed, and I didn't realize what that ment until it was time to retire, when to my amazement Pres Platt pulled out of a bare cupboard some blankets[,] place[d] one on the floor and we laid down it and pulled the other one over us. ... They were full of fleas. Exhausted and sore the next morning when we arose I said to Pres Platt *I'm going home.* He rebuked me for such a statement saying that my father was one of the leaders of the Church & would give his life for the Church. What? he ask[ed] would your father do if he was here? I replied—He would have gone home last night. He would never have slept in that bed. ...

The second evening he took me out to an investigator and began preaching the Gospel advising me to sit and listen[,] try to catch on to some words. What an evening! Unable to understand a word I sat there until 10 Oclock and then said Its time to go home. He replied that I should be patient because the people want to give us something to eat ... About 10:30 food was brought in. A thin slice of Rogge Brood, black as ink and looked like it had been cut off the end of a brick. One look was enough to destroy any appetite I may have had & so I said I can't eat that. "Yes you must[,"] replied Pres Platt or these folks won't ever join the Church if we don't accept their Hospitality. Then I said they never will because I won't eat that. Finally I did however and it wasn't bad. Within a few weeks, I liked that better than any bread I ever ate. Home & to bed on a second hand iron affair without spring[s] I had bought that day and we did get some sleep. I had a strange dream and related it as follows to Pres Platt the next morning. I left Holland crossed England had the trip all the way across the Atlantic & the train ride across America to home. As I walked up from Third West & South Temple streets to home I saw my sweetheart and she turned her back on me. Then I met Mother and she said "Son, what will your Father say" and I said ["]Mother if you won't tell him I will go right back.["] I got on the train and had the trip right back to Groningen. Then I woke up and was I glad to be in Holland. President Platt took hold of my hand and said "I have been worried about you. Now you have had the Missionary dream I know everything will be O.K." and so it was for a day until Sunday Morning when Pres Platt says it is time to go down to Sunday School. Depressed and unable to talk to anyone in Dutch, I said I am not going down. Again he tried to persuade but I was obdurate, so he went down and I sat and pondered for a few minutes only to be distracted by the sound of music from below. In our lovely Deseret the Saints were singing. I couldn't understand any words but the tune cut me to the quick and down on my knees I went and poured out my heart to my heavenly Father pleading with him to help me to be a man. All through the

> opening exercises of that Sunday School I was on my knees. Then Pres Platt peaked [sic] over the top step for the stairs were almost like a ladder and saw my tear stained face and ask[ed] "how are you feeling?" I replied better and he said "you look better come on." So I went with him and surely the Lord had transformed me and I began to appreciate the food and everything about those lovely people and their country (pp. 10-12).

None of this is in his diary—not the first experience tracting, not the efforts of his companion to help him get acclimated, not the purchase of the bedstead, and most conspicuously not his discouragement, vivid dream, refusal to attend church, heartbroken prayer, and transformation. The diary makes it clear that there was no overnight transformation. Nicholas's revulsion at dirty food and his comments on the coarseness and monotony of their living situation lasted for weeks, not just a weekend. He continued to struggle with the language for months.

Was he remembering his missionary experience with a storyteller's art—shaping it to contrast his youthful insecurity and culture shock with the seasoned missionary that the Lord could make out of willing timber? In other words, did he remember his "before" experiences as worse so that his "after" experiences would be better? Perhaps. And in an effort at the time to deal with his depression by denial, did he fail to record his dream and prayer in his journal because he would then have had to acknowledge just how severely local conditions were impacting him? I think a little of both dynamics is at work. I do not consider it a possibility that Nicholas later fabricated his spiritual experiences. Such an act is too inconsistent with the rest of his personality. And certainly his love for the Dutch people was genuine. For the rest of his life, he maintained contact with them, recording with joy when he met them again—including some who immigrated to South Africa. He performed marriages for their children, spoke often in the Dutch ward in Salt Lake City, helped them find housing and jobs when they immigrated to the United States, patronized those who established businesses in Salt Lake City (especially furniture-maker Cornelius Zappy), and enjoyed attending the semi-annual reunions and socials held in conjunction with general conference.

Nicholas was released from his mission in 1905 and returned to Utah where he worked first as a salesman for ZCMI's grocery department, then as manager of Mountain States Telegraph and Telephone Company in Davis County. He married Florence Gay of Ogden on 20 December 1906 in the Salt Lake temple. They lived in the Seventeenth Ward, where his father had been bishop, and where Nicholas served as a counselor in the YMMIA, as Sunday school teacher, and as a member of the Third Quorum of Seventies. The three elder of their four sons were born in

rapid succession: Gerald Gay Smith, John Henry Smith, and Stanford Groesbeck Smith.

South African Mission

On 1 September 1913 Nicholas was called by church president Joseph F. Smith to preside over the South African Mission, and they sailed two weeks later. Nicholas was thirty-two, Florence twenty-six, and their sons were four, two, and one. Without mission counselors, Nicholas struggled against exclusionary immigration policies that capricious officials used at will to deny admittance to LDS missionaries. There were never more than twenty missionaries in the country at any one time. The missionaries were surprisingly mature and self-motivated. Nicholas trusted them; and almost invariably they responded by working hard, dealing uncomplainingly with homesickness, serving the members self-sacrificingly, and absorbing the uncertainty of when, if ever, they would be released as wartime shipping and immigration regulations made the possibility of new missionaries shrink.[5]

As World War I overtook Europe, the number of missionaries dwindled until finally Nicholas was left alone, a mission president with no missionaries over whom to preside. Singlehandedly, he cheered and encouraged struggling branches and patiently waited out almost a year's bureaucratic hindrances until his successor, James Wylie Sessions, arrived in March 1921. During Nicholas's seven and a half years as president, he received permission to purchase the mission home, "Cumorah," that still served as mission headquarters when three of his four sons, in

5. There were only two exceptions to this record of exemplary service. One elder, in the mission home while waiting for the boat to go home, had been smoking, as Nicholas could tell by the "aroma." Nicholas did not confront him but patiently waited, sure that he would voluntarily confess. Within a day or so, the elder confessed, asked forgiveness, which Nicholas freely granted, and then two days later began flirting with Florence. When Nicholas caught him trying to pinch Florence—the word has been written over and could be either "arm" or "rear"—he sent him home with "a release commending him for his good works but not an Honorable release." Another elder confessed to him that he had married a young widow in his most recent field of labor. Since this widow, a girl in her early twenties, and her mother had been frequent visitors at the mission home, Nicholas was shocked and grieved. Again he did not overreact but thought carefully about his options, then told the missionary that "if he left on the next boat for England I would pay his fare. If he decided to stay here I would give him a dishonorable release & he would have to get home as best he could" (27 May 1918). The missionary decided to leave on the next boat, but the surprises were not over. After the missionary left, Nicholas went to the missionary's field of labor and discovered that there was no record of a marriage being performed, so he confronted the mother and daughter and learned, to his dismay, that the marriage had occurred in Capetown only a day or two before the missionary sailed for England. The elder had, in fact, been involved in a lengthy affair.

turn, served in South Africa. He also added a large meeting room, hand-digging the foundations with the help of members and missionaries.[6]

Speaking years later at a Primary conference on the importance of being an example, Nicholas told a story that does not appear in his diary:

> I remember out in the center of Africa I was ... on my way up to Salisbury in Rhodesia. I sat at a table with six men; some of them were very profane and all of them used liquor as well as having their tea and coffee at the table. As we sat there I refused to take tea. I was on my way to visit a family of Saints in Rhodesia, and after I left Victoria Falls and got up to the Saints' home in the other part of that Province, I was amazed to find that they had received a letter from a man, a neighbor of theirs who said: "I sat at a table with your Mormon leader and he didn't drink tea." Think what the result of my example would have been had I taken a cup of tea or a cup of coffee, and he had transmitted that information to some of the people he happened to know were members of the Church. Even while I was in the center of Africa, yet my example would have been carried on to the Saints, and then, of course, to all the membership of the Mission, that the Mission President, when hid away where he felt he was secretive, would take tea and coffee and thus show himself to be a hypocrite.[7]

Nicholas and Florence worked especially hard to build strong and cordial relations among members who were a small minority and not highly regarded. They kept a complete open-house at the mission home. Members from all over the country would show up with a couple of hours' notice or no notice at all to stay for a day or a week, sometimes with numerous children. The piano and tennis courts were consistent draws for young people, and Nicholas records having visitors for tea every day, sometimes as many as twenty. Florence who, all agree, loved people and was instinctively hospitable, had to manage this constantly fluctuating household and feed an ever-changing number of people with the intermittent help of one European servant girl and some native servants, as well as caring for three preschoolers. She has not left her feelings about this period, but Nicholas's tone in his diary is consistently genial, hospitable, and generous, nor does he record any instances of Florence's feeling differently. After Nicholas's death, a South African woman

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6. Proselyting was confined to the English and Boer, or Dutch, where Nicholas's language skills found an entry for him. He worked determinedly and with a certain amount of skill to make friends for the church in Capetown, to maintain good relations with officials and prominent people in other towns, and to establish cordial professional relationships with the other clergy. When a lurid anti-Mormon movie came to town, Nicholas and the elders passed out hundreds of pamphlets with a smile and a cordial invitation to come to meetings and see what real Mormons were like.

7. "Be an Example," undated address to general Primary conference, typescript, Nicholas G. Smith Collection, LDS church Historical Department, MSS 8816, reel 4.

who had immigrated to the United States, wrote Florence a breathless and perhaps unwittingly candid letter of condolence:

> None of us ever knew such utter gentleness and kindness before you came to South Africa or since you went away. We thought all the people from Zion would be just as wonderful to us as Smiths. Our first blow was when [the next mission president] came to Africa and said we could not go in and out of Cumorah without an invitation, that that was their home. Of course they were right, but we had come to look on Cumorah as our beautiful home too. Smiths had made us feel that way.[8]

Nicholas helped South African Saints find jobs, looked for runaway youngsters, counseled wayward sons, gave blessings of healing and comfort, named and blessed children, presided at funerals (Mormons were not allowed to officiate at marriages then), and cheerfully participated in holiday outings, long walks, and birthday parties, even though he had no taste for camping or hiking.

Although telegraphic service was available during the war, Nicholas was really on his own in dealing with problems. When a drunken member was arrested for the attempted rape of his eight-year-old stepdaughter, Nicholas comforted the distraught wife even after she made her daughter change her story, refused to pay the offending member's bail, and convened a court to disfellowship him for drunkenness and, after his conviction, to excommunicate him. Despite abuse heaped on him by the distracted wife, Nicholas continued to visit the family and—this touches me—bought and installed a padlock on the inside of the little girl's bedroom door so that she could feel safe at night.

Florence almost died of typhoid fever, a virulent illness that left her dark hair completely white, and suffered the first of several miscarriages. And when the world epidemic of Spanish influenza struck South Africa in the fall of 1918, thousands died—12,000 whites and 500,000 natives in South Africa alone. Nicholas was able to obtain a little aspirin from a local doctor and tried to care for the missionaries, all of whom survived such kill-or-cure treatments as sweat baths and enemas. In later years Nicholas recalled this time as a fulfillment of his missionary blessing that he would see "the arm of the Lord made bare" as he emerged from his "hiding place to vex the nations."

Speaking at general conference after his return, Nicholas recalled "that terrible October of 1918":

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8. Gladys C_____ J_____ (initials on envelope but full name not signed to letter), Beverly Hills, to Florence G. Smith, 8 Nov. 1945, Nicholas G. Smith Collection, MSS 8816, reel 4.

The first day they began to die in dozens. At the end of the first week five thousand people had died in [Cape Town] alone. The coffins were all used up, the trains stopped running, the street cars stopped running, the stores closed, even the drug stores and we could not get medicine. They were laying people in trenches, hauled out to the cemeteries and laid in trenches and covered without any caskets.

I saw children dragging their parents' caskets along the street. I saw men with bodies thrown over their shoulders, carrying them off to lay them away. ... People were dying everywhere, and at the end of the second week 10,000 people died in the city alone. The saints came down with that dread disease—fifty-seven Latter-day Saints in the city of Cape Town had the disease, half of them spitting blood, and that was the sign of the end. I remember that it invaded the mission house—five of the missionaries were down. ... I remember Aaron U. Merrill of Cache Valley and I were the only two left upon our feet. ... I said to Elder Merrill, "Are you prepared to go with me through the city blessing the people?" He said, "I will go as far as I can." And so we set out.

It did not do any good to knock on the door and wait for an answer, for in some homes they found eight people dead, lying around on the floor, some having crawled along the passageway to get to the kitchen to get a drink to quench their thirst, and they died there. The first door we came to was that of a Mormon girl who had married a non-Mormon. He had promised her she could go to church and do anything she liked if she would only marry him. After they were married he told her she could not go to those accursed Mormons any more. When we opened the door and walked into their house, he was standing at the foot of the bed, looking out of glazed eyes. When he seemed to recognize us, he said, "Get out of here!" I walked up and took hold of his arm, and saw his wife upon the bed, too weak to speak. Just then a neighbor came in and said, "It is all right gentlemen. The doctor left here an hour ago, and he says they will be dead in another hour. You may go on your way." Go on our way and leave a Latter-day Saint to lie there and die alone? We anointed her with oil and sealed the anointing, and lo and behold the Lord raised her up; but the man He took. [His diary records that they fetched another Mormon sister to nurse the couple, which may have had something to do with the woman's survival.]

And we went from door to door that day, and of the fifty-seven who had been smitten with that disease, every Latter-day Saint was healed. Not one died![9]

Mission President Twice More, General Authority

In April 1921, after months of waiting for knots of red tape to untangle, Nicholas welcomed his replacement and the family returned to Utah.

9. Conference Report, 1923; reprinted in *Cumorah's Southern Messenger,* Mar. 1961.

The month after Nicholas's return, Rudger Clawson, then president of the Quorum of the Twelve, ordained him a high priest. He served as alternate high councilor in the Salt Lake Stake and as president of the newly formed Salt Lake Mission. He also served on the YMMIA general board. He searched several weeks for a job, then was hired by the church to work at the Bureau of Information on Temple Square where the South Visitors Center now stands. His salary was a meager $150 a month. He did not complain about the salary—or about anything else either—but it was obvious that Benjamin Goddard, director of the Bureau of Information, took a strong dislike to Nicholas and tried to make his life miserable. An older man with scholarly ambitions, and a British convert, he had been associated with the bureau since 1902. Perhaps he was jealous of Nicholas's easy friendliness and instant rapport with tour groups. After about ten weeks, he pulled Nicholas off tours and assigned him to "sell beads" and curios at the little gift shop inside the bureau. Two weeks later, Nicholas wrote, "Brother Goddard called me in and told me that on account of the shortage of one man he would have to ask me to do Janitors work for a few weeks. I got on my overalls and went with the man. During the day I worked one hour 30 minutes and when I asked what else there was to do they said just sit down and rest" (diary, 8 Sept. 1921).

Nicholas certainly did not feel that janitorial work was beneath him nor did he complain that his strengths with people were not being used appropriately.[10] Instead, he recorded with telling precision exactly how long he worked each day—never more than three hours and sometimes less than one—and summarized after a few days: "I am beginning to think there is a nigger in the woodpile [an unfortunate but common phrase at the time meaning "something suspicious"] about needing my service as Janitor so bad" (diary, 10 Sept. 1921). About three weeks after he had begun this schedule, he recorded: "Brother Goddard in his frenzy to give me some kind of dirty work sent us down in the basement of the Bureau to clean and straighten up. It had not been cleaned for three years and needed some work done on it. One of the Janitors said he must have it in for me otherwise he wouldn't have set us to work there." It is the only note of bitterness in his record. His half-brother, George Albert Smith, counseled him to "to be happy & patient and my work would work out alright" (diary, 3 Oct. 1921). Only two days later, Nicholas recorded, perhaps with a pardonable note of triumph:

> Scrubbed the floor of the Bureau of Information and was dusting down

10. Gerald Gay Smith recalled feeling the injustice that his father, after giving nearly eight years of his life to church service as a mission president, was now doing janitorial service. But when he protested to Nicholas, his father replied, "It's honest work. It doesn't bother me, and it shouldn't bother you."

> the stairway when Bro. Goddard came in. He informed me that my Janitorial Duties ended and for me to work in the Bureau selling things. He further informed me that he was not feeling well as his heart was going over 100 a minute. In afternoon, Winslow [president of the Northwestern States Mission] advised me that brother Goddard had been questioned rather stiffly in the Mission Presidents meeting. I take it that was the cause of his quickened pulse and my release from Janitorial Duties (diary, 5 Oct. 1921).

The next day Nicholas was put in charge of ushers for general conference and recorded with joy that President Heber J. Grant, speaking in priesthood meeting, had praised John Henry Smith's "wonderful work and then said George Albert Smith, Winslow Farr Smith[,] Nicholas G. Smith his sons are worthy sons of a worthy sire" (diary, 6 Oct. 1921). Nicholas also received a special blessing of "comfort and consolation" from his kinsman-patriarch Hyrum G. Smith, and he and Florence received their second anointings. Obviously, these spiritual compensations greatly consoled him for his less than satisfactory employment situation.

Unfortunately, there is no diary for 1922, the next year; but during that year he was appointed manager of Deseret National Bank Building, which leased office space to other businesses. Although he took a pay cut from $150 to $100, he accepted the offer and raises followed until he was getting $250 a month, which allowed him to send his sons to college and on missions. Even more importantly, on 22 October 1922 he was ordained bishop of Seventeenth Ward by Apostle James E. Talmage. His and Florence's last child and fourth son, Nicholas Groesbeck Smith, Jr., was born in 1927.

While still serving as a bishop, Nicholas was ordained a patriarch in June 1932 and served as Acting Presiding Patriarch, a position he held until March 1935 when Heber J. Grant called him to preside over the California Mission. After his release in August 1937, he was called as first counselor in the Salt Lake temple to Stephen L. Chipman, a widower. Florence served as matron. In August 1940 Nicholas was called to preside over the Northwestern States Mission and was released after sixteen months to become one of the first five assistants to the Quorum of the Twelve with Marion G. Romney, Thomas E. McKay, Clifford E. Young, and Alma Sonne. They were sustained on 6 April 1941, and Nicholas was still serving in this position when he died of a coronary occlusion on 27 October 1945.

Nicholas apparently stopped keeping a diary in 1922 and the next complete volume dates from 1942, twenty years later, when he was called as a general authority. As a result, we have no first-hand account of his presidency of the California and Northwestern missions or his activities

in the temple presidency or as acting Church Patriarch.[11] Nicholas enjoyed and respected his association with the other general authorities, but if he had an ambitious bone in his body, I have been unable to discover it in hundreds of pages of his personal writings. Instead, the message that strikes even the most casual reader is his eagerness to serve. In some ways, even as a young missionary, he was fatherly; and even as a general authority, as his son Nick puts it, "he never got over being a bishop." He mediated family disputes, counseled estranged couples, looked for runaways, found jobs for the unemployed, visited the sick, welcomed the homeless to his own roof, ran errands for widows, spoke movingly at funerals, wrote cheery letters to servicemen, and interviewed returning missionaries, recording with unfailing relish when each of them answered, in response to his obviously leading question, that his or her mission was "the best in the Church." Anyone who had ever met Nicholas had a claim on his friendship for the rest of his life, and he was as willing to do a favor for the friend of a friend as he was for a member of his own family. When he explains the chain of acquaintance in, say, performing a marriage, it is sometimes three or four people long. His missionaries, members from his various mission fields, and their friends, were treated like members of his extended family. Never well-off, or even financially comfortable, he was generous of spirit, and Florence had the same gift of hospitality.

But perhaps most importantly, he blessed people directly by the laying on of hands and the utterance of inspired speech. When he had a free evening, he enjoyed visiting the city's hospitals, freely blessing any who desired it. Visiting the sick, said one of the tributes after his death, was his "hobby." He blessed blind children, people with cancer, and people suffering from kidney failure. Most frequently he did not record whether someone recovered or not; but in the cases where death followed a blessing, he did not seem perturbed or even comment on it. In addition to

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11. Since Nicholas so faithfully commenced a new diary with the beginning of each new church calling, it is possible that other volumes or partial diaries may have been lost, even though he admits in 1942 that the press of earning a living made him neglect his journal for several years. His diary as a general authority is extremely circumspect. He faithfully records the complete name and office of each individual he ordained or set apart, obviously seeing his diary as a supplement to the official church records; but he never describes the content of the quorum meetings he attended. The most commentary on such meetings he ever makes is to say something like, "Many important decisions were made." Such restraint had been established as a policy on 5 October 1904 when President Joseph F. Smith had warned that the contents of the apostles' diaries, were they to "fall into the hands of the enemy[,] might bring trouble upon the church." The Quorum of the Twelve unanimously agreed not to record "in their journals that which took place in the Council meetings." Rudger Clawson, Diary, 5 Oct. 1904, in Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1993), xiii.

blessing those who were ill, he blessed departing missionaries, departing servicemen and servicewomen, those experiencing marital difficulties, those who suffered bereavement, the discouraged and depressed.

He had a particularly endearing willingness to bless women—dozens of them—struggling with infertility; and he records with pleasure being shown the children who were born after these blessings. One of these women was his own daughter-in-law, Mary Ellen, who, after five years of marriage and exhausting the infertility treatments available in California, flew to Utah with Stan for conference. She remembers the blessing as being a "very direct blessing, not only of motherhood, but that I would be a good mother. I never felt a moment's doubt." Still, she was startled to realize that the "airsickness" she felt on the plane returning home was really morning sickness. The first of their seven children was born exactly nine months later.

Nicholas also ministered to people by his genial attentiveness. A constant stream of visitors flooded his office. Often they were petitioners for whom he could do nothing but listen—but he did that, courteously, attentively, warmly. One woman from Seventeenth Ward sometimes spent two or three hours at a time complaining about disagreements she had with her grown children. Nicholas always heard her out. And when he could, he helped. His was a ministry of blessing.

A surviving diary of a few months during 1929 when he was a bishop shows him making up to a hundred visits to ward members a month. He kept a running total, and I find it endearing that about a third of the time his math was off and he ended up actually undercounting the number of visits he made. Unfortunately, there is no journal for most of his years as bishop, but perhaps the flavor comes across in two items he kept in his preparation book. One was a somewhat overwritten but sincere tribute paid by a young woman in his ward when he was released in 1935. In it she tells of one family's experience, almost certainly her own:

> Once late at night, the man had put away his work, and was preparing to go to bed, when a loud knock came at the door. Without delay, it was opened. A young girl was there, wild-eyed and frightened. Her father was sick—oh, very sick. Death was so near. Could he come — it was late — but if only he would come. The lateness of the hour didn't matter. Here was a person who needed him, and he was ready to be of service. The man followed the girl to the room of her sick father. The father heard his footsteps in the outer hall. Just the sound of his footsteps brought him comfort. Soon he felt cool hands upon his head — and then a prayer, so humble, and yet so sincere. The man was pleading with God to spare his neighbor's life. The thankfulness of the wife and the three daughters of the sick man could not be spoken. The hours of their vigilance had left them spent and weary. In their anguish, they had called upon that man, who had such a way with him with God. When he left the room, he left behind a calm peace and the shining light of hope. The father would live!

The second was an ironic poem by L. A. Cowles clipped from the newspaper:

CALL THE BISHOP

If your baby's got the colic,
Call the bishop;
If your son's gone for a frolic,
Call the bishop;
If your daughter shows some spunk
Or blows in your latest punk
And your spirits all have sunk,
Call the Bishop.

If your baby's got a tooth,
Call the Bishop;
If your husband tells the truth,
Call the Bishop;
If your neighbor, for a joke
Gives your rib a gentle poke;
Don't respond with lightning stroke,
But call the Bishop.

If your tenant won't remain,
Call the Bishop
If your landlord raises cain,
Call the Bishop
If your flivver will not crank,
Or your youngster needs a spank,
Or your sweetheart won't be frank,
Call the Bishop.

When good fortune comes your way,
Forget the Bishop;
He looks up yonder for his pay,
Forget the Bishop;
When you've plenty and to spare,
And there's joy everywhere,
And you've not a single care,
Forget the Bishop.

I have the feeling that Nicholas enjoyed both messages—Doris Dalby's hero-worshipping praise and this wryly realistic poem about bishoping—with equal zest.

Nicholas and Florence were a happy couple; and he was always impatient to reach home after a trip. He frequently came home for lunch in the middle of the day just to visit with Florence, and "visiting at home"

was so pronounced a pleasure that he recorded it dozens of times as an evening activity in his diary. Nicholas had also grown up in a happy and contented home. By the time he stopped counting the number of temple weddings he had performed, it had reached 1,700 (diary, 15 Oct. 1945). When he counseled couples—and many came to him—he did so from a strong experiential foundation of contentment, love, and mutual respect. Not surprisingly, he considered divorce a disaster to be avoided at almost any cost. A typical satisfied journal entry would be: "[So-and-so] and his Wife came in to see about getting a divorce. I talked them out of it and got them into each others arms" (9 Apr. 1943). Or "[So-and-so] & his wife ... who have been on a verge of a divorce came in to discuss the matter with me and I finally got them into each others arms & sent them away happy and determined to make a go of it" (1 Nov. 1943). It is true that his counsel frequently placed an extra burden on women to be accommodating, not surprising given the times and the fact that women tended to seek marital advice oftener than men. For example, one woman "came in with her baby in her arms asking if she should get a divorce from her husband. She had 5 children. I told her of course not, but to be a good wife & win her husband from drinking & smoking by being a real Latter Day Saint" (diary, 17 Mar. 1944). At the same time Nicholas had zero tolerance for unrepented sexual infidelity. When former mission president "Ben Bowring came in about a former Missionary who is running out on his wife," Nicholas recorded succinctly, "I advised divorce" (diary, 2 June 1944).

Nicholas was utterly loyal to the church in the same way that he was loyal to his family and for the same reason. He had a tribal feeling about both. During his entire life, he had close relatives among the general authorities, and the larger network of in-laws, cousins, and relatives by marriage formed an expanded community in which church, civic, and familial obligations overlapped. His patriarchal blessing told him, "In your veins flow the blood of the Prophets and the Patriarchs of this dispensation." Without arrogance, Nicholas was proud of this family distinction. In at least two patriarchal blessings given to relatives, he used the same phrase; and it is clear from the context that this "chosenness" imposed special obligations and responsibilities, not necessarily special privileges. He had no particular political ambitions, despite his father's ardent espousal of the Republican party and his mighty efforts to establish it among Utahns in the years before statehood. When asked to run for the Salt Lake City school board, Nicholas did, as nearly as I can tell, with the same sense of *noblesse oblige* that he brought to his church callings—and won.

An example of how seriously he took ecclesiastical obligations is revealed in 1944 when his son John was serving as a bishop in Arlington,

Virginia. Nicholas was startled to receive a letter saying that John had a good business opportunity in Utah and was thinking of asking the stake president for a release. It was unusual for Nicholas to give his children or anyone else direct orders, but he immediately fired off a telegram (an expense he would not have incurred lightly) telling John not to talk to the stake president, then followed it up with an urgent letter:

> I just sent a telegram reminding you of the fact that we can not resign from a Church job. ... Whatever you do I want you to be successful at, and you take a big chance when you tell the Lord what you're going to do.
>
> Nothing would please us better than to have our children close to us but we will never tell the Priesthood what to do.
>
> Let President [Edward] Brossard know that I am opposed to your asking for a release. When, however, he is inspired to release you that is another question, but we stay on the job as long as the Lord wants us there.
>
> ... Remember what President Grant said, No Bishop has the right to run away from his job. ... I am anxiously waiting word from you as to what you have done.[12]

This level of commitment is extraordinary, even in the pre-expansion church before the 1950s. It is also touching to realize that, at a time when American manhood was defined by entrepreneurship, capitalism, acquisition, and power, Nicholas G. Smith instead enthroned valor, honor, and loyalty as the watchwords of his life. As nearly as I can tell, he remained faithful to these values from boyhood on.

Near the end of his life came another episode that revealed Nicholas's character: the excommunication of Richard R. Lyman for adultery. Like Nicholas himself, Richard was a third-generation general authority. His grandfather, Amasa M. Lyman, was a counselor in Joseph Smith's First Presidency and an apostle until 1867 when he was dropped from the quorum for spiritualist activities and sympathies with the Godbeites. He was excommunicated in 1870 and not rebaptized before his death. His son, Francis M. Lyman, was ordained an apostle in 1880, was British Mission president while Nicholas was in Holland, and served as president of the Quorum of the Twelve for thirteen years before his death in 1916. Richard R. Lyman, ordained an apostle in 1918, was excommunicated on 12 November 1943 and rebaptized almost ten years later in October 1954, but his priesthood blessings were not restored even though he lived another nine years. He was a descendant of John Smith, brother of Joseph Smith, Sr., and hence a second cousin to Nicholas G. Smith.

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12. Nicholas G. Smith to John Henry Smith, 27 July 1944, Nicholas G. Smith Collection, reel 4.

Nicholas's diary mentions no private interactions with Richard R. Lyman, who was about ten years his senior until 1943, when Richard, Nicholas wrote, "talked with me about talking sex to young people before marrying them" (diary, 13 Oct. 1943). Presumably Lyman was encouraging greater sexual explicitness—which is ironic considering the bombshell that was about to explode about Richard's private life.

Less than a month later, J. Reuben Clark, who had heard that Lyman was having an affair, assigned Harold B. Lee and Joseph Fielding Smith to follow him at night. They confirmed that he was meeting a woman. At Clark's request, Salt Lake City's police chief conducted a "smashed-door raid," discovering Lyman, age seventy-two, in bed with Anna Jacobsen Hegsted, age seventy-one. Lyman was excommunicated the next day for "'a violation of the Christian law of chastity.'" Michael Quinn has argued, persuasively in my opinion, that Lyman "definitely entered polygamy," even though it was "a totally unauthorized relationship," begun seven years after he became an apostle. In 1907 Lyman "restored this woman's church privileges which had been taken away following her post-1904 polygamous marriage to another man"; and the couple then "exchanged vows in a mutual covenant to establish a relationship known only to themselves."[13]

It is clear from Nicholas's response that the idea of plural marriage never crossed his mind and that he instead viewed his cousin unqualifiedly as a simple adulterer. On Saturday, 13 November 1943, the day the notice of excommunication was published and the morning of the day Nicholas left for stake conference in Malad, Idaho, he wrote in his journal:

> I was informed by Joseph Anderson to not present the name of Richard R. Lyman to Malad Stake Conference as one of the General Authorities as he had been excommunicated from the Church for Adultry [sic]. I am heart sick. I cannot understand. I went home and Florence & I had our cry out. Lee Palmer [a member of the church Welfare Committee] came and took me to Malad and he was broken hearted. We met with the High Council & Bishops and I plead with them to be charitable in their feelings toward one who has sinned but remember the Church has done right for the same rule that governs the lay man also governs the Apostle. All must be clean in thought and action for they can have no place otherwise in this Church. The Malad people were stunned as he was their favorite apostle. ...

The next day he added that the stake president had been "unable to sleep because of the news & Lee Palmer was also much disturbed in his rest. ...

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13. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 183, 497, 670; and D. Michael Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 373.

[At the morning session] a sad yet good spirit prevailed. I mentioned the trouble about Bro Lyman and ask[ed] for charity toward him."

It touches me that Nicholas, instead of huddling with his colleagues to exchange rumors and news about this dereliction of duty, sought comfort for his sorrow with Florence, an act that affirmed the bond of their own mutual love and commitment, and that his public stance was to plead for charity without in any way trying to minimize the grievousness of Lyman's fault.

While Nicholas was attending this stake conference, his son Stan called from California about the "rumor." With sadness, Nicholas wrote back on Tuesday, 16 November 1943:

> Unfortunately, it was not a rumor. It was the truth. You will remember in my talk in Conference I said, "Your sins will find you out. You cannot hide them." How true that is whether it be an apostle or any lay member. The special meeting was held in the temple Friday October 12th when action was taken. The severity of the penalty of course suggests to you that the case must have been a flagrant one. Yes, it is has been running through a number of years, it didn't just flare up like a flash in a pan. I think there is something mentally wrong—for several times he has been pressing down on me to buy some sexual books he has and to talk that stuff to every couple I marry. Which I refused to do.
>
> Pres. Grant has been in tears for days and says it is the most terrible thing that has befallen him in his life.
>
> I had a very hard time to carry on with my conference in Malad as it kind of stunned me and all the people there were broken hearted. The man was their favorite apostle & they couldn't understand.
>
> Uncle George [Albert Smith] has of course been under tremendous pressure and is far from a well man. Some folks censure him for signing the notice, but of course that was his job. ...
>
> The gas man said to me, "The war has not affected the people like this has. Every one who comes in here can talk of nothing else."
>
> Every job carries with it a responsibility. I hope and pray that me and mine will always realize our responsibility and so live that our lives may be as an open book.[14]

I was a little surprised that Nicholas, who did not hesitate to visit murderers in jail, did not call on his excommunicated kinsman; but there is no record that he did. Four days later he tells of helping his brother, Apostle George Albert Smith, "with some matters and heard a story from two men about Richard R. Lyman that made my blood run cold" (diary, 17 Nov. 1943). I think there is no question that for Nicholas unauthorized

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14. Nicholas G. Smith to Stanford G. Smith, 16 Nov. 1943; holograph in possession of Mary Ellen Stoddard Smith.

polygamy would be as heinous a sin as adultery. Perhaps he simply could not bring himself to visit the disgraced former apostle who had broken the Mormon and the Smith code of responsible manhood.[15]

After Nicholas's unexpected death in October 1945, Richard Lyman wrote Florence an eloquent letter of condolence, which perhaps can serve as a summary and conclusion to the life of this man who was both likable and lovable: "Sister Lyman and I would have come to you immediately if so doing had seemed wise but under existing circumstances we thought it best to go upon our knees side by side, as we did, and appeal to our Heavenly Father—to bless you and give you strength and comfort in this trying hour." He praised Nicholas as an "affectionate faithful and ever devoted saint and friend, ... a manly glorious character. Like President George Albert he made friends everywhere. Those who knew him best loved him most. He was truly a great man, a marvelous Latter-day Saint."[16] It is a judgement there is no need to revise.

15. Eighteen months later Nicholas saw Richard Lyman and his half-sister at a family gathering and says he "thanked [Richard] for his letter," although he does not mention the contents (6 Feb. 1945).

16. Richard R. Lyman, Letter to Florence G. Smith, 27 October 1945, Nicholas G. Smith Collection, reel 4.

Begotten of the Ash

Bryant H. McGill

Born of the ash,
Bloom of the dust
Fires of the soul,
Colors of rust

Bloom of the born,
Rust blood red,
And the gray noon bright
With colors dead.

Folk Ideas of Mormon Pioneers

Jessie L. Embry and William A. Wilson

IN 1997 MORMONS CELEBRATED THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY of the arrival of Brigham Young and the first LDS company to the Great Salt Lake Valley. During the anniversary year, they frequently discussed the experiences of the pioneers. After all this reflection, what will they remember? Will they recall the faith-promoting stories they learned in Primary, Sunday school, seminary, and family home evening? Or will they struggle to find out what "really happened"—if that is ever possible—complete with all the warts?

LDS members will probably do both. Some will heed the work of historians—lay and professional—who have examined the records and published books and articles attempting to explain "the facts." But others will continue to listen to and repeat the age-old stories. In all likelihood, the stories will be remembered longer. Why? Because they grow out of and support many Mormons' beliefs, their world view.

This essay grows out of four observations we have made regarding the way Mormons tell the story of the gathering to Zion and keep it alive.

1. Much of what average Mormons know about the church's past was not learned from reading scholarly books. It comes from listening to stories at home and in a variety of church settings.

2. Most people, Mormons included, are motivated to action, not by what "really happened" in the past but by what they believe happened.

3. One of the best ways to understand what people believe is to examine the stories they listen to and tell, their folklore. We define folklore simply as stories passed from person to person and from age to age by word of mouth rather than by written texts. Such stories may be true or false. But even when they originate in actual happenings, they are often enlarged as they move through time and space to satisfy the needs and desires of both the narrators and their audiences. Just as we shape stories as we pass them along according to our needs, so too do we selectively remember details of past events. For example, there were at least three exoduses from Nauvoo, Illinois, from February to September 1846, but

many Mormons remember only the one in February across a frozen Mississippi River.

4. We re-create the past in the image of ourselves by projecting onto the past the image of what we want our society to be. Then we use stories about the past to justify creating our present society after that projected image. As a result, the stories tell more about *our* desires, hopes, and beliefs than they do about historical people.

Methodology

To learn what pioneer stories Mormons remember, we gave an open-ended questionnaire to church history students at Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah), visitors to the Museum of Church History and Art (Salt Lake City), and selected LDS ward gospel doctrine classes during January and February 1997. BYU religion faculty members were especially willing to distribute the questionnaire to classes, so we received 889 responses from their students. Volunteers handed out the survey at the museum for two weeks from 10 to 25 January 1997. This period is typically the slowest time at the museum, but it was even slower than usual. We received only 153 responses. Despite the differences in numbers, we compared the two sets of responses. After all, we came to the same conclusions after reading 163 BYU responses as we did after we had read 889. The survey was also given to 107 Gospel Doctrine class members in Salt Lake City, West Valley City, Sandy, Holladay (all in Utah), and a small town in Oregon. Twenty-three early morning seminary students in southern California also answered the questions.

Respondents

Besides answering the questions posed, the respondents provided biographical information. (See the following respondent break-down chart.) The percentage totals do not always add up to 100 percent because some people did not respond to all questions.

Profile of Respondents

Respondents:	BYU church history students:	889
	LDS Museum visitors:	153
	Gospel Doctrine:	47
	Seminary:	23
	Total:	1,112

Biographical Information:

Gender

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Male	428 (48.1%)	59 (41.5%)	20 (42.5%)	14 (60.9%)
Female	460 (51.8%)	84 (59.2%)	22 (46.8%)	9 (39.1%)

Age

	BYU Church History	Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
under 20	166 (18.7%)	7 (4.5%)	0	23 (100%)
20s	711 (80.0%)	40 (28.2%)	9 (19.1%)	0
30s	4	30 (21.1%)	8 (17.0%)	0
40s	2	20 (14.1%)	7 (14.9%)	0
50s	3	17 (12.0%)	12 (25.5%)	0
60s	1	11 (7.7%)	4 (8.5%)	0
70s	0	13 (9.2%)	0	0

Where were you born? Respondents were born throughout the United States; very few were from foreign countries; Utah and California were the highest.

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
UT	252 (28.3%)	56 (39.4%)	21 (44.7%)	3
CA	165 (18.6%)		3	13 (56.5%)

Are you a lifelong member of the Mormon church or a convert? BYU students joined before age 20; museum visitors ranged from 10 to 65; Sunday school classes varied from 8 to 34.

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Lifelong	819 (92.1%)	120 (83.9%)	33 (70.2%)	22
Convert	49 (5.5%)	23 (16.1%)	14 (29.9%)	1

Where did you attend public school? Again, the responses were all over the U.S.; Utah and California were the most frequent.

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
UT	205 (23.1%)	56 (39.4%)	22 (46.8%)	0
CA	172 (19.3%)	0	4	19

Where did you learn the information you have given above? Respondents usually gave more than one answer. These were the most common; many did not respond.

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Church	500	75	25	16
Books	230	44	20	0
Home	225	21	4	2
Seminary	218	18	10	6

Has this information been important to you?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Yes	731 (82.2%)	120 (91.5%)	42 (89.4%)	11 (47.8%)
No	76 (8.5%)	5 (3.5%)	4 (8.5%)	5 (21.7%)
Some	6 (0.7%)	0	1 (2.1%)	1 (4.3%)

Questions

In generating the questions, we thought about stories that we had learned ourselves about the early Mormons. We also talked to other researchers about popular stories. We then wrote twelve questions regarding supposed historical events that might have been elaborated in stories over time. In other words, we anticipated the answers; we felt we knew many stories that Mormons believe.

We made the questions simple so respondents could answer them with just a few words. But we recognized that those giving a one word answer, such as the Nauvoo area was "swampy" before the Mormons settled there, were recalling other stories. Undoubtedly, those who talked about the swampy Mississippi River area recalled the stories of disease and miraculous healings that occurred when the Mormons first arrived. With each answer, there were many stories that respondents could have told about the event.

Answers

Many respondents—whether they attended BYU, visited the LDS church museum, were participants in Sunday school classes, or attended a southern California seminary class—knew the stories that we expected. But there were some surprises. On some questions, nearly half (around 45 percent) of the BYU students did not respond. We propose at least two reasons for this. First, as the pioneer era has receded farther into the past, contemporary Mormon youth, even those with pioneer ancestry, find this past less relevant to their lives than did church members born before World War II. Second, the LDS church has grown rapidly, especially since the war, and many members have no pioneer heritage. Some respondents, though born in the church, are probably the offspring of converts and thus not closely connected to the Mormon past. Though respondents did not always know the stories, that does not mean they do not tell faith-promoting stories. They do tell them but about events occurring in modern times rather than in the pioneer past.

The table at the end of this essay shows the responses to all the questions asked. Space limitations allow us to analyze only a few questions.

Question 2. How did the Saints know who was to succeed Joseph Smith as president of the church?

After Joseph Smith's death in 1844, at least eight men claimed to be his successor, splintering the Mormon movement. A majority, however, chose to follow the twelve apostles, led by Brigham Young. Although there are no contemporary accounts, many later claimed Young looked

and sounded like Joseph Smith when he spoke at a meeting.[1]

Historians continue to debate whether this transfiguration took place and when an account of it was first recorded, but we were surprised to learn that it was not the story many Latter-day Saints remembered in 1997. Some respondents from all groups wrote that Brigham Young was chosen by revelation. Others answered that Joseph Smith had told the Saints who his successor was to be, that the Twelve had the authority to make the decision, and that Brigham Young spoke with power.

Why was the transfiguration not mentioned more often? In the last ten years, church members have seen a transfer of leadership from Ezra Taft Benson to Howard W. Hunter and then Gordon B. Hinckley. Older respondents remember the death of Heber J. Grant in 1945. Since then George Albert Smith (1945-51), David O. McKay (1951-70), Joseph Fielding Smith (1970-72), Harold B. Lee (1972-73), and Spencer W. Kimball (1973-86) have been president. In all these cases, the senior apostle succeeded. As a result, many Mormons believe the twelve apostles have always held the keys of succession. The transfiguration, therefore, is not as important to modern Mormons who believe in the succession by seniority as it was to nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints who saw several options.

Question 5. How did the Saints react when the federal government asked for volunteers for the Mormon Battalion?

When the federal government first asked Mormons to volunteer to fight in the Mexican War, many hesitated. They questioned helping a government which had refused to assist them. However, Brigham Young, who had asked Jesse C. Little to approach U.S. president James K. Polk, was pleased. With Young's encouragement, the Mormons agreed to join.[2]

According to historian Davis Bitton, the story of the battalion was "ritualized" very early. "This whole experience," said Bitton, "was transformed into a symbol of federal oppression, Mormon heroism, and the overruling omnipotence of God. It was told and retold in those terms;

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1. For information on the succession and transfiguration, see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 187-233; Ronald K. Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 301-41. The most recent articles are Reid L. Harper, "The Mantle of Joseph: Creation of a Mormon Miracle," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 35-71; and Lynne Watkins Jorgensen and *BYU Studies* staff, "The Mantle of the Prophet Joseph Passes to Brother Brigham: A Collective Spiritual Witness," *BYU Studies* 36 (1996-97), 4:125-204.

2. For information on the Mormon Battalion, see John F. Yurtinus, "'Here is One Man Who Will Not Go, Dam'um,'" *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 475-87; W. Ray Luce, "The Mormon Battalion: A Historical Accident?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 1974): 28; and Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846-1848* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996).

even participants started remembering it in those terms. The men of the battalion—and later their descendants—were lionized as representatives of truth in a heroic struggle." He continued that while the story had some truth, the repeated narration "was a selecting out of certain aspects, dramatizing them, memorializing them, and giving the whole the simplicity of a morality play."[3]

We were surprised, though, that only a quarter of respondents told this story. Between one-half and three-quarters said that Mormons willingly joined the battalion. The story has changed for several reasons. During the nineteenth century when the stories Bitton talked about developed, Mormons were engaged in struggles with the federal government. For example, polygamy raids and unwanted federal territorial officers turned many Mormons against the government. Eventually, Mormons resolved most of these problems, and a shift of attitude occurred. In 1898 church leaders encouraged Mormons to volunteer to fight in the Spanish American War. In every war since then leaders have asked members to support their governments.[4] As a result, the story told about the battalion has shifted over the years. As Mormons are encouraged today to support government leaders, the altered story of battalion members willingly volunteering provides historical precedent for present action.

Question 7. As the Saints began their journey across the plains, what was their intended destination?
Question 10. What did Brigham Young say when he saw the Great Salt Lake Valley?

The story we expected to hear was that the Mormons, like the Children of Israel, had no idea where they were going but were led by a prophet. Brigham Young had had a vision and would recognize the place when he saw it. This story, of course, is not completely accurate. Before Joseph Smith was killed, he was planning to move to the West. He had read available reports, but he had especially focused on John C. Fremont's explorations. He knew he wanted to take his people to a remote place where they could practice their religion without the government pressures they had experienced in Missouri and Illinois. For that reason, he eliminated California and Oregon, which looked like inviting places but would not be remote enough. After Smith's death, Young and the other leaders continued to examine the reports. Simultaneously, Young also sought divine help.

By the time the first company arrived at the Salt Lake Valley, mem-

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3. Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Winter 1975): 74-75.

4. Robert Jeffrey Stott, "Mormonism and War: An Interpretative Analysis of Selected Mormon Thought Regarding Seven American Wars," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974.

bers had broken into three groups. Brigham Young remained with a sick group, suffering from mountain fever. A small advance group charted the route through Emigration Canyon. On 21 July 1847, Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow saw the Salt Lake Valley for the first time. They explored the next day and started plowing on 23 July. Over the next days, the group investigated the nearby valleys, but by 28 July Brigham Young concluded that the Salt Lake Valley held the greatest promise and laid out the temple site.

Young was expecting to build a kingdom in the West, and he knew that it would expand beyond the Salt Lake Valley. Over the years he sent colonists to St. George and Cedar City in southern Utah, San Bernardino, California, as well as to other places in present-day Nevada and Idaho.

But for the center place, Young selected the Salt Lake Valley. Had he seen a vision of the place so that when he saw it he knew he was in the right place? What did he say just before he drove into the valley? On 24 July he saw the area for the first time. According to his prepared history, "The Spirit of Light rested on me and hovered over the valley, and I felt that there the Saints would find protection." In 1877 Wilford Woodruff recalled that Young "had seen the valley before in vision and upon this occasion he saw the future glory of Zion and of Israel, as they would be planted in the valley of the mountains." Woodruff recalled Young's remarks at the time: "It is enough. This is the right place. Drive on."[5]

Over the years this statement became "this is the place," a way of saying that Young only knew where he was going when he saw it. In 1921 the first *This Is the Place Monument* was dedicated at the mouth of Emigration Canyon. As a result, many Mormons believe those were Young's actual words.

According to folklorist Richard C. Poulsen, Mormons created a "migration myth," explaining that "through the transforming expression of folk belief, the landscape is made holy and therefore habitable."[6] Geographer Richard Jackson has also questioned that the Mormons were wandering around with no clear idea where they were going. The myth started very early, argues Jackson, even among the first pioneers. In 1854 Heber C. Kimball, an apostle with the vanguard group, said, "We could not even get a chart from Fremont nor any other man from which to learn the course to this place."[7]

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5. Ronald K. Esplin, "'A Place Prepared:' Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 109.

6. Richard C. Poulsen, *The Landscape of the Mind: Cultural Transformation of the American West*, American University Studies, American Literature Series, Vol. 23 (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), quotes from 109-10; Poulsen, "'This is the Place': Myth and Mormonism," *Western Folklore* 36 (July 1977): 246-52, quotes from 252.

7. Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Experience: The Plains as Sinai, the Great Salt Lake as the Dead Sea, and the Great Basin as a Desert-Cum-Promised Land," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 (Jan. 1992): 49.

Why was the story of not knowing where they were going important to the Mormons? According to Jackson, from 1847 until the 1880s, there was still some concern over whether Brigham Young was Joseph Smith's logical successor. But if God had led Young, he must be the prophet to replace Smith. Second, and as important, the Mormons saw themselves as God's chosen people, and like the children of Israel, they needed a wilderness experience of wandering without a destination.[8]

The stories that present-day Latter-day Saints know about where the Mormons were going confirm the belief that God led the pioneers to the Promised Land. While only about half said that the Mormons did not know exactly where there were going, nearly 90 percent believed Young said some version of "this is the place."

Question 8. How did the first group of Saints measure how far they had traveled each day?

We included this story because we learned as children that William Clayton invented the odometer. Of course, that is not true. Odometers had been available for centuries. Orson Pratt could have purchased one in London when he bought other scientific measuring devices. We wanted to know if that story was still accepted and how it has developed.

Brigham Young assigned William Clayton, assistant company clerk, to gather data for future travelers. To do that, he wanted to know how far the group traveled each day. At first he just estimated the distance, as did several other people in the company. Clayton was frustrated that his figures were always two to four miles less than others. Convinced that he was right, Clayton looked for a uniform sized wheel. He measured Heber C. Kimball's wagon wheel and concluded that it rotated 360 times in a mile. Then he tied a piece of cloth (some say red flannel) on the wagon and spent several days counting how many times the wheel went around. He admitted that this was "somewhat tedious," but he discovered his figures were more accurate than the other estimates.

Clayton then talked to Orson Pratt and asked if he could design a device that would click each time the wheel went around. At first no one took Clayton seriously, but eventually Orson Pratt asked Brigham Young if he should follow Clayton's suggestion. Young assigned Pratt to work on a design. In a half day Pratt figured out a way to count the wheel's turning using two gear-like instruments. Appleton Harmon, a skilled carpenter, built the roadometer.[9]

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8. Ibid., 52.

9. For information, see Norman E. Wright, "I Have a Question," *Ensign* 11 (Aug. 1981): 30-31; James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 240-41; and *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921), 83, 91, 136-137, 143, 149.

The respondents' answers to the question surprised us. First, many did not respond. We thought more would know about the odometer than apparently did. Although we did not ask directly, we expected some people to say the Mormons invented the odometer. Only a handful did. A few mentioned that William Clayton, Orson Pratt, and/or Appleton Harmon were involved. Second, more people talked about counting the rotations than about making an odometer. Yet those who knew that someone had counted wheel rotations must have heard part of the story. Many even mentioned a rag tied to the wheel.

For us, the story of William Clayton inventing the odometer was told in Sunday school classes to prove that God blesses his Saints and through their efforts blesses the rest of his children. God inspired Clayton to make an odometer to help the Saints, but he also created a device which would be useful for years to come. This oversimplified view was not shared by the respondents.

But like us, respondents were probably not aware of the situation surrounding Clayton's decision to count the wheel's rotations. While there are stories of Young censuring the group for their behavior, these are not widely known. Most Mormons picture the pioneers—the vanguard group and those who followed—working together with no disagreement. Church leaders today talk about their agreement, stressing that they were no dissensions. With this model, many Mormons probably do not believe there were ever any disputes. While they would understand Clayton's frustration in wanting to prove that his mileage measurements were correct and later his anger when Harmon claimed to have invented the roadometer, contemporary Mormons have usually not been taught that those types of conflicts took place among the pioneers. If they are to be models after which we should pattern our own behavior, then the early Latter-day Saints must be appropriate prototypes.

Question 9. What did Jim Bridger think were the possibilities of settling in the Great Basin?
Question 11. What type of vegetation was in the Great Salt Lake Valley when the Saints arrived?

We were taught that Jim Bridger offered a thousand dollars for the first bushel of corn raised in the Salt Lake Valley and that there was only one tree standing in the valley when the Saints arrived. In fact, the Great Basin was not as isolated as these stories imply. Native Americans, especially the Utes, lived in the area. Fremont and other explorers had mapped it. Mountain men had gathered in Cache Valley and the Bear Lake area. Miles Goodyear was living in the Ogden area before the Mormons arrived. Brigham Young and the other leaders knew about the cold winters and water shortages in the valley, but they wanted their homes in

the area because it had few settlers and because it was remote.[10]

The vanguard group did consult with Jim Bridger about the possibilities of settling in the Great Basin. William Clayton recalled that Bridger knew about Goodyear and added that "the soil was good and likely to produce corn, were it not for the excessive cold nights, which he thinks would prevent the growth of corn."[11]

Later Mormon leaders recalled the meeting with Bridger. Church Historian Willard Richards included a story about the impossibility of raising corn in Young's manuscript history. In 1850 and 1870 Young explained in talks that Bridger had said, "Mr. Young, I would give a thousand dollars if I knew an ear of corn could be ripened in these mountains."[12] Glen Leonard has traced the accounts of the corn story and plans to publish an article about its origin. But Leonard questions whether Bridger was making a bet or simply saying he did not know if corn would grow in the Salt Lake Valley.[13]

With Bridger's comments in mind, the Mormons continued to the Salt Lake Valley. What did they see when they arrived? First accounts varied. Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow, along with the others who entered the valley, found water and vegetation along the streams. They also noted that the area was dry and that there were large crickets.[14] Journalist Thomas Bullock wrote that the valley had "wheat grass, which grows six or seven feet high" and other grasses that were "10 to 12 feet high." Wilford Woodruff exclaimed, "We gazed with wonder and admiration upon the most fertile valley spread out before us, for about twenty-five miles in length and sixteen miles in width, clothed with a heavy garment of vegetation."[15] William Clayton was "happily disappointed" because "there is little timber in sight anywhere, and that is mostly on the banks of the creek." He was looking for an isolated area.[16] Pioneer Harriet Young, on the other hand, declared, "We have traveled fifteen hundred miles to get here, and I would willingly travel a thousand miles farther."[17] According

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10. Poulsen, *The Landscape*, 109; Richard H. Jackson, "Righteous and Environmental Change: The Mormons and the Environment," *Essays in the American West, 1973-1974*, Thomas G. Alexander, ed. (Provo, UT: Charles Redd Center Monographs in Western History, No. 5, 1975), 21-42.

11. J. Cecil K. Alter, *Jim Bridger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 124.

12. Ibid., 125.

13. Conversation with Glen Leonard, 10 Jan. 1997.

14. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 257.

15. Jackson, "Righteous and Environmental Change," 24.

16. Allen and Leonard, *The Story*, 257; Jackson, "Righteous and Environmental Change," 26.

17. William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 71-72.

to Richard Jackson, "Even the most optimistic of the Saints recognized that the Salt Lake Valley was in an area with inadequate precipitation."[18]

Though the pioneers recognized that settling in the Great Basin would be difficult, they did not see it as the desert that many modern Mormons envision. Jackson points out that the desert image imagined today started early. In 1850 Apostle Willard Richards explained at a celebration that when the pioneers came to the Salt Lake Valley there was "no cheering prospect before them but the earth, covered with black crickets." Church leaders continued to make similar comments. In 1852 Apostle and Church Historian George A. Smith declared, in a statement quite different from Wilford Woodruff's, that when the Saints arrived they found "a desert, containing nothing but a few bunches of dead grass and crickets enough to fence the land." Jackson contends that by 1877 "the tradition was complete, the Mormons had ... found a ... barren desert which had been transformed into a beautiful oasis through the faith and works of the Mormon settlers."[19]

This myth was picked up by newspapers throughout the United States and continued in the first histories. For example, in an early history Edward W. Tullidge talked about a "dry sterile desert." In 1892 Orson Whitney wrote that the Salt Lake Valley was a "waste of sagebrush bespangled with sunflowers—the paradise of the lizard, the cricket, and the rattlesnake."[20] Other accounts continued to describe the Salt Lake Valley as a desert. Hurbert Howe Bancroft's history said the only green in the valley were "two or three cottonwoods." John S. McCormick's 1980 history of Salt Lake City talked about a desert that blossomed as a rose. Jackson explains that until Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen's history of Salt Lake City was published in the 1980s the myth continued. But he concludes, "For most Mormons the official tradition is still that Brigham Young ... selected a desert valley as their new Zion ... and through the intervention of divinity transformed that desert into the gardens of the Wasatch oasis."[21]

Jackson lists several reasons for the creation of this story. The Mormons saw themselves as God's chosen people, but they had been forced to leave their "Zion," the place where Joseph Smith told them that Jesus Christ would return and had been forced to relocate in a faraway place. The fact that the pioneers could raise crops showed that God was helping the pioneers and that they were still his chosen people. It also directly linked the Mormons with the children of Israel. Like those following Moses, they had crossed a wilderness to settle in a desert—complete with

18. Jackson, "Righteous and Environmental Change," 23.
19. Jackson, "The Mormon Experience," 49-51.
20. Ibid., 49, 51, 23.
21. Ibid., 51-52, 55.

a Dead Sea, Jordan River, and Sea of Galilee. The story also served some practical purposes. Jackson talked about Young's "geopolitical" goals and said that Young could convince Mormons to go to areas that were truly deserts because the prevailing view that the Salt Lake Valley had once been a desert could be used to persuade settlers that other desert places could be transformed as the Salt Lake Valley had been.[22]

We were surprised that many survey respondents did not know the bushel of corn and one tree stories. Many BYU students did not respond to the questions, and a handful even wrote, "Who is Jim Bridger?" Those who did answer reported that Bridger said it would be difficult or impossible to settle the area. More people answered the question about the type of vegetation in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Still almost one-fifth of BYU students did not respond. Very few knew the popular story of only one tree but were more generally familiar with the story of the undesirable desert. In fact, grouping the responses into those depicting the valley as a desirable or undesirable place to settle is even more revealing. The story of the desert blossoming as a rose, which Richard Jackson says developed in the 1850s, has caught hold and continues almost 150 years later.

Some answers were entertaining. Deserts have cacti, of course, some people said the valley was full of cacti. Others thought there were only weeds or tumbleweeds. Some mentioned sego lilies, probably remembering stories that the early pioneers ate sego lily roots. Two BYU students confused Nauvoo and Salt Lake stories and said the Salt Lake Valley was swampy. Three said it was frozen.

But we should not have been surprised. The story of one tree or a

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22. Ibid., 54. Jackson has not researched the exact origin of the one tree story, he thinks the Daughters of Utah Pioneers published it first. Personal conversation with Richard Jackson, 31 Jan. 1997. Volume 2 of Kate B. Carter, ed., *Heart Trobs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1940), does have an essay by Nephi L. Morris called "The Lone Cedar Tree" where the tree tells the story. One paragraph reads, "When the first white men came through the mountains they saw me the day of their entrance and made their trail to me. It was around me they decided to build a city. ... When they came in long trains, one after another, week after week, season after season, the tracks they made along side of me became a part of the overland trail. I was the token of the end of the long journey" (242).

In 1933 the Daughters of Utah Pioneers placed a plaque and protective cover around a juniper tree in the grassy strip in the middle of 600 East just south of the 300 South intersection. After vandals cut down the tree in 1958, the president of the DUP, Kate B. Carter, and the director of the Utah State Historical Society, A. Russell Mortensen, debated whether this was the lone tree in the Salt Lake Valley. The argument nearly cost Mortensen his job. In 1960 the Central Company of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers replaced the marker with another which acknowledged "willows along the banks of the streams" but still explained, "[A] Lone Cedar Tree near this spot became Utah's first famous landmark." In 1991 students from the M. Lynn Bennion School planted a Rocky Mountain juniper near the Lone Cedar Tree plaque. Gary Topping, "One Hundred Years at the Utah State Historical Society," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 65 (Summer 1997): 265-72.

desert covered with sagebrush yields the same results. The respondents believe that God changed the weather and the environment for the Saints. This view is valuable to teach young Latter-day Saints that God can do the same for them. Like many of the other stories discussed, this story proves valuable in church settings to teach the role God can play in our lives.

Question 12. What happened when the crickets started destroying the crops in 1848?

The story of the seagulls and crickets was the most universally known. We got the answer we expected. The pioneers hoped for a larger harvest in 1848. The settlers planted their crops, but just as they started to come up, crickets came and started eating all the new growth. The pioneers tried to kill the insects. Then they prayed, and the Lord sent seagulls who ate all the crickets and saved the crops. The seagulls did not stop eating when they were full; instead they threw up in the Great Salt Lake and came back for more.

Historians have examined journals and other contemporary records and found that no one at the time recorded the crickets' arrival as a miracle. They also point out that the crickets came many times. Archaeologist David B. Madsen and historian Brigham D. Madsen have contended that the pioneers should have eaten the crickets—like the Native Americans—and killed the seagulls.[23]

However, it did not take long for the seagull story to develop into a miracle. Henry Bigler heard the story in 1849 when he returned from California with the Mormon Battalion. In 1853 Apostle Orson Hyde discussed the event as a miracle in a general conference. The story continued to be enlarged over the years and the seagull became the Utah state bird. In 1913 the LDS church built the *Sea Gull Monument* on Temple Square. Over the years missionaries on the square have used the statue to explain in detail how the Lord protected the early Mormon settlers.[24]

Historian William Hartley points out problems with the seagull miracle story. First, the gulls had been in the area for years. Second, biologists have shown that when gulls throw up crickets they are getting rid of the parts that they cannot digest. Third, the crickets had almost destroyed the

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23. William Hartley, "Mormons, Crickets, and Gulls: A New Look at an Old Story," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Summer 1970): 224-39; Davis Bitton and Linda P. Wilcox, "Pestiferous Ironclads: The Grasshopper Problem in Pioneer Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Fall 1978): 336-55; David B. Madsen and Brigham D. Madsen, "One Man's Meat Is Another Man's Poison: A Revisionist View of the Seagull 'Miracle,'" *A World We Thought We Knew: Readings in Utah History,* John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito, eds. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).

24. Hartley, "Mormons, Crickets, and Gulls," 239.

crops before the gulls came. Fourth, in 1848 frost and drought as well as the crickets got the harvest. Fifth, contemporaries did not see the event as a miracle. Finally, it was not a one-time event. Gulls came in 1849 and 1850 and attacked crickets in other parts of Utah and the West.[25]

Still, as historians Davis Bitton and Linda P. Wilcox explain, "Religious background was never far from the minds of the Mormons. ... Their very planting of crops was in itself seen as part of the fulfillment of the prophecy that the desert would blossom as a rose."[26] Hartley also explained, "The 'Miracle of the Gulls' story remains appropriate as an expression of the faith held by Mormon pioneers and their descendants. To them, God can and does personally intervene in the everyday affairs of men when faith is exercised." So the Mormons gained "confidence ... that God could so act if He willed it."[27]

Mormons still accept this interpretation. Only 10 percent of the BYU students—the lowest no-response rate—did not put some version of the seagull and cricket story. Why did they remember this story? It is dramatic. It clearly says that the Lord was watching out for his Saints. It has been repeated often in church, school, seminary, and in LDS books. Even a non-Mormon who was mistakenly given the questionnaire at the Museum of Church History and Art knew the seagull story. (This was the only question he answered.)

Discussion

What do stories like these tell us about Mormons' view of the world? In 1975 Davis Bitton wrote, "Although not yet studied from this point of view, Mormonism provides an instructive case study of the ritualizing of the past by a modern group with an unusually acute self-consciousness."[28] In other words, Mormons not only learn their history, they turn it into gospel. The history remembered by ordinary people, folk history, may not always square with the way events actually happened, but we must know this history if we are to understand Mormon hearts and minds.

These stories are important for a number of reasons. All people recreate their history to fit their present needs. This idea is not new. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner said, "Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time."[29] Or

25. Ibid., 237-38.
26. Bitton and Wilcox, "Pestiferous Ironclads," 354.
27. Hartley, "Mormons, Crickets, and Gulls," 239.
28. Bitton, "The Ritualization," 68.
29. Quoted in Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 17.

as Wallace Stegner explained, "Any people in a new land may be pardoned for being solicitous about their history: they create it in a sense by remembering it."[30]

Bitton has argued that while historians should try to learn "what really happened" in the past (if that is possible), they should not "ridicule all ritualizations of the past. For most of us will possess our history ritualistically or not possess it at all."[31] In recent years some historians, as well as many folklorists, have moved beyond examining stories simply to prove or disprove them and have examined the narratives to discover how they function among the people and what they reveal about their beliefs. This has been our attempt in studying Mormon pioneer stories.

Few—if any—of the students we surveyed seemed too concerned with explaining how their stories reflected their world view. None of them said the stories were important because they explained their belief systems. But as folklorist David J. Hufford has explained, "Most people believe a large number of things that they never explicitly state as propositions, even to themselves. The natural vehicle of folk belief, perhaps of most belief, is stories that show what is true by what is said to have happened."[32]

Whether the stories come first and generate supporting beliefs or the beliefs come first and generate supporting stories is the old "which came first, the chicken or the egg" question. As Maxine Miska, another folklorist, has explained, "Belief in the supernatural or the transcendent is clearly not simply the result of one's experience. Belief systems provide *a priori* interpretations for experience."[33] Folklorists call such interpretations *memorates*—that is, personal experiences with the extraordinary or seemingly supernatural interpreted, sometimes after discussing the experience with others, according to the dictates of one's belief system.[34] According to folklorist Sandra Dolby Stahl, "[M]anipulation of the reality involved is for the sake of rhetoric—to persuade the listener toward an appreciation of the cultural truths represented by the story."[35] She explains that sometimes those stories develop over time. It takes a reflective look back to understand the cultural meaning of the event.[36]

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30. Quoted in Bitton, "The Ritualization," 84.

31. Ibid., 85.

32. David J. Hufford, "Beings Without Bodies: An Experience-Centered Theory of the Beliefs in Spirits," *Out of the Ordinary: Folklore and the Supernatural*, Barbara Walker, ed. (Logan: Utah State University, 1995), 20.

33. Maxine Miska, "Aftermath of a Failed Seance: The Functions of Skepticism in a Traditional Society," Walker, 90.

34. See Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 1 (1964): 5-19.

35. Sandra Dolby Stahl, *Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 18.

36. Ibid., 23.

These folklorists' comments help explain the stories Mormons tell about the early pioneers. Historians have examined accounts of the events narrated in these stories—events believed by many Mormons to have actually occurred—and found that almost no one at the time of occurrence saw them as supernatural or miraculous. The stories developed as church leaders and members reflected on the experiences and saw the hand of God. As Hufford explains, "One person's miracle is another's coincidence, one person's mystical experience is another's sense of awe at the beauty and majesty of the universe, one person's visit from the dead is another person's dream."[37] Usually some time must pass before people take that "reflective look back" and discover how God directed an event. Only then will they and those to whom they recount the event see it as a miracle.

The events we are concerned with here may or may not have actually occurred, at least not as they are depicted in the stories. The folklorist's task, however, is not to debunk what people believe the past to have been but rather to discover in a given culture the forces that give rise to belief narratives and to measure the influence of these narratives on the lives of people. Folklorists are as interested in truth as historians—not so much the truth of what "really" happened but the truth of what, why, and how people believe events happened. These latter truths are important because they help us understand what makes people tick. Often we are motivated more by what we believe happened than by what actually occurred.

As Apostle M. Russell Ballard stated in October 1996 general conference, "Our pioneer ancestors sacrificed virtually all they had, including their lives in many cases, to follow a prophet of God to this chosen valley." Ballard explained why: "Perhaps one reason they sacrificed and endured for all of us was to leave a legacy of faith for all of us to help us feel our urgent responsibility to move forward in building up the Church throughout the world."[38] Or to put the same ideas into folklore terms, the lesson of the pioneers "have been drilled into [generations of Mormon young people] as they have been encouraged to press on and on in whatever tasks they have been given in building up the kingdom."[39]

Summary

What beliefs do these stories reinforce? One of the most important is that God blesses people who help themselves—the Protestant work ethic.

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37. Hufford, "Beings Without Bodies," 27.

38. M. Russell Ballad, "Faith in Every Footstep," *Ensign* 26 (Nov. 1996): 23.

39. William A. Wilson, "The Study of Mormon Folklore: An Uncertain Mirror for Truth," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Winter 1989): 99.

So the Saints had to fight off the crickets. They also had to pray hard before getting the help of the seagulls. In the same way, the area which became Nauvoo was a swamp, but by hard work, the Saints made it a beautiful city. The Great Salt Lake Valley was a desert, but through the same hard work it blossomed.

But Mormons also believe that, once they have done all they can, God will come to their aid in all their worthy endeavors. Some believe God froze the Mississippi River so the Saints could cross. He provided the opportunity for the Mormon Battalion to serve. He sent the seagulls. Stories of these events, learned by lifelong Mormons and converts in their church classes or in their families, teach the principle that God watches over them, that he cares for them.

The stories also validate the narrators' belief that they are members of the "only true and living church upon the face of the whole earth, with which I, the Lord, am well pleased" (D&C 1:30). Like the children of Israel, Mormons believe they are the "chosen" people, and that through them, the Lord will bless all the earth. To cement that relationship, Mormons, like the Old Testament prophets and people, make special covenants with God, and in return God blesses them. The stories they tell of the trek west and of other events in pioneer history reinforce this belief. Often the stories are oversimplified. But because people tell stories about what interests them most or is most important to them, the narratives may teach us more about what is centrally important to contemporary Mormons than we can learn in other ways.

The events recounted in the stories have been transformed into a mythical picture of the past whose stories probably tell us more about the values, attitudes, and beliefs of those telling the stories than they do about the events described. There is nothing mystical about this process. As we said at the outset, as people hear the stories at home, in Primary, in Sunday school, and then pass them to their own children and students, they will change them, often unconsciously, or will selectively remember details, to meet their present needs. The story of the Mormon Battalion shifts its emphasis through repeated tellings over the years because we need a story that justifies our contemporary belief that we should all be loyal citizens. The story of the seagulls and the crickets develops into an account of divine intervention because we need to believe that God will still make things work out all right in the face of present-day crises. Stories of the trek west and the settlement of the Great Basin develop into heroic narratives of God directing the affairs of the Saints because we need empirical evidence for the belief that we were and still are the Lord's chosen people. In other words, we tell the stories we tell because we must tell them in order to provide historical warrant for what we are or want to be in the present.

Survey Questions and Responses

1. What was the site of the city of Nauvoo, Illinois, like before the Saints settled there?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Swampy/marshy	697 (78.4%)	119 (83.8%)	38 (80.9%)	11 (47.8%)
Other answer	113 (12.7%)	0	0	0
No response	79 (8.8%)	0	0	11 (47.8%)

2. How did the Saints know who was to succeed Joseph Smith as president of the church?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Brigham Young appeared as Joseph Smith	449 (50.5%)	59 (31.5%)	18 (38.3%)	4 (17.4%)
Revelation	117 (13.2%)	27 (19.0%)	10 (21.3%)	4 (17.4%)

3. When did the Saints leave Nauvoo?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
1846	163 (18.3%)	63 (41.5%)	21 (44.7%)	4 (17.4%)

4. How did they cross the Mississippi River?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Frozen	275 (30.9%)	59 (41.5%)	15 (31.9%)	3 (13.0%)
Ferry/raft	292 (32.8%)	38 (26.8%)	17 (36.2%)	6 (26.1%)
Both	106 (11.9%)	31 (21.8%)	10 (21.3%)	0

5. How did the Saints react when the federal government asked for volunteers for the Mormon Battalion?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Considered/went	227 (25.5%)	32 (22.5%)	18 (38.3%)	1 (4.3%)
Willingly went	501 (56.4%)	106 (74.6%)	25 (53.2%)	12 (52.2%)
No response	150 (16.9%)	0	0	12 (52.2%)

6. After the Saints left Nauvoo, where did they establish communities as they waited to cross the plains?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Winter Quarters	431 (48.5%)	86 (60.6%)	24 (51.1%)	3 (13.0%)

7. As the Saints began their journey across the plains, what was their intended destination?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Rocky Mountains	208 (23.4%)	20 (14.1%)	8 (17.0%)	0
Unknown	107 (12.0%)	10 (7.0%)	4 (8.5%)	2 (8.7%)
Zion	135 (15.2%)	26 (18.3%)	8 (17.0%)	0
California	117 (13.2%)	3 (2.1%)	2 (4.3%)	3 (13.0%)
West	63 (7.1%)	20 (14.1%)	4 (8.5%)	1 (4.3%)
Great Basin/Utah/ Salt Lake	50 (5.6%)	43 (28.1%)	21 (14.9%)	7 (30.4%)
No response	143 (16.1%)	0	0	0

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Not defined	513 (57.7%)	76 (53.5%)	24 (51.1%)	3 (13.0%)

8. How did the first group of Saints measure how far they had traveled each day?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Counted wheel rotations	245 (27.6%)	62 (40.5%)	28 (26.2%)	7 (30.4%)
Odometer	202 (22.7%)	55 (35.9%)	42 (39.2%)	1 (4.3%)
Counted steps	19	3	0	0
Stars	3	1	0	0
Other answer	37 (4.2%)	5	0	0
No response	383 (43.1%)	28 (18.3%)	22 (20.6%)	15 (65.2%)

9. What did Jim Bridger think were the possibilities of settling in the Great Basin?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Impossible	246 (27.7%)	64 (45.1%)	12 (25.5%)	5 (21.7%)
Difficult/slim	190 (21.4%)	38 (26.8%)	12 (25.5%)	1 (4.3%)
Version of corn/ wheat	22 (2.5%)	12 (8.5%)	7 (14.9%)	0
No response	409 (45.3%)	0	0	0

10. What did Brigham Young say when he saw the Great Salt Lake Valley?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
This is the place	623 (70.1%)	82 (57.7%)	18 (38.3%)	16 (69.6%)
This is the right place	131 (14.7%)	32 (22.5%)	12 (25.5%)	0
Similar responses	42 (4.7%)	18 (12.7%)	0	0
No response	93 (10.5%)	0	0	0

11. What type of vegetation was in the Great Salt Lake Valley when the Saints arrived?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Desert	168 (18.9%)	15 (10.6%)	4 (8.5%)	3 (13.0%)
Sagebrush	248 (27.0%)	60 (42.3%)	20 (42.6%)	1 (4.3%)
None	108 (12.1%)	4 (2.8%)	2 (4.3%)	7 (30.4%)
One tree	12 (1.3%)	12 (8.5%)	1 (2.1%)	1 (4.3%)
No response	172 (19.3%)	0	0	0

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum
Good place to settle	44 (4.9%)	16 (11.3%)

12. What happened when the crickets started destroying the crops in 1848?

	BYU Church History	LDS Museum	Gospel Doctrine	Seminary
Seagull miracle	779 (87.6%)	136 (95.8%)	40 (85.1%)	16 (69.5%)
Other	10 (1.1%)	3 (2.1%)	3 (6.4%)	3 (13.0%)
No response	100 (11.2%)	3 (2.1%)	4 (17.4%)	4 (17.4%)

Lucifer's Obit.

Brent D. Corcoran

We note, today, the passing
of our most dreared departed—
father of lies, child of perdition,
mother of woes, and friend to sin.

Lucifer "The Devil" Satan
was born on the first morning.
Of Heaven once, his residence
is Hell since ... ever since.

At an early age, he set up shop
(he took after his father);
and afterward, made a great success
of the crimes he authored.

Luc's life was most glorious;
it passed most peacefully.
In lieu of flowers,
pay in trust to his posterity.

"Come, Let Us Go Up to the Mountain of the Lord": The Salt Lake Temple Dedication

Brian H. Stuy

THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE, SOME FORTY YEARS under construction, represented to the Saints in 1893 a literal fulfillment of Isaiah's prophesy (2:2-3) regarding the temple in the mountains,[1] and many believed its dedication signaled the imminent commencement of the Millennial Era, an era which would witness the church's return to Jackson County, Missouri, and the advent of the Savior. Thus, for the members present, the dedication of the Salt Lake temple constituted one of the most important events in the history of the world.

Due to the sacred nature of temple dedications, the church does not grant access to the official records of these events; however, by reading the diaries of Saints who participated in the Salt Lake temple dedication, one can almost attend the ceremonies vicariously. As viewed through the pages of the contemporary diarist, the dedication emerges as a spiritual event unparalleled since the dedication of the Kirtland, Ohio, House of

1. For examples of church leaders teaching that the Salt Lake temple fulfilled Isaiah's prophecy, see Orson Pratt, 10 Mar. 1872, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng.: F.D. Richards, 1855-86), 14:349; 15 June 1873, *Journal of Discourses* 16:80; Erastus Snow, 14 Sept. 1873, *Journal of Discourses* 16:202-203; George A. Smith, 18 Mar. 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 2:212-13; George Q. Cannon, 2 Nov. 1879, *Journal of Discourses* 21:264-65; also 3 Aug. 1890, *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols., ed. Brian H. Stuy (Burbank, CA: B.H.S. Publishing, 1886-98), 2:93; and Charles W. Penrose, 15 May 1892, *Collected Discourses*, 3:57.

the Lord.

For Wilford Woodruff, president of the church, dedication of the Salt Lake temple was one of the most important experiences of his life, an event for which he believed the Lord had protected and preserved him, and over which he had been foreordained to officiate. Woodruff's experiences regarding the temple began with a vision he received while the Saints were still in Nauvoo, Illinois, following the martyrdom of Joseph Smith in 1844. During dedication services in Salt Lake City, Woodruff "related his vision he had in Boston some 50 years ago. How the Lord showed him the Saints would move to the Rocky Mountains and build this Temple, and [that] he would be called upon to open it to the people and dedicate it to the Lord."[2] "I anticipated the dedication of that Temple for fifty years," he proclaimed shortly after the dedication, "for I attended the dedication of that Temple fifty years ago in a vision, and when I got through that work, I felt that I had arrived at the end of my work in the flesh."[3] Another time he recounted that "I was ordained to dedicate this Salt Lake Temple fifty years before it was dedicated. I knew I should live to dedicate that Temple. I did live to do it."[4]

Woodruff's experiences with the temple increased as construction progressed. In August 1862 President Brigham Young toured the temple lot with Woodruff and Isaac Morley. While inspecting the temple foundation,[5] Young said: "I expect this Temple will stand through the Millennium & the Brethren will go in and give the Endowments to the people." Turning to the two men, Young then declared, "I do not want to quite finish this Temple for there will not be any Temple finished until the one is finished in Jackson County, Missouri pointed out by Joseph Smith. *Keep*

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2. Francis Asbury Hammond Journal, 10 Apr. 1893, archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives), spelling and punctuation corrected.

3. Discourse delivered 13 Dec. 1893, *Collected Discourses*, 3:421.

4. Wilford Woodruff, 7 Apr. 1898, *Sixty-eighth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1898), 29.

5. The temple foundation had been buried in preparation for the arrival of Johnston's Army in 1858. In 1860, after the army had settled thirty miles outside of Salt Lake City, Brigham Young began making preparations to resume construction of the temple. As the foundation was uncovered, large cracks were found running from the walls into the foundation. Young was informed by the mason foreman that "the work on one side was defective and such a foundation is dangerous" (Wallace Alan Raynor, *The Everlasting Spires: A Story of the Salt Lake Temple* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965], 102). After consultation with other specialists, Young decided to have the foundation excavated and relaid. It was the newly completed foundation that Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and Isaac Morley were inspecting.

this a secret to *yourselves* lest some may be discouraged."[6]

The impact of this statement on Woodruff is evident by the fact that he recorded Young's words in both his personal diary and in the historian's office journals.[7] Young's statement no doubt impressed Woodruff with the millennial nature and significance of the Salt Lake temple and

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6. *Wilford Woodruff Journal, 1833-1898*, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983-85), 6:71-72, 23 Aug. 1862, emphasis in the original (spelling and punctuation corrected). As church leaders publicly proclaimed their desire to finish the temple, Young declared, "I want to see the Temple finished as soon as it is reasonable and practicable. Whether we go in there to work or not makes no difference; I am perfectly willing to finish it to the last leaf of gold that shall be laid upon it, and to the last lock that should be put on the doors, *and then lock every door, and there let it stand* until the earth can rest before the Saints commence their labors there" (Brigham Young, 8 Apr. 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:372, emphasis mine). Although an in-depth study of Young's views concerning the return to Jackson County is beyond the scope of this essay, a brief study of Young's sermons indicates a millennialistic cycle that peaked with the commencement of the Civil War in 1861. In response to the question of when the Saints would return to Jackson County, Young proclaimed in 1852: "Not until the Lord commands it" (28 Aug. 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:269). Earlier he had indicated his belief that if the Saints then listening did not return themselves, their children would (15 Aug. 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 6:296; also 6 June 1858, *Journal of Discourses* 7:66; 21 Oct. 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:225; on Young's expectation to see Jackson County "in the flesh," see 9 Sept. 1860, *Journal of Discourses* 8:175). Prior to the commencement of the Civil War, Young's teachings indicated an uncertainty regarding when the Saints would return to Jackson County but a conviction that the time was near and that the Saints should be ready to go at any moment.

The beginning of the war increased Young's expectation that the time was nearing for the Saints to return to redeem Zion. "One great blessing the Lord wishes to pour upon this people is that they may return to Jackson county," he declared. "If our enemies do not cease their oppression upon this people, as sure as the Lord lives it will not be many days before we will occupy that land and there build up a Temple to the Lord" (6 Apr. 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:270). While the Civil War raged in the East, Young boldly declared, "We are determined to build up the kingdom of God on the earth; to bring forth Zion, to promote the cause of righteousness on the earth ... The time has now come when this work will be consummated" (31 Aug. 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:368). This declaration was made one week after Young uttered his instructions to Woodruff on the temple grounds to delay completion of the temple until after the return to Jackson County. Two years later the president prepared the Saints for his departure to return to Jackson County by warning them, "I expect to be absent, some time from now, for quite a while" (15 May 1864, *Journal of Discourses* 10:290). With the U.S. government still intact following the Civil War, Young's attitudes regarding the imminent return of the church to Jackson County cooled. It became clear that the time frame for the Saints' return was unknown. No longer was the return to Zion as immediate. It is not possible to determine if Young intended to complete the Salt Lake temple irrespective of the return to Jackson County or if the ending of the Civil War altered his views. If Young did change his intent, he did not communicate this change to Woodruff, who clearly held to the original teachings of the president in 1862. (For an in-depth discussion of the millennial fervor brought on by the Civil War among Young and the Saints, see Louis G. Reinwand, "An Interpretive Study of Mormon Millennialism During the Nineteenth Century with Emphasis on Millennial Developments in Utah," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971.)

7. *Woodruff Journal*, 6:71-72, 23 Aug. 1862, spelling and punctuation retained; also Wilford Woodruff's Office Journal, 22 Aug. 1862, LDS archives.

further heightened in his mind its prophetic destiny.

In 1887 Woodruff recorded a dream in which he received what he felt was an important message from Brigham Young:

> I dreamed last night that the L D Saints were holding a great Conference at Salt Lake City at the great Temple and thousands of Mechanics were laboring hard to finish the Temple. I was requested to open the Conference As I was an Exile and they might not have me with them long. The Key of the Temple was given me to open it. As I went to the door A large Company were assembled and I overtook Presid[en]t Brigham Young and He asked what the matter was with the great Company at the Door. Some one Answered the Elders did not want to Let the people into the Temple. He said *Oh, oh, oh* and turned to me & said let all[,] all into the Temple who seek for Salvation. I saw several who were Dead and among the Number my wife Phebe. I Believe there is some meaning to this dream.[8]

Following dedication of the Salt Lake temple, Woodruff reflected on the message he felt he was intended to receive from these nocturnal visitations. As he contemplated his accomplishments following the dedication in 1893, Woodruff interpreted his dreams from six years earlier in a new context. "Two nights in succession before John Taylor[']s Death President Young gave me the Keys of the Temple and told me to go and dedicate it which I did."[9] These visitations by Young had evidently impressed Woodruff with the need to hasten the temple's dedication and had effectively reversed the policy he understood to have been established by Young twenty-five years earlier of delaying the temple's completion until the Saints began to return to Jackson County.[10] At the capstone ceremonies held during April 1892 general conference, Woodruff instructed Apostle Francis M. Lyman to place the Saints under covenant to hasten

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8. *Woodruff Journal*, 8:429, 12 Mar. 1887, spelling and punctuation retained. A few days later Woodruff recorded: "I dream almost Ev[e]ry night of these great Meetings. I do not understand what those Dreams Mean" (ibid., 15 Mar. 1887).

9. Ibid., 9:279, "A Synopsis of Wilford Woodruff Labors in 1893."

10. It is difficult to determine what, if any, delay tactics were actually employed by Young in construction of the temple. In his public discourses Young frequently admonished the Saints to donate means to hurry completion of the temple (Brigham Young, 2 Mar. 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 9:241; also 8 Apr. 1862, *Journal of Discourses* 10:36; 6 Oct. 1863, *Journal of Discourses* 10:267; 8 Apr. 1867, *Journal of Discourses* 11:372). As has been shown above, however, Young felt that the return to Jackson County was imminent, and thus it is probable that, if the temple had been completed, Young would have delayed its dedication and use until after the church had returned to Jackson County (see n6). Construction and dedication of the St. George temple shows that Young had changed his ideas concerning the need to delay completion of any temple until the building of the Jackson County temple. It is possible that the focus had shifted only to the Salt Lake temple, and that other temples, which were not viewed in the same millennialistic light, could be completed before the Saints' return to Jackson County.

the temple's completion. This resolution, adopted by the unanimous vote of the gathered Saints, also alludes to the change in policy regarding completion:

RESOLUTION

> Believing that the instructions of President Woodruff respecting the *early completion* of the Salt Lake Temple is the word of the Lord unto us, I propose that this assemblage pledge themselves, collectively and individually, to furnish, as fast as it may be needed, all the money that may be required to complete the Temple at the earliest time possible, so that the dedication may take place on April 6, 1893.[11]

The date for the dedication was thus set to commence the following April, forty years after the cornerstones were laid and building begun. "We have been as long building that Temple as Moses was leading the children of Israel through the wilderness to the land of promise," observed Woodruff, "and I would like to see it finished."[12]

The following year was spent finishing the interior of the temple in anticipation of the dedication. Following the laying of the capstone, Woodruff walked through the interior and noted in his journal that "a great Deal of work [is] yet to be done in order to get the work done by next April Conference."[13]

In the various settlements, the diligence of the Saints was exerted in a more spiritual direction. With the dedication now less than one year away, the Saints sought ways to prepare themselves for what many expected to be a pentecostal event not witnessed since the days of Kirtland. A wave of community cooperation and forgiveness swept over the settlements. In order to foster this spirit further, many church authorities toured the settlements, admonishing the Saints to put aside their differences, especially regarding politics. Great spiritual manifestations were promised as a reward for the years of suffering and persecution the members had undergone defending plural marriage. On one occasion Lorenzo Snow "spoke of the great sacrifice made by the saints in the issuance of the manifesto relinquishing the practice of plural marriage. He felt that the Lord had accepted it, and would bless the people. It was one of the greatest sacrifices made by any people since the days of Enoch. Upon this and other accounts he was of [the] opinion the Lord would grant some interesting manifestations in the Salt Lake Temple."[14]

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11. *Millennial Star* 54 (July 1892):436 (emphasis mine).
12. Wilford Woodruff, 12 June 1892, *Collected Discourses*, 3:82.
13. *Woodruff Journal*, 9:195, 11 Apr. 1892.
14. Rudger Clawson Journal, 23 Oct. 1892, Box Elder Stake Quarterly Conference, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

Two weeks prior to the dedication, the First Presidency called on all the Saints to set aside Saturday, 25 March, as a day of fasting and prayer. The Saints were instructed "that the Presidencies of Stakes, the High Councils, the Bishops and their Counselors, meet together with the Saints in their several meeting houses, confess their sins one to another, and draw out from the people all feelings of anger, of distrust, or of unfriendliness that may have found a lodgment; so that entire confidence may then and there be restored and love from this time prevail through all the congregations of the Saints."[15] Apostle Marriner W. Merrill records that he "went to meeting at 11 a.m., met with the people of Richmond, confessed my sins, and asked forgiveness of the Saints if I had done anyone any wrong."[16]

As the Saints gathered in attitudes of forgiveness and penitence, Woodruff repeatedly gathered with his counselors to the temple to view the work being done on the interior. Woodruff records that his heart was heavy as they viewed the work that still remained to be completed. "We are in hopes to get it ready for Dedication," he wrote in his journal three weeks before the dedication, "but it is a load upon us."[17] On the afternoon of 5 April, a scant twelve hours before the dedication services were to begin, the temple received the finishing touches and was ready at last to be presented to the Lord.

Dedication, 6-24 April 1893

A large crowd gathered around the temple on the morning of 6 April 1893. Admission to the temple was through a narrow gate at the west end of the temple block, admitting only one person at a time onto the grounds.[18] As the Saints entered the grounds, a gentle breeze blew across the square. Overhead clouds were visible, with an occasional ray of sunlight adding to the beauty of the day. Promptly at 8:30 a.m. the Saints were conducted through the temple's interior, touring each of the various rooms, until they gathered in the fourth floor Assembly Hall. One participant described what no doubt was experienced by all:

> We were surprised and filled with wonder at the beauty and finish of ev-

15. James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 3:244, message dated 18 Mar. 1893.

16. Melvin Clarence Merrill, ed., *Utah Pioneer and Apostle Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1937), 163, 25 Mar. 1893, hereafter Marriner W. Merrill Diary.

17. *Woodruff Journal*, 9:244, 18 Mar. 1893.

18. Joseph West Smith Journal, 6 Apr. 1893, Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

> ery room as it was more costly and grand till we came to the upper when we were struck dumb as it were with astonishment at the heavenly grandeur of this room of rooms, it defies description by pen of mortal as to the effect it produced in the mind and heart of the true latter day saint it was indeed the Holy of Holies, and we felt the majesty of heaven was there. ...[19]

John M. Whitaker, private secretary and reporter for Church Historian Franklin D. Richards, described his tour as one of "awe, wonderment and glory."[20]

At 10 a.m., after the crowd of over 3,000 had been seated, and with many more left standing in the aisles, the services began. Following the singing of "Let Israel Join and Sing" by the Tabernacle Choir, Woodruff arose to deliver the dedicatory prayer. The prayer, described by many as comprehensive, requested the blessings of the Lord to rest upon the temple and everything located therein.[21] "The prayer was simply grand," wrote one witness, "and caused all hearts to overflow with praise and thanksgiving to our heavenly Father, and so manifest was the Spirit of God that the vail was almost rent and we indeed felt we were in the presence of our God and Jesus Christ our Redeemer and hosts of heavenly beings."[22]

The peace and tranquility of the dedicatory services being conducted inside the Assembly Room stood in sharp contrast to the terrible wind storm then raging outside the temple. "The worst windstorm, perhaps, which ever visited Salt Lake, prevailed between 10:30 and 12 o'clock noon," declared the *Deseret News* in describing the storm, "the destruction ... was beyond precedent here."[23] "The air was filled with dust, gravel and debris of many kinds and pedestrians sought shelter in the nearest buildings. Outhouses and small barns were blown down and trees uprooted in all parts of the city. Many fences were badly damaged by falling shade trees."[24]

The timing of the storm with the dedication was not without spiritual overtones. To many who witnessed it, the raging storm stood as a manifestation of the anger and fury of Satan and his angels. One member wrote:

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19. Hammond Journal, 6 Apr. 1893 (spelling standardized).

20. John Mills Whitaker Journal, 6 Apr. 1893, 53, transcript, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

21. *The Contributor* 14 (Apr. 1893):292-300; also *Millennial Star* 55:333-38, 349-53, reprinted in N. B. Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*, all editions (Salt Lake City: Zion's Printing & Publishing Co.), 122-32. On average, it took over forty minutes to read the dedicatory prayer at each of the sessions.

22. Hammond Journal, 6 Apr. 1893.

23. *Deseret News*, 6 Apr. 1893, 1; 7 Apr. 1893, 4.

24. Ibid., 6 Apr. 1893, 1.

> It is claimed that Heber C. Kimball once predicted that when the Salt Lake Temple should be dedicated the power of Satan should be loosed and the strongest wind storm ever witnessed in Utah should be felt on that occasion. In pursuance and fulfillment of this prediction, a strong breeze began blowing upon our entering the grounds at 9 a.m. and increased to a hurricane of great violence at the precise time the dedicatory prayer was being offered by Pres[ident] Wilford Woodruff.[25]

The storm took on added significance when seagulls were sighted hovering over the temple. "The Evil One seemed *mad,*" wrote one observer, and "gulls came and hovered over the House; [they] have not been seen here before for many years. They saved the crops in 1847 by devouring the *crickets.*"[26] Thus the twin manifestations of the gulls and the gale became a powerful symbol of the ongoing battle between God and Satan, a battle centered on the Lord's Saints gathered at the temple.

There were other manifestations, of a personal character, that accompanied the dedicatory services. Elder Rudger Clawson recorded in his journal that his wife, Lydia, "heard some beautiful singing that seemed to come from the N[orth] E[ast] corner of the room," even though there was no choir in the area.[27] Apostle Francis M. Lyman also heard this music and declared that he saw "a beautiful light cross the building above the chandeliers."[28] Some witnessed the apparent transfiguration of Wilford Woodruff into the likeness of Brigham Young,[29] while others observed a halo of glory surrounding Woodruff.[30] One individual reported seeing on the stand Brigham Young and several members of the Quorum of the Twelve who had passed away, as well as other spirit beings.[31]

Another unusual event that occurred following the second day's services was the delivery of a baby boy in the font room of the temple.[32] *The Contributor* described the circumstances of the birth of the child as follows:

> An unusual incident occurred in the Temple on Friday, April 7, shortly after the close of the evening session. Benjamin F. Bennett and his wife, Emma, had attended the meeting. The journey from Provo had doubtless hastened an event that had not been expected on that particular occasion. Before Mrs.

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25. John Franklin Tolton Autobiography, 6 Apr. 1893, LDS archives.

26. Hammond Journal, 6 Apr. 1893 (emphasis in the original); also John F. Tolton Autobiography, 6 Apr. 1893; 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), 6 Apr. 1893, 289.

27. Rudger Clawson Diary, 8 Apr. 1893.

28. Melvin A. Lyman, *Francis Marion Lyman Biography* (Delta, UT: n.p., 1958), 135.

29. Joseph West Smith Journal, 9th Session, 9 Apr. 1893, 117; *The Contributor* 16 (Dec. 1894): 116.

30. *Jesse Nathaniel Smith Journal,* 6 Apr. 1893 (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, Deseret News Publishing Co., 1953).

31. Abraham H. Cannon Journal, 18 May 1893, copy in my possession.

32. John Lee Jones Biography, 90, Special Collections, Lee Library.

> Bennett could leave the building she gave birth to a son. She was attended by Mrs. Julina Smith; and as soon as mother and child could be safely moved they were taken to the residence of Andrew J. Gray and given all necessary care. On the evening of Saturday, April 15, the infant was carried into the Temple, to the room where it first saw light in mortal probation, and was there blessed by President Joseph F. Smith, the name conferred being Joseph Temple Bennett.[33]

The circumstances surrounding the boy's birth provided much discussion for the Saints, many speculating "who that boy could be, born in the Temple."[34]

The program of each of the thirty-one dedicatory sessions, held between 6 and 24 April, was essentially the same. Woodruff delivered the dedicatory prayer at the first session. He then allowed the prayer to be read by his two counselors, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, and by the Quorum of the Twelve at the remaining sessions. Thus each apostle received the opportunity to deliver the prayer.[35]

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33. *The Contributor* 14 (Apr. 1893): 301.

34. John Mills Whitaker Journal, 278, Special Collections, Lee Library.

35. The following table lists the individual who delivered the prayer in each session of the dedication. The prayers were offered by the apostles in descending order, according to their position in the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, with President Woodruff delivering the prayer only at the first session. Although Moses Thatcher was present at most of the dedicatory services of 6-11 April, lingering illness prevented his delivering the dedicatory prayer (Edward Leo Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: The Moses Thatcher Case," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 [Summer 1985]: 67-92; also Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 292-95; *Millennial Star* 55 [29 May 1893]: 363).

	Morning	*Afternoon*	*Evening*
April 6	Wilford Woodruff	George Q. Cannon	
April 7	Joseph F. Smith	Lorenzo Snow	Franklin D. Richards
April 8	Brigham Young, Jr.	Francis M. Lyman	
April 9	John Henry Smith	George Teasdale	
April 10	Heber J. Grant	John W. Taylor	
April 11	Marriner W. Merrill	Anthon H. Lund	
April 12	Abraham H. Cannon	George Q. Cannon	
April 13	Joseph F. Smith	Lorenzo Snow	
April 14	Franklin D. Richards	Brigham Young, Jr.	
April 15	Francis M. Lyman	John Henry Smith	
April 16	George Teasdale	Heber J. Grant	
April 17	John W. Taylor	Marriner W. Merrill	
April 18	Anthon H. Lund	Abraham H. Cannon	
April 19	PRIESTHOOD LEADERSHIP MEETINGS		
April 20	NO SESSIONS		
April 21	Three Children's Sessions; No Dedicatory Prayers		
April 22	Two Children's Sessions; No Dedicatory Prayers		
April 23	George Q. Cannon	Joseph F. Smith	
April 24	Lorenzo Snow	Franklin D. Richards	

Following the dedicatory prayer, Elder Lorenzo Snow arose to lead the Saints in the Hosanna Shout, an act he performed at each of the dedicatory services. "This was truly the grandest sight my mortal eyes ever beheld," recorded one participant, "it seemed the heavenly hosts had come down to mingle with us."[36] "The Shout was given with such vehemence and force," wrote another, "as to almost shake the building on its foundations."[37]

Following the Hosanna Shout, the choir sang the "Hosanna Hymn,"[38] after which the congregation arose and joined in singing "The Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning." The rest of the session was then set aside for various members of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve to address the Saints. "The Lord has accepted this House as an offering from the Saints" was the common theme of the discourses, and "he has forgiven his penitent people." This theme of acceptance and forgiveness was consoling to the Saints, many of whom harbored lingering feelings of confusion and anxiety regarding the Woodruff Manifesto banning plural marriage. The dedicatory services thus became a time of recommitment to the laws and covenants of God, and many Saints came prepared to receive divine confirmation that they and the church were accepted of the Lord.

No person sought this confirmation more than Woodruff. Perceiving the expectations of the Saints regarding the spiritual manifestations they had been promised, Woodruff sought on every occasion to relate visions, revelations, and other manifestations he had received regarding the temple dedication. "I feel at liberty to reveal to this assembly," he announced during the second day of dedication, "what has been revealed to me since we were here yesterday morning." He proceeded to relate a marvelous vision in which he had seen the heavens singing with the Saints:

> Last night I had a vision: I saw President Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor and all the heavenly hosts who have died in this dispensation shouting praises to the Lord; and that as the shouting of the Hosannah went up from the temple, the shout was re-echowed to Christ and the saints, up to the throne of God: That they were more interested in the dedication of this temple than we possibly could be and that the Lord accepted this temple.[39]

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36. Hammond Journal, 6 Apr. 1893.

37. Rudger Clawson Diary, 6 Apr. 1893.

38. L. John Nuttall Journal, First Session, 6 Apr. 1893, typescript in my possession. Other popular hymns were often substituted for the "Hosanna Hymn," including Eliza R. Snow's "O My Father," which was sung with a solo by R. C. Easton in a "soul-inspiring manner" (Joseph West Smith Journal, 13th Session, 11 Apr. 1893).

39. John M. Whitaker Journal, 3rd Session, 7 Apr. 1893; also Archibald Bennett, ed., *Saviors on Mount Zion*, Advanced Senior Department Course of Study (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1950), 142-43; Anthon H. Lund Journal, 7 Apr. 1893, LDS archives.

Another witness recorded that Woodruff stated that "Our Saviour had appeared unto [me] in the East Room in the Holy of Holies, & told [me] that He had accepted of the Temple & of the dedication services, & that the Lord forgave us His Saints who had assisted in any manner towards the erection and completion of the Temple."[40]

It was also crucial for Woodruff to assert his calling as God's true prophet, which he accomplished by emphasizing his frequent spiritual witnesses. The manifestations recounted emphasized his role in the early church, including his experiences with the prophet Joseph Smith, and divine manifestations he had received throughout his life. One vision, which Woodruff alluded to frequently during the dedication discourses, portrayed to him "thousands of the Lamanites [Native Americans] enter[ing] the temple by the door in the west end of the [Temple] previously unknown to him. They took charge of the temple and could do as much ordinance work in an hour as the other brethren could do in a day."[41] Another experience occurred in St. George in 1877, following dedication of that temple, when "a class of men came to me in the night visions, and argued with me to have the work done for them. They were the Signers of the Declaration of Independence."[42] Through these experiences, Woodruff sought in nearly every session in which he spoke to reconfirm to the Saints his position as prophet, seer, and revelator of the church. He hoped that the dedication would manifest to the Saints that the church was still under the guidance of the Lord.

During his opening remarks, Woodruff uttered a prophesy in which he said "a better day was dawning, and as the Apostles were now united Satan would not have power to create division among them." "He said the light & power of this Temple would be felt all over the earth, that our enemies should not have power over his Saints. The Lord is going to give His Saints the good things of the earth in greater abundance."[43]

The topics presented to the Saints varied from speaker to speaker and session to session. However, a study of the minutes shows that three prominent themes were discussed by Woodruff, by the other members of the First Presidency, and by the Quorum of the Twelve: namely, Forgiveness, the Millennial Reign, and Union.

The Manifesto, issued three years previously, relinquished what many Saints felt to be a vital and essential commandment of the Lord.

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40. John Lee Jones Biography, 90.

41. Jesse Nathaniel Smith Journal, 8 Apr. 1893, 393; Joseph West Smith Journal, 12 Apr. 1893.

42. Joseph West Smith Journal, 11 Apr. 1893; John D. T. McAllister Journal, 7 Apr. 1893, Special Collections, Lee Library.

43. John Lee Jones Biography, 90.

Many questioned the Manifesto's divinity,[44] and leaders of the church often taught that a lack of diligence on the part of the church as a whole led to the Lord's removing plural marriage from the church. These points were also addressed in the various sessions of the dedication.

Joseph F. Smith, in addressing the congregation, introduced the subject of the Manifesto by testifying, "[There is] not one principle of the Gospel but what is true. No not one! They can never be false." In answer to the rhetorical question "Why did the church abandon plural marriage?" Smith "explained that a number of laws had been given, and withdrawn on account of the people not being prepared for them. Only 2% of the people ever entered the Celestial order of marriage; ... Some were only too glad of an excuse to forsake and abandon. Now if any man shall forsake and abandon his loved ones, he shall wither away and die. Obey the laws of the land but do not forsake your covenants."[45] Smith also reminded the Saints that "the Prophet Joseph suspended the Law of consecration after the people had rejected it in a conference. Pres[iden]t Woodruff suspended Plural Marriage when the Lord told him to and not till then. We would have been ground to powder by this Government if we had not been led by the Lord to do as we did."[46] Smith admitted, however, that "had the Lord given the Manifesto earlier than He did, he could not have accepted it but he had become convinced it was right."[47]

Smith echoed what was no doubt felt by many of the authorities and by other church members, namely, that the Lord had withdrawn plural marriage due to slothfulness on the part of many Saints. For this reason, the tenor of the talks relating to forgiveness centered on the Lord's pardoning his people as a whole, not necessarily as individuals. "Prest. Woodruff told us the Lord had accepted the House," wrote one observer, "and the people as a Church and our sins were all forgiven and would

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44. General authorities who viewed the Manifesto as politically expedient included apostles John W. Taylor, John Henry Smith, Marriner W. Merrill, Heber J. Grant, Brigham Young, Jr., and George Teasdale (Alexander, 269). For additional comments on the views of these men and of the general church membership towards the Manifesto, see Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 145-56; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 127-53; D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 46-49.

45. Joseph West Smith Journal, 8th Session, 9 Apr. 1893, 116. Recent studies have shown that a higher percentage of members entered into polygamy. Stanley S. Ivins estimated that at the time of the Woodruff Manifesto more than 10 percent of church members were in polygamous relationships (Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 [Fall 1967]: 311). Davis Bitton places the percentage at 10-20 percent ("Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 [1977]: 111).

46. Hammond Journal, 19th Session, 14 Apr. 1893.

47. John Henry Smith Diary, 18th Session, 14 Apr. 1893 (spelling and punctuation standardized).

not be proclaimed on the house tops."[48] Like Joseph F. Smith, Woodruff also sought to explain the reasons for the Manifesto, but rather than focus on the failings of the Saints, he emphasized governmental pressure to relinquish the practice of plural marriage.

> I feel disposed to say something upon the Manifesto. To begin with, I will say that this work was like a mountain upon me. I saw by the inspiration of Almighty God what lay before this people, and I know that something had to be done to ward off the blow that I saw impending. But I should have let come to pass what God showed me by revelation and vision; I should have lived in the flesh and permitted these things to come to pass; I should have let this temple gone into the hands of our enemies; I should have let every temple been confiscated by the hands of the wicked; I should have permitted our personal property to have been confiscated by our enemies; I should have seen these people—prophets, and apostles, driven by the hands of their enemies, and our wives and children scattered to the four winds of heaven—I should have seen all this, had not the Almighty God commanded me to do what I did.[49]

Woodruff sought to console the Saints, repeatedly stressing that the Lord would never have permitted him to do something contrary to his will. He reminded the Saints that he had lived with Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and John Taylor. "Was there a man on God's footstool that could have moved them to the right or the left from anything that they felt inspired to do?" he asked. Directing the Saints' attention to the assembled First Presidency and Twelve, Woodruff asked the defining question that the Saints needed to answer in order to come to grips with the Manifesto:

> Here are George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, and these Twelve Apostles. I want to ask you if Wilford Woodruff could have done anything that these men would have accepted, in performing the work that was done, that pained the hearts of all Israel, except by the spirit and power of God? No. I would just as soon thought of moving the foundations of this world as to have taken any course to move these men only by the revelations of God. When that Manifesto was given they accepted it. Why? Because they had the Spirit of God for themselves; they knew for themselves it was right. It was passed also before ten thousand Latter-day Saints and there was not a solitary hand lifted against that edict.[50]

Woodruff's sentiments were echoed by his counselor George Q. Cannon, who also reminded the Saints that "A little while ago the U.S. Govern-

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48. Hammond Journal, 1st Session, 6 Apr. 1893.

49. "Manifesto of 1890, Extract of sermon by President Wilford Woodruff at the sixth session of the Dedication Services of the Salt Lake Temple," Special Collections, Lee Library.

50. Ibid.

ment had possession of this Temple and ground surrounding it and clouds of darkness hung heavy over us[. It] seemed as though the Lord had hid his face from us, but now behold the peace and joy we are permitted to see and partake of[.] Should we not praise the Lord and thank his most Holy name! He it is that has wrought out this great deliverance and not man."[51]

The Salt Lake temple became, in essence, a symbol and token of the Saints' penitence to the Lord, and the message of the leaders to the Saints was that the Lord had accepted their sacrifice. "The Lord had forgiven the sins of the people," Woodruff assured the Saints, "and accepted our offering of broken hearts and contrite spirits." In addition, Woodruff "promised great blessings to the people[;] if [we] are united Satan should never have power to cause us to stray away from the Lord."[52]

A second theme prominently discussed during the dedicatory services concerned the imminent return of the Saints to Jackson County and the approach of the Millennium. The commencement of the 1890s found the Saints anxiously awaiting the expected migration of the church to Missouri and the return of Jesus Christ. As a result of several prophecies made by Joseph Smith—prophecies which in turn had been reinterpreted and promulgated by later church authorities—the millennial expectations of the Saints reached a crescendo in the early 1890s.[53] No one individual felt this urgency more than Woodruff. For him dedication of the temple signified the fulfillment of ancient and modern prophesy and the approaching millennial era. "The Savior is here and rejoicing with us and many of the now born will live to see him in the flesh," he declared, "the vail is growing thinner."[54] "The Ancient Prophets, Isaiah and others prophesied and we are fulfilling, Christ is near and the work must be hastened, we are approaching the time for Jesus to come and be in our midst. ... [The] Millennium is at hand [and] we must wake up."[55] "I urge the saints to enter into their secret chambers and pray for the redemption of Zion—prayers which will assuredly be heard and answered, for Zion's redemption is at hand."[56]

Others also exhibited their feelings regarding the future: "I dare say there are many under the sound of my voice who will be present in Jackson County,"[57] declared Lorenzo Snow, "some of you will give this [Ho-

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51. Hammond Journal, 16th Session, 13 Apr. 1893.

52. Ibid. 12th Session, 11 Apr. 1893.

53. See Dan Erickson, "Joseph Smith's 1891 Millennial Prophecy: The Quest for Apocalyptic Deliverance," *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Fall 1996): 1-34.

54. Hammond Journal, 10th Session, 10 Apr. 1893.

55. Ibid., 16th Session, 13 Apr. 1893.

56. Joseph C. Muren, *The Temple and Its Significance* (Ogden, UT: Temple Publications, 1973), part IV, "When the Dead Shout Hosannas: Remarks made by Wilford Woodruff at the Salt Lake Temple Dedication."

57. Joseph West Smith Journal, 15th Session, 12 Apr. 1893.

sanna] shout in the great Temple to be built in Jackson County."[58] George Q. Cannon told the Saints that "women have a right to prophecy when wrought upon by the Holy Spirit, and that we are approaching the time when the saints will go back to Jackson County and there build up the Center Stake of Zion and redeem the land of Zion."[59] Thus, even though the temple was dedicated prior to the Saints' return to Jackson County as Brigham Young had wanted, the dedication should not be seen as an indication of the demise of millennial expectations in the church. "We have built this House to have the Savior come to it, which will be soon."[60]

By far the most emphasized theme of the dedication dealt with unity. After the dissolution of the People's party in 1892, the issue of politics had become increasingly important to church leaders and members in general. Evidence shows that even within the highest ranks of the church the discussion of politics brought contention and ill-will. The dedication thus became a time of reflection and evaluation for those caught in the web of politics. "Many good humble souls have had their feelings sorely tried because of the divisions among the *leaders* in politics," Cannon explained, "but thank the Lord we are now united as never before, and Satan shall never have power [to] divide us again on those lines, we must give heed to the Counsel of the first Presidency in all things for the Lord will [not] suffer us to lead you astray; we are after liberty for this people and we care not whether it comes through Democrats or Republicans, we want Statehood."[61]

For several days prior to the dedication, the First Presidency and Twelve had sought unity with each other. One member of the group, Apostle Moses Thatcher, had been the source of serious contention and discord in the quorum dating back to President John Taylor's administration. Ill-will had been generated between Thatcher and George Q. Cannon over Cannon's assumption of leadership when Taylor had been in declining health prior to his death in 1887. These problems, and several others, had alienated Thatcher from the majority of his quorum.[62] The most significant source of friction, however, was the extremely partisan position taken by Democrat Thatcher in open opposition to the First Presidency, which sought to obtain political parity in Utah between the Republican and Democratic parties. In a May 1892 speech before the Utah Democratic Territorial Convention in Ogden, Thatcher reportedly implied that "Jesus Christ would have been a Democrat and Lucifer a Republican."[63] This angered several members of the First Presidency and

58. Hammond Journal, 16th Session, 13 Apr. 1893.
59. John Mills Whitaker Journal, n.d., 55.
60. William Derby Johnson, Jr., Brigham Young University manuscripts, 13 Apr. 1893.
61. Hammond Journal, 16th Session, 13 Apr. 1893 (emphasis in the original).
62. Edward Leo Lyman, 68-72.
63. Ibid., 73.

Twelve, especially Joseph F. Smith, and threatened to prevent a unity of leadership at the dedication.

To resolve the disunity within the leadership, the apostles began meeting almost daily beginning 21 March 1893. Of utmost importance was their desire to establish a genuine spirit of harmony and goodwill before the dedication commenced. However, little progress was made; thus as leaders entered the last week before the dedication, the meetings intensified. Apostle Marriner W. Merrill recorded on 3 April: "Went to meeting of Quorum at 2 p.m. when Apostle Moses Thatcher's case was again discussed, F[rancis] M. Lyman and John W. Taylor having visited him since our last meeting. They reported him as being very defiant and justifying himself in his course, and treating them in a very discourteous manner while at his house. President Snow was very pronounced against Brother Thatcher's course."[64]

As the dedication approached, it appeared that leaders would be unable to bring unity to their ranks. One last meeting was scheduled to convene two days before the dedication. Although Thatcher had been too ill to attend the previous day's meeting, he telegraphed his intention to attend this last meeting. For over two hours members of the quorum pleaded with Thatcher to acknowledge his being out of harmony with the First Presidency. Finally, as the meeting neared midnight, Thatcher "confessed he had done wrong in the position he had taken in regard to political matters and that he desired the fellowship of the presidency and his quorum."[65] "All voted to forgive him freely."[66] With union restored to their ranks, all looked forward to the spiritual blessings expected at the dedication services.

Given the intense focus church leaders had placed on establishing unity in their ranks over the previous weeks, it is no surprise that the topic should be given such emphasis during the dedicatory services. In announcing his intention to avoid political controversy, President Woodruff "prophesied that the Presidency and Twelve would never again be disunited, but if any one of them got wrong the Lord would remove them."[67] Before leading the congregation in the Hosanna Shout, quorum president Lorenzo Snow stated, "Pres. Woodruff would not allow the Hosanna Shout to be given unless he believed there was union in our midst."[68] President Cannon stated that "he had almost dreaded to see the Dedication day come on account of the division among the people."[69] Al-

64. Marriner W. Merrill Diary, 3 Apr. 1893, 163.
65. Franklin D. Richards Journal, 3 [4] Apr. 1893, as quoted in Edward Leo Lyman, 77.
66. Marriner W. Merrill Diary, 3 Apr. 1893, 163.
67. Jesse Nathaniel Smith Journal, 8 Apr. 1893, 393.
68. Joseph West Smith Journal, 8th Session, 9 Apr. 1893.
69. Ibid.

luding to the political troubles within the quorum, Cannon also "spoke of the great division among the people caused by deviding on national politics, how many humble and meek souls had been grieved and sorely tried, but now through the great mercy of the Lord all these ill feelings have been healed up and we are united as never before since the orga[n]ization of the Church." Seeking to obtain the last word on the subject, President Cannon continued, "[This union] has been brought about by obeying the counsel of the first Presidency[.] Some had thought the Presidency had no right to counsel in political matters, but the Lord understands all things and we must be led by him to seek liberty in any way he may mark out."[70] Also alluding to the political troubles within the quorum, Francis M. Lyman matter-of-factly stated that "there is not a man in the chief councils of the Church but what sees eye-to-eye; we are united."[71]

Priesthood Leadership Meetings, 19-20 April 1893

In an effort to increase the unity experienced by local leaders who attended the dedication, President Woodruff decided to call as many stake leaders as could attend to a series of leadership meetings with the First Presidency and Twelve in the Assembly Room of the newly dedicated temple. Following the afternoon session of 18 April, stake leaders were called forward and invited to attend two special leadership meetings to be held on 19 and 20 April.

The first meeting commenced on 19 April at 10 o'clock, with the assembled leaders meeting in the President's Room in the temple. In attendance were all members of the First Presidency. The entire Quorum of Twelve Apostles also attended, except Moses Thatcher, who had returned home from the dedication on 11 April due to illness. The Seven Presidents of Seventies, the Presiding Bishopric, and the presidents of stakes and their counselors were also in attendance.[72] In all, the group numbered 115 men. Following the opening song, "Now Let Us Rejoice," Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., offered the opening prayer. The assembled body then sang "Come All Ye Sons of God."[73] President Woodruff began the testimony meeting "by saying that he would like to hear the brethren express themselves in relation to the dedicatory services of the Temple, as to whether they endorsed what been said and done, and also desired

70. Hammond Journal, 10th Session, 10 Apr. 1893.

71. Joseph West Smith Journal, 15 Apr. 1893, 126-27.

72. B. H. Roberts notes that each stake was represented by a member of the presidency "except one—St. Joseph—and a bishop represented that [stake]" (Brigham H. Roberts Journal, 19 Apr. 1893, Special Collections, Marriott Library).

73. Nuttall Journal, 19 Apr. 1893.

them to state how they felt towards the First Presidency and Apostles."[74] This approval was important to Woodruff. He wanted to know if the Saints harbored any lingering doubts as to his leadership and the direction he was taking the church. To manifest this unity among the Saints, he had President Joseph F. Smith request at each session a vote of acceptance by attending members. This vote was always unanimous.[75] Each leader stood and bore testimony to his happiness and satisfaction with the dedication proceedings and with President Woodruff's leadership. Following these emotional and heart-felt testimonies, Woodruff rose to address the assembled group:

> We have been here about 4 hours and it is time of course for us to dismiss this meeting: but before dismissing I feel that it is a duty resting upon me and my counsellors to say a few words to this assembly, and it is our right and privilege to speak to you by the revelations of the Lord and by the power of truth, and I will promise this assembly that the Holy Ghost will bear witness to them of the truth of what I say, and it is this: The God of heaven and the Lord Jesus Christ and the heavenly hosts—I say this to you in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God—have accepted the dedication of this Temple at our hands. The God of heaven has accepted His people, has accepted the people who have assembled here. The God of heaven has forgiven the sins of those Latter-day Saints in those that bear the Priesthood in this house, and those who have been humble before the Lord and have attended this Conference. Their sins are remitted, and will be remitted by the power of God, and will not be remembered anymore against his people, unless we sin further.

Shifting the emphasis from the Lord's acceptance of their offering to the leadership's willingness to make that offering, he continued:

> And again I say to you that the God of heaven and the heavenly hosts accept of your offering. You recollect now, you have been making an offering; and I, as the President of the Church, accept the offering you have made before God and the heavenly host. It is this: you acknowledge the Presidency of this Church, that they bear the Priesthood, and that they are set to govern and control the affairs of the Church and Kingdom of God. This offering you have made before the heavens, and the heavens accept of it. I accept of it as the President of this Church; and I hope that while you live, from this time henceforth, wherever you see that spirit manifest that there is no power on the earth—that the Presidency of the Church have no power to govern or teach anybody—you will remember that you have all testified to the truth that upon their shoulders rests the responsibility of teaching, governing, controlling and counseling the church and Kingdom of God in *all* things on the earth.[76]

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74. Rudger Clawson Journal, 19 Apr. 1893.
75. John D. T. McAllister Journal, 11, 13 Apr. 1893.
76. Rudger Clawson Journal, 19 Apr. 1893 (emphasis in original).

Following Woodruff, his counselor Joseph F. Smith stood, as he had in each of the dedicatory services, and called on the assembled brethren to support President Woodruff and the First Presidency. Not surprisingly, "all answered with a hearty amen, signifying that they bore witness to the truth of the remarks of Pres. Woodruff."[77] The meeting concluded with Smith offering the benediction,[78] and participants were requested to reconvene the following morning.

As leaders gathered again the next morning, the absence of President Woodruff was immediately apparent. The assembled leaders were informed that Woodruff had over-exerted himself in addressing them the previous day and that he would be unable to attend this day's meeting. Woodruff later commented on just how sick he had become: "I marvel that I am here. I know that the Lord has preserved my life. ... The Lord gave me power and strength of lungs to fulfil my mission there, until we nearly got through [with the Salt Lake Temple dedication]. But one day I staid [sic] there some six hours and I heard all the speeches of the presidents of Stakes. I staid too long and that prostrated me, and I went down apparently to the gates of death."[79]

As the same 115 participants of the previous day regrouped in the President's Room of the temple, they once more had the opportunity to listen to the remarks of the president's counselors and several of the Twelve. Beginning the testimony meeting was Joseph F. Smith, who remarked that "we lose nothing in remaining here waiting on the Lord. We must learn to wait upon the people, the Spirit of the Lord has reclaimed us from the cares of the world. The love of God casts out all bitterness, I am the brother of Christ. I love you because the Lord can speak through you and save the people. God is love, we must love God and our neighbour." In closing, Smith instructed the brethren in the ancient method of partaking of the sacrament, "read[ing] from 3rd Nephi how Jesus administered the sacrament, how we are to eat and drink in the presence of God."[80] The leaders were promised the opportunity to receive the sacrament in this method following the remarks by the general authorities.

Following Smith's testimony, George Q. Cannon bore testimony of his personal experiences with the Savior. "My joy is full, my desires are granted to see union again prevail in our midst. I have been greatly favored of the Lord. My mind has been rapt in vision and have saw the bea[u]ties and Glory of God. I have saw and conversed with the Savior face to face. God will bestow this upon you."[81]

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77. John Franklin Tolton Diary, 19 Apr. 1893.
78. Nuttall Journal, 19 Apr. 1893.
79. Wilford Woodruff, 13 Dec. 1893, *Collected Discourses*, 3:421.
80. Hammond Journal, 20 Apr. 1893.
81. Ibid.

As noon approached, participants adjourned and clothed themselves in their temple robes. Meeting in the Celestial Room of the temple, all 115 men formed a prayer circle, "the largest ever formed in this generation."[82] Following introductory instructions by Joseph F. Smith, George Q. Cannon offered the prayer. During the prayer, one member of the group, Charles Kelly, stake president of Brigham City, fainted, "either for having the arm raised so long or on account of our fast, for we went to this meeting fasting."[83] After the prayer circle, the leaders returned to the President's Room where bishops William B. Preston, Robert T. Burton, and John R. Winder of the Presiding Bishopric had prepared three long tables for the sacrament. Each participant was given a large tumbler with the Salt Lake temple etched into it and a napkin. Presiding bishop Preston blessed the bread and "Dixie" wine (from southern Utah), "and the brethren were invited to 'eat till they were filled,' but to use caution and not indulge in wine to excess."[84] "The Sacrament as we partook of it was after the ancient pattern as taught to the Saints by the prophet Joseph."[85] As the men broke bread and drank the wine, each shared his thoughts on the temple dedication or bore testimony of any experiences he had had with the prophet Joseph Smith. For many, the leadership meetings, especially the sacrament, constituted the high-point of their dedication experience. After nearly six hours of intense camaraderie and companionship, the group adjourned at 6 p.m.[86]

Previous to the leadership meetings, it was decided to set aside two days during which Sunday school children throughout the church would be allowed to participate in the dedication. On the days chosen, 21 and 22 April, over 12,000 children attended one of five sessions. Although the dedicatory prayer was not read at these sessions, the children were able to participate in the Hosanna Shout and to hear from each of the attending apostles. One participant described the events of the children's session:

> President Lorenzo Snow showed the children a lock of the Prophet [Joseph]'s auburn hair at each session. Apostle Franklin D. Richards testified he had seen the Prophet Joseph Smith, and heard him speak at many a meeting and on one occasion when his face shown bright as the sun, and how great was this manifestation, and so on at all the sessions. Most of the First Presidency arose and spoke briefly so all the children had a personal introduction to all of the General Authorities of the church and heard their voices in the temple, all bore fervent testimony of the greatness and majesty and power possessed

82. Ibid.
83. Brigham H. Roberts Journal, 20 Apr. 1893.
84. John Franklin Tolton Diary, 20 Apr. 1893.
85. Brigham H. Roberts Journal, 20 Apr. 1893.
86. Hammond Journal, 20 Apr. 1893.

> by the Prophet Joseph Smith as the Prophet who restored, or was the medium through whom was restored, all the Keys of Power, also the Priesthood of all former holders thereof, and of the place he will occupy in the future of this great work.[87]

Following the children's sessions, regular dedicatory services were held for two more days. The final session concluded on the afternoon of 24 April, a full twenty days after they had begun.

As the Saints returned to their homes following the dedication, many no doubt reflected on the events they had witnessed. The dedication became a time of rebirth, both for the church as a whole and for the individuals who constituted its membership. Throughout the dedicatory services, President Woodruff sought to convey to the Saints the Lord's forgiveness of the church as a people. The Salt Lake temple became, in fact, a sacrifice presented to the Lord to obtain corporate forgiveness of sins. The emphasis on the Manifesto and justification for its issuance show that many felt the Saints had brought the Manifesto upon themselves through a lack of obedience to the law of celestial marriage. The donations and efforts of each member, and of the church collectively, resulted in Woodruff's promise that God had accepted their offering and forgiven their sins. But each member also reflected personally upon his or her own standing before God. Having been promised forgiveness as a people for the lack of diligence in obeying God's commandments, many looked inward to assess their personal standing before God. Elder B. H. Roberts wrote:

> It has been a Pentecostal time with me, the Lord has shown to me my inner parts, myself; and there I have found such grained and gnarled spots that I have been humbled into sincere repentance. At times I have wondered even how the Lord could tolerate me at all as His servant. Truly it is a manifestation of long suffering & mercy. I am deeply moved with gratitude toward Him for his mercy to me; and now Oh My Father if thou wilt give me grace, how hard will I try to reform, and cease from all my wrong doing.[88]

Along with confirmation of the Saints' forgiveness, Woodruff and the other leaders sought to convey to the Saints that the Lord was still with his church. The issuing of the Manifesto had not caused the Lord to desert them. Woodruff's often recounted vision of the Savior, along with Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and other prominent leaders on the other side of the veil, was convincing evidence that the church was being guided by continual revelation. The Saints could now focus their atten-

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87. John Mills Whitaker Journal, 21 Apr. 1893, 279.
88. Brigham H. Roberts Journal, 24 Apr. 1893.

tion on the quality and dedication of their own lives. The spirit of unity and love was palpable. "I never saw a time when everyone felt so humble and forgiving," wrote one participant following her dedication experience, "a good feeling prevails."[89] Even those not privy to visions or other manifestations returned to their homes uplifted and strengthened. "The dedication of this temple, has not been attended with many great visions of the appearance of angels," wrote B. H. Roberts, "but the spirit of the Lord has been there—the Holy Ghost and that is greater than the angels!"[90] "Pen cannot describe," wrote another participant, "the feeling I had in that most glorious place. ... I cannot express myself in words how we were all in heaven the time we were in the Temple."[91]

89. Jane Wilkie Hooper Blood, "Autobiography and Abridged Diary," Ivy Hooper Blood Hill, ed., 103, Special Collections, Lee Library.

90. Brigham H. Roberts Journal, 24 Apr. 1893.

91. William Derby Johnson, Jr., Diary, 6 Apr. 1893.

One Method of Hope

Todd Robert Petersen

The only motion here is an old
Dodge pickup leading a coil
of white exhaust across
the horizon—a snow-dusted
road—crosshatched and barren
farm land. You point your jaw
and your etched-out eyes
across the wheel, overlooking
the one wire-limbed hickory
on the rise and the flock
of nervous geese that wanders
in a patch of late-winter ice
and corn stubble. Your gaze
is steady. You never catalogued
the pain of your losses
or claimed a vacant stratosphere.
There's comfort in that.
Yours isn't the only way to endure
a savage flurry of solemnities, it is
one way, one voice that you recall,
one parable of grief corroding
direction, but on your life
you can't remember where you
heard it first. There is a raw
and unchecked safety in accelerating
down a lone and narrow ribbon
of this bleak and unbending world.
You're still hours from home.
The anonymous beauty
of your solitude fades to twilight
before it can start to mean
what you really want it to.

"The Prophet Puzzle" Revisited

Dan Vogel

IN HER 1974 ESSAY, "THE PROPHET PUZZLE: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," Jan Shipps confronted the anomalies in the historical record concerning Smith, noting: "What we have in Mormon historiography is two Josephs: the one who started out digging for money and when he was unsuccessful, turned to propheteering, and the one who had visions and dreamed dreams, restored the church, and revealed the will of the Lord to a sinful world."[1] To resolve this "schizophrenic state of Mormon history, with its double interpretive strand of Joseph Smith as a man of God and Joseph Smith as a kind of fraud who exploited his followers for his own purposes," Shipps called for a more fully integrated view of Smith, one that allows for the complexities of human personality. More than twenty years later, Smith remains an enigma for historians, believer and skeptic alike.

My intent is not to rehash evidence on both sides of the prophet/fraud issue, but to suggest a possible solution to Shipps's "prophet puzzle." Unraveling the complexities of Smith's character and motives is difficult, but before the puzzle can be solved, all the pieces, or at least the most significant ones, must be gathered and correctly interpreted. Some of these, in my opinion, have been overlooked, ignored, or mishandled—pieces which I believe reveal previously hidden features of Smith's complex, conflicted, and gifted personality. Throughout, however, one would do well to bear in mind Marvin S. Hill's warning that those who attempt such endeavors "must write with courage, for no matter what they say many will disagree strongly."[2]

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1. Jan Shipps, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* (1974): 19. Shipps's essay was reprinted in D. Michael Quinn, *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 53-74. Citations in this essay are to the first printing.

2. Marvin S. Hill, "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Winter 1972): 85.

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The most obvious solution to Shipps's puzzle is to suggest that Smith was a "pious deceiver" or "sincere fraud," someone who deceives to achieve holy objectives. Admittedly, the terms "pious deceiver," "sincere fraud," and the like are not wholly satisfying. Nevertheless, "pious" connotes a sincere religious conviction, and my use of "fraud" or "deceiver" is limited to describing *some* of Smith's activities—the possible construction of plates from tin as well as his claim that the Book of Mormon is a translation of an anciently engraved record, for example—not to Smith's perception of himself. In other words, Smith may have engaged in fraudulent activities while at the same time believing that he had been called of God to preach repentance in the most effective way possible. In fact, this was the thesis of Lutheran minister Robert N. Hullinger's 1980 book, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon.*[3] Responding to Shipps's complaint that the Book of Mormon "has by and large been neglected as a source which might facilitate a better understanding of Joseph Smith's early career,"[4] Hullinger attempted to discover Smith's motives for writing the book by examining the book's rhetoric, and concluded: "Joseph Smith ... regarded himself as [a] defender of God."[5] "Even if one believes that Joseph Smith was at best a scoundrel," he observed, "one still must account for the Book of Mormon."[6] Indeed, the book's religious appeal—its defense of God, Jesus Christ, and spiritual gifts, and its call to repentance—argues strongly against presuming that Smith's motives were malicious or completely self-serving.[7]

Marvin S. Hill has similarly cautioned against seeing Smith in either/or terms, insisting that one balance the implications of Smith's 1826 trial

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3. Robert N. Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1980); reprinted as *Joseph Smith's Response to Skepticism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992). For convenience, I have used the second edition.

4. Shipps, "Prophet Puzzle," 10.

5. Hullinger, *Joseph Smith's Response to Skepticism*, xv.

6. Ibid., xvi.

7. In assuming the role of prophet, Smith was not necessarily acting maliciously or selfishly. In this regard, Smith's comment to Oliver B. Huntington is most interesting. Huntington recalled: "Joseph Smith said that some people entirely denounce the principle of self-aggrandizement as wrong. 'It is a correct principle,' he said, 'and may be indulged upon only one rule or plan—and that is to elevate, benefit and bless others first. If you will elevate others, the very work itself will exalt you. Upon no other plan can a man justly and permanently aggrandize himself'" (quoted in Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus, comps., *They Knew the Prophet* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974], 61).

with his private and genuine expressions of religious concern.[8] In his 1972 review of Fawn Brodie's influential biography of Smith, *No Man Knows My History,* Hill criticized her for ignoring the religious side of Smith's personality and portraying him as essentially irreligious. "[Brodie] says little about the rationalizations Joseph would have had to go through where his religious role was imposed upon him," Hill observed. "Brodie was never able to take us inside the mind of the prophet, to understand how he thought and why. A reason for that may be that the sources she would have had to use were Joseph's religious writings, and her Smith was supposed to be irreligious."[9]

Among the first lines Smith wrote in his new journal, which he began keeping in November 1832, was: "Oh my God grant that I may be directed in all my thoughts Oh bless thy Servant Amen." A few days later he wrote: "Oh Lord deliver thy servant out of temptations and fill his heart with wisdom and understanding."[10] Such passages, which Brodie either ignored or was unaware of, reveal Smith's inner, spiritual world, and those who ignore this, who fail to recognize a deeply spiritual dimension to Smith's character, or who count his profession of religion as contrived, throw away a major piece of the prophet puzzle. I am convinced that those who wish to understand Smith on his own terms must escape the confinement of Brodie's paradigm.

At the same time, one cannot turn a blind eye to Smith's willingness to deceive. One of the clearest indications of this is his public denials of teaching and practicing polygamy while privately doing so.[11] But perhaps of more relevance is his activity as a treasure seer. This is one of those pieces of the puzzle that, I believe, has been mishandled, or at least not fully appreciated by Mormon scholars generally. Some wish to compartmentalize Smith's treasure-seeing activity as irrelevant to his prophetic career, or to view it as some kind of psychic training-ground for

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8. Marvin S. Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties," *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Winter 1972): 232.

9. Hill, "Brodie Revisited," 74-75.

10. See Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 16, 17; and Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2, Journal, 1832-1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1992), 2, 5.

11. See Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 61. On 26 May 1844 Joseph Smith countered those who were accusing him of practicing polygamy, stating: "What a thing it is for a man to be accused of committing adultery, and having seven wives, when I can only find one" (Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. [2nd ed. rev.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1948 printing], 6:411). Such statements from the pulpit succeeded in misleading many of the Saints who remained unaware that Smith was privately practicing polygamy until the church made a formal statement in 1852.

the developing prophet.[12] If these perspectives are not entirely inaccurate, they are at least incomplete.

Despite an attempt to minimize his early involvement in treasure searching, Smith was in reality an aggressive and ambitious leader among the competing treasure seers of Manchester, New York. It was in fact his unparalleled reputation as a treasure seer that drew Josiah Stowell to hire Smith, not as a digger, but as a seer to locate treasure.[13] From November 1825 until his arrest and court hearing in South Bainbridge in March 1826, Smith was employed by Stowell and others to locate treasure not only in Harmony, Pennsylvania, but also at various locations in the southern New York counties of Broome and Chenango.[14] During the 1826 proceeding, Smith admitted under oath that he had been actively engaged as a treasure seer for the past three years and that he had recently decided to abandon the practice because it was straining his eyes.[15] It was not without reason that Smith tried to conceal these facts in his history: if he did not consider them at odds with his role as prophet, he at least found them easier to omit than to explain.

It is when we examine specific examples of Smith's treasure seeing that apologetic or traditionalist explanations run aground. Jonathan Thompson, for instance, testifying in Smith's defense at the court hearing, reported that on one occasion Smith located a treasure chest with his seer stone. After digging several feet, the men struck something sound-

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12. Richard Bushman, who concludes that "[t]he Smith family at first was no more able to distinguish true religion from superstition than their neighbors" and "were as susceptible to the neighbors' belief in magic as they were to the teachings of orthodox ministers," believes Smith's treasure-seeking activities were irrelevant to his subsequent career as a prophet (*Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984], 72). Whereas Michael Quinn attempts to demolish the barriers between magic and religion and, in accepting Smith's activities as a treasure seer as "real," sees Smith's activities as a treasure seer as part of his development as a prophet (*Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987], 46). See also Richard L. Anderson, "The Mature Joseph Smith and Treasure Searching," *Brigham Young University Studies* 24 (Fall 1984): 489-560, which attempts to combine both perspectives.

13. Besides not telling about his procurement of a seer stone from the Chase family in 1822, Smith concealed the major role he played in Stowell's treasure-digging venture in Harmony, Pennsylvania, by portraying himself as merely a hired hand (Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:17; see also Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996], 1:67-68).

14. See Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 213-27.

15. The trial transcript was published in "A Document Discovered," *Utah Christian Advocate* (Salt Lake City) 3 (Jan. 1886): 1. Concerning Smith's confession, Justice Albert Neely recorded in his docket: "[Smith] has occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for 3 years, but of late had pretty much given it up on account of injuring his Health, especially his eyes, made them sore—that he did not solicit business of this kind, and had always rather declined having anything to do with this business."

ing like a board or plank. Excitedly they asked Smith to look into his stone again, probably to verify the source of the sound as there was apparently some doubt. But, as Thompson reported, Smith "would not look again pretending that he was alarmed ... on account of the circumstances relating to the trunk being buried [which] came all fresh to his mind, that the last time that he looked, he discovered distinctly, the two Indians who buried the trunk, that a quarrel ensued between them and that one of said Indians was killed by the other and thrown into the hole beside of the trunk, to guard it as he supposed." Despite failing to uncover the trunk, Thompson remained a believer in Smith's "professed skill," explaining to the court that "on account of an enchantment, the trunk kept settling away from under them while digging."

Those who believe Smith literally translated the Book of Mormon from anciently engraved plates or who attempt to dismiss his previous treasure-seeing activities as irrelevant have difficulty with Thompson's testimony. Central to their conundrum is the knowledge that Smith used the same stone later to translate the Book of Mormon. The implications are obvious: if Smith *actually* translated and received revelations with his stone, as Mormon apologists maintain, didn't he also locate *real* buried treasure by the same means? Specifically, in the instance that Thompson reported, was there an actual trunk and did Smith really see the two Indians who had fought over it?

Any explanation of Joseph Smith must account for the details provided by Thompson's friendly testimony if it is to be taken seriously. As I view it, there are three possible interpretations, none of which fits comfortably with traditionalist views of Smith and his subsequent work as a translator: (1) Smith saw a treasure chest in his stone that was not really there; in other words, his visions and revelations were the product of his imagination; (2) Smith saw nothing in his stone but only pretended that he did; and (3) Smith saw a real treasure chest in his stone which, no matter the explanation, was never recovered. Thus, to be consistent, apologists must either accept the treasure-seeking lore of Smith's day as reality—including belief in seer stones, mineral rods, guardian spirits, bleeding ghosts, enchanted treasures that slip through the earth, and the like—as D. Michael Quinn has done,[16] and thereby reject rationalist categories of historical investigation, or come face-to-face with a Joseph Smith who either consciously or unconsciously deceived.

The fact that Smith allowed family and friends—even those hostile to his claims such as Lucy Harris and Isaac Hale—to handle the plates while

16. "Unfortunately," Quinn states, "Mormon apologists have in the past accepted rationalist categories of superstition and fraud rather than Smith's and his supporters' affirmations of supernatural powers from the perspective of folk magic" (Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View,* 46).

covered with a cloth or concealed in a box excludes the possibility of an unconscious fraud. Likewise, a detailed examination of Smith's activities as a treasure seer presents examples not easily explained as Smith's self-deception. Josiah Stowell, another believer in Smith's gift, testified at the same court hearing that Smith said that he saw in his stone a treasure "on a certain Root of a stump 5 feet from [the] surface of the earth, and with it would be found a tail feather." After digging, Stowell said that they "found a tail feather, but the money was gone, that he supposed that [the] money moved down." The discovery of an object not normally found underground becomes either proof of Smith's true gift or evidence of his fraudulent activity, for the deluded do not accomplish such feats. In this instance, rather than accept Stowell's explanation for the treasure's disappearance, it seems easier to suggest that Smith planted the tail feather during a previous visit to the area or, more likely, during the process of digging. It may have been this kind of activity that gave Smith an edge over his competitors, perhaps also explaining how he excelled them in reputation.

Despite the apparent evidence of conscious fraud, I would caution against viewing Smith's activity as a treasure seer in either/or terms, for it is possible that Smith was both deluded and deceptive in his operations. In other words, Smith may have been sincere in his claims about seeing treasures and guardian spirits in his stone but was sometimes tempted to provide proof through fraudulent means, either to satisfy his followers or silence his enemies. Although the evidence for fraud is more easily demonstrated, nevertheless Smith's complaint about being persecuted for his gift, if not pure rhetoric, may have been sincere after all.

In the Book of Mormon, Smith does not deny the treasure-seer's world view but integrates it with his subsequent religious beliefs, describing cursed and slippery treasures (Hel. 12:18-19; 13:17-22, 31; Morm. 1:18-19) while restricting the use of the seer stone to translating (Mosiah 8:13-18). The fact that Smith's claimed interviews with the heavenly messenger were concurrent with his treasure seeing and that he later used the same stone to translate the Book of Mormon excludes any explanation that attempts to separate the two roles.[17] If Mormon historians remain unpersuaded by the preceding analysis, as I suspect they will, they will at least better understand the dilemma of which Shipps speaks.

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17. Marvin S. Hill has similarly argued that "there was certainly more continuity between the money-digging religious culture and the early Mormon movement than some historians have recognized. Joseph Smith began receiving revelations as a prophet in 1823, and thus began assuming the role central to his religious movement long before he abandoned his money digging in 1827" (*Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989], 20).

II

Hullinger's devout-fraud thesis has the advantage of harmonizing many disparities in the historical record concerning Joseph Smith, and explains much of his motives and character that otherwise remains elusive. But Hullinger, in my opinion, did not go far enough, for—like Brodie—he never attempted to explore the underlying assumption of his thesis. In other words, what were the rationalizations or, more precisely, the inner moral conflicts of an individual who deceives in God's name while also holding sincere religious beliefs?

In rejecting Brodie's paradigm, one need not confuse Smith's inner, spiritual world with the prophet-image that he projected to his followers. Those close to Smith eventually discovered the disparity between the mantle and the man, between the persona and the person. Historians too must distinguish between the public and private Joseph Smith, between the myth and the man, and peel back the layers of Smith's public image, created to satisfy the demands of his followers, to reveal the "real" Joseph Smith, or at least his true beliefs and assumptions. We must seek to discover the emotional, spiritual, and intellectual "reality" from which he operated. It is not enough to know that Smith was religious, or had a spiritual dimension to his character, one must know what those beliefs were—for what is privately believed, as opposed to publicly taught, makes all the difference.

Sometimes private beliefs can be clearly stated but withheld from the public, as with plural marriage. But often privately held beliefs and assumptions are unconsciously or unintentionally revealed in the implied or connotative meaning of texts. The remainder of this essay examines the texts of the Book of Mormon and Smith's early revelations, highlighting instances in which he articulated the ideas and philosophies of an apparent religious pretender, even the very principles upon which a pious deception could be founded.

A revelation dictated by Smith in March 1830—the very month that the Book of Mormon came off the press—is most revealing of Smith's early state of mind. Directed at Martin Harris, the revelation defends Universalist doctrine, a seeming reversal of Book of Mormon teaching,[18]

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18. Dan Vogel, "Anti-Universalist Rhetoric in the Book of Mormon," in Brent Lee Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 21-52. Actually, the Book of Mormon's attack on Universalism seems to focus on those who believe in no punishment after death. Only in one instance does the Book of Mormon attack Restorationists (2 Ne. 28:8). However, in this passage the Book of Mormon does not attack their belief directly but rather their attitude of taking the punishment for sin too lightly. Regardless, Alma speaks of the "punishment, which also was eternal as the life of the soul" (Alma 42:16). The revelation's concept of atonement is also at odds with the Book of Mormon's teachings about the necessity of an "infinite" atonement (2 Ne. 9:7; Alma 34:10, 12), a concept Universalists rejected.

and advances an unorthodox version of Jesus' atonement.[19] A close examination of this revelation reveals not only Smith's private belief in Universalism but also an unintentional glimpse into his pious rationalizations.

Despite scriptural references to the torment and suffering of the wicked, the revelation declares "it is not written that there shall be no end to this torment" (D&C 19:6), explaining that the terms "eternal punishment" and "endless punishment" simply mean "God's punishment," that "eternal" and "endless" are synonyms for God's name (vv. 10-12). In other words, "endless" and "eternal" have reference to the nature or quality of the punishment, not to its duration.[20]

While one might wish to conclude that Smith was simply placating Harris, whose Universalist beliefs may have caused him some misgivings about the book he had promised to sponsor financially, I suggest that the Restorationist tone of the revelation reflects Smith's true theological leanings—leanings he would develop further in his 1832 vision of three heavens (D&C 76). The revelation itself suggests a reason for the conflicting doctrines, stating that God has purposely used misleading language in order "that it might work upon the hearts of the children of men" (D&C 19:7). In other words, God sometimes deceives humankind for their own good. This is exactly the kind of rationalization one expects of a pious deceiver or religious pretender.

Not surprisingly the revelation invokes secrecy concerning its contents. Fearing that its teaching of a temporary hell would encourage sinners to remain unrepentant, the revelation instructs its recipients to "preach nought but repentance; *and show not these things, neither speak these things unto the world,* for they can not bear meat, but milk they must receive: Wherefore, *they must not know these things lest they perish*" (BofC

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19. By 1830 the Universalist denomination was overwhelmingly Unitarian, denying the deity of Jesus and rejecting orthodox concepts of the Atonement. Of course, there was the odd Universalist church like the one in Charleston, South Carolina, that declared in 1829 its belief in trinitarianism (see *The Evangelists' Manual: or a Guide to Trinitarian Universalists* [Charleston, S.C., 1829]). On an individual level the matter was fluid, as is illustrated in a letter from M. Wing to his brother living in Montpelier, Vermont, dated 10 March 1827. The orthodox brother writes: "You should not blame me David, for not correctly representing the sentiments of the Universalists for there are hardly two societies that agree in every thing. Those in this neighborhood, & a majority, I believe, elsewhere, believe there is no other punishment than what takes place in this world. But that which gave me most pain, was your denial of the Divinity of the Son of God. It is not necessarily connected with Universalism, & I did not suppose you had embraced it. ..." (as quoted in Rick Grunder, *Mormon List 23,* Mar. 1987, [15]).

20. This is not unlike the argument of Unitarian-Universalist Hosea Ballou (see *A Treatise on Atonement* [Randolph, VT: Sereno Wright, 1805], 161-62).

16:22-23, emphasis added; compare D&C 19:21-22).[21] Despite publicly posing as a believer in the traditional heaven and hell, Smith was privately a Universalist and therefore did not fear an eternal, never-ending hell that would have troubled most pious deceivers.

Like previous religious pretenders, Smith may have taken comfort in such biblical examples as Abraham and Jacob. Fearing for his life, Abraham instructed his wife Sarah to withhold their true marital status from the Egyptians and present him instead as her brother (Gen. 12:10-20; 20:12). This was a half-truth, certainly, but a deliberate deception nonetheless.

Perhaps responding to those who found it difficult to excuse Abraham's behavior,[22] Smith included in his Book of Abraham a predictable variation on the already troubling story. Instead of Abraham telling his wife to lie about their marital status, Smith has God instruct Abraham to tell Sarah to lie (Abr. 2:22-25/Gen. 12:11-13).[23] Thus in excusing Abraham, Smith introduced the more troubling proposition that God is sometimes the author of deception. This assertion would have outraged orthodox believers, that is, had they been paying sufficient attention to

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21. When published in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants, this passage was altered to explain why its stipulated secrecy had been violated by publication: "show not these things unto the world *until it is wisdom in me.* For they cannot bear meat *now*" (D&C 19:21-22). And the phrase "neither speak these things" was deleted. Publication of this revelation in 1833 and 1835 was to Smith's advantage as it improved his position with those having difficulty accepting his 1832 vision of three heavens, because it provided the needed transition between the Book of Mormon and the vision.

22. Commenting on Abraham's defense in Genesis 20:12 that he had not lied but only suppressed part of the truth, Methodist Adam Clarke, for example, said: "*What is a lie?* It is any action done or word spoken, whether true or false in itself, which the doer or speaker wishes the observer or hearer to take in a *contrary* sense to that which he knows to be true. It is, in a word, any action done or speech delivered with *the intention to deceive,* though both may be absolutely true and right in themselves" (*The Holy Bible ... With a Commentary and Critical Notes* [New York, 1810], s.v., Gen. 20:12). Making no excuses for Abraham, Clarke criticized the ancient patriarch and concluded: "Had Abraham possessed more charity for man and confidence in God at this time, he had not fallen into that snare from which he barely escaped."

23. This portion of the Book of Abraham, absent from all extant manuscript copies, was probably written in Nauvoo shortly before publication in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842 (see "The Book of Abraham," *Times and Seasons* 3 [15 Mar. 1842]: 719). Susan Staker has suggested that Smith's alteration of Genesis should be understood in the context of the prophet's secret polygynous and polyandrous marriages in Nauvoo. She argues that Smith's Book of Abraham version seemed to justify the secrecy and deception he requested of his wives. See Susan Staker, "'The Lord Said, Thy Wife Is a Very Fair Woman to Look Upon': The Book of Abraham, Secrets, and Lying for the Lord," 17 Aug. 1996, Sunstone Theological Symposium, Salt Lake City, copy in my possession.

Smith's teachings.[24] It was nevertheless a concept that fit with Smith's personal and private theology.

Jacob's deception of Isaac is perhaps the most striking example from the Bible (Gen. 27). At the instigation of his mother Rebekah, who agreed to receive the curse should Isaac discover the deception (v. 13), Jacob extracted the first-born's blessing from his blind father by pretending to be his older twin brother, Esau. Of course, the deception is justified on the grounds that Esau had incorrectly left the womb first and that deception was necessary to fulfill God's will. In the popular commentary of Smith's day, Methodist Adam Clarke dismissed the suggestion of some that Rebekah was acting under "Divine inspiration," but nevertheless quoted one ancient Chaldaic Targum that renders Rebekah's words differently from the Hebrew or Septuagint versions: "It has been revealed to me by prophecy that the curses will not come upon thee, my son." Seemingly aware of the story's possible misuse, Clarke warned that the author of Genesis "nowhere says that God would have any man to copy this conduct."[25]

Despite such biblical precedent, Universalism remains a major element in Smith's ability to rationalize his fraudulent activities, both as a treasure seer and later as a prophet. Where the Book of Mormon and March 1830 revelation worry that Universalism leads to laxity towards God's commandments, we find an explanation for Smith's own tendency to fall into "divers temptations to the gratification of many appetites offensive in the sight of God."[26] Combined with a belief that God sometimes deceives in order to save his children, Universalism helps explain how Smith could perpetrate a religious deception while at the same time having the appearance of a deep and sincere faith. Those who continue to overlook this aspect of his private belief system will never understand his evolution as a prophet.

III

The opening portion of the Book of Mormon includes the story of

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24. In this regard one might consider the reaction of Warren Parrish to a similar situation involving Sidney Rigdon, a counselor in the First Presidency. Among other things Parrish, who was in May 1837 quickly becoming disenchanted with Mormonism, accused Rigdon of "lying & declaring that God required it at his hands" (Warren Parrish to Bishop Newel K. Whitney, 29 May 1837, Newel K. Whitney Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah).

25. Clarke, *The Holy Bible*, s.v., Gen. 27:13.

26. Joseph Smith, Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1, 5, Joseph Smith Papers, archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter LDS archives (Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:63). The phrase "to the gratification of many appetites" was subsequently stricken from Smith's History.

Nephi obtaining the brass plates through deception and murder (1 Ne. 4). Despite the Spirit's command, Nephi is hesitant to kill the drunken and defenseless Laban. "Never at any time have I shed the blood of man," Nephi protests (v. 10). This is not unlike the moral dilemma that Abraham faced when commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac, only that Nephi actually carries out the directive (Gen. 22:1-14; cf. D&C 132:36, 50-51). The Spirit reissues the command and reasons with Nephi: "Slay him, for the Lord hath delivered him into thy hands; behold the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes. It is better that one man should perish than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief" (1 Ne. 4:12-13; cf. John 11:50). Overcoming his aversion to murder, Nephi cuts Laban's head off with his own sword. Dressed in Laban's armor, Nephi—like biblical Jacob—deceives Laban's servant into giving him the brass plates. Thus by crossing moral lines Nephi accomplished the Lord's errand and thereby preserved the Hebrew scriptures for future Nephite generations.

I suggest that on the evening of 21-22 September 1823 seventeen-year-old Joseph Smith spent a sleepless night struggling with his own moral dilemma, whether or not to proceed with his story of finding gold plates. On the following morning, as the story goes, while returning from the field an angelic messenger appeared to him and—similar to the exchange between the Spirit and Nephi—chastised him for not telling his father about the plates as previously instructed. Smith had hesitated, fearing that he would not be believed. But the angel commanded him to tell his father and promised that he would "believe every word."[27] This was a decisive moment in Smith's career, although the story takes on a different cast if one views Smith as a pious pretender. In this instance, the event becomes the moment of Smith's resolve to cross moral lines, perhaps with the Spirit's urging, to invent the existence of the plates for a good cause. While Nephi pretended to be the evil Laban to gain access to the brass plates, Smith would pretend to be Mormon, the ancient editor of the plates.

The Book of Mormon's version of Adam's fall also lends itself to pious rationalizations. A radical departure from orthodox Christianity, the Book of Mormon declares that the Fall was part of God's plan, that it would ultimately produce more good than evil: "Adam fell that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy" (2 Ne. 2:25). Similar to Nephi, Joseph's Adam found it necessary to violate God's commandment not to eat of the tree of knowledge in order to fulfill a higher law and bring about a greater good. Smith was not the originator of what is some-

27. Lucy Smith, "Preliminary Manuscript," 81, LDS archives (Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:291).

times called the "fortunate Fall," but for more than obvious reasons he was attracted to an otherwise obscure idea.

The essence of what probably attracted the would-be prophet to the fortunate Fall is clearly set forth in the words of fifth-century theologian St. Augustine: "The works of God are so wisely and exquisitely contrived that, when an angelic and human creature sins ... it fulfills what He willed."[28] English poet John Milton portrayed Adam as uncertain if he should even repent of his sin, since by it God had produced so much good that otherwise would have remained undone: "O goodness infinite, goodness immense!/ That all this good of evil shall produce,/ And evil turn to good; more wonderful/ Than that which by creation first brought forth ..." In order that "much more good ... shall spring" from his sin, Milton's Adam decides to delay repentance trusting in God's mercy.[29] Thus, unlike Eve, Adam had willfully sinned and knowingly brought both spiritual and physical death upon himself—all for the good of humankind. The advantages of the fortunate Fall for the pious deceiver are obvious, and Smith was perhaps attracted to it because it seemed to justify the ethically contradictory actions of his own mission.

IV

Assuming Joseph Smith to be a pious deceiver, did he—like the Targum's Rebekah or even his own Abraham—believe his deception was inspired of God? Specifically, did Smith believe the Book of Mormon was inspired although he knew it was not ancient history?[30] Despite Smith's claims that the Book of Mormon resulted from a purely mechanical process of translation (one in which Smith simply read the translation from

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28. As quoted in Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), 73.

29. Ibid.

30. Some may wish to retain their belief that the Book of Mormon is ancient history despite the possibility that Smith lied about the plates, or that despite his construction of fake plates Smith nevertheless believed he was dictating ancient history. While this is possible, the awkwardness with which he handled Harris's loss of the translation manuscript, particularly his subsequent creation of the "small" and "large" plates of Nephi and the clumsy addition of the explanatory bridge between the two records called "The Words of Mormon," not to mention the convenient revelations issuing therefrom (D&C 3 and 10), suggest conscious fabrication (see Quinn Brewster, "The Structure of the Book of Mormon: A Theory of Evolutionary Development," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 [Summer 1996]: 109-40; and Brent Lee Metcalfe, "The Priority of Mosiah: A Prelude to Book of Mormon Exegesis," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*, 395-437).

the seer stone),[31] he seems to have actually operated from a liberal view of revelation, one that rationalizes the production of fraudulent scripture.

Early in the work of translation, Oliver Cowdery expressed a desire to translate and received permission through a revelation Smith dictated (D&C 8). However, without use of the translator's stone, Cowdery did not know how to proceed. A subsequent revelation explained his failure:

> Behold you have not understood, you have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me. But, behold, I say unto you, that you must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you: therefore, you shall feel that it is right. But if it be not right you shall have no such feelings, but you shall have a stupor of thought that shall cause you to forget the thing which is wrong; therefore, you cannot write that which is sacred save it be given you from me. Now, if you had known this you could have translated (D&C 9:7-10).

As an experienced rod worker and clairvoyant, Cowdery naturally expected the "translation" to be revealed to him from an outside source. In the previous revelation, God had promised him: "I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the Holy Ghost" (D&C 8:2). Now he is being told that "you must study it out in your mind"—that the translation would come from his own thoughts. Thoughts about what? What is there to work out in one's mind if there is nothing there to begin with? If the thoughts come from his own mind, is not that the same as writing the book himself? It is doubtful that Cowdery found such a definition of translation useful—at least, he never returned to the subject although "other records" awaited his attention (D&C 9:2).

Regardless of the outcome, the revelation hints that Smith privately held a definition of translation and revelation that was more liberal than that of many of his followers, one which is so internal that the seer stone and the plates become mere props. Of course, Smith encouraged the view that he was simply reading the God-given translation from his

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31. Those close to Smith during the translation—Emma Smith, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer—all describe a mechanical process of translation. For a discussion of this testimony, see Richard Van Wagoner and Steven Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Gift of Seeing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Summer 1982): 48-68; and James E. Lancaster, "The Translation of the Book of Mormon," Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 97-112. Smith's inability to translate when Harris secretly switched stones demonstrates that the stone was essential to the translation process, not incidental as some apologists have asserted—at least as Smith explained his gift to his followers (see, e.g., Edward Stevenson to the Editor, 30 Nov. 1881, *Deseret Evening News* 15 [13 Dec. 1881]).

stone when actually he was working the words out in his mind, dictating the words he felt good about and forgetting those not worth remembering. In Smith's view, the words were inspired regardless of their true origin.

Near the close of the Book of Mormon, Moroni writes that "every thing which inviteth and enticeth to do good, and to love God, and to serve him, is inspired of God" (Moro. 7:13). And again, "every thing which inviteth to do good, and to persuade to believe in Christ, is sent forth by the power and gift of Christ; wherefore ye may know with a perfect knowledge it is of God" (v. 16). In another place Christ is made to reason: "These things are true; for it persuadeth men to do good. And whatsoever thing persuadeth men to do good is of me; for good cometh of none save it be of me. I am the same that leadeth men to all good" (Eth. 4:11-12). Thus even if Smith wrote the Book of Mormon himself, under this definition it was inspired of God because it attempts to persuade humankind to do good and to believe in Christ.

Smith's reasoning was simple: the Book of Mormon is of God because "all things which are good cometh of Christ" (Eth. 4:24), for the devil "persuadeth no man to do good, no, not one; neither do his angels; neither do they who subject themselves unto him" (v. 17). Thus he would have extended the principle to include himself: his desire to save others, even if by deception, was a good thing and therefore inspired of God, not Satan, and evil men do not perform good deeds.

Early in his career Smith probably conceived his prophetic role much the same as the Book of Mormon prophets, who for the most part write according to their best knowledge rather than by direct revelation. Mormon, whose early life parallels Smith's—including being "visited of the Lord" at age fifteen—became the editor by "commandment" and records the things he has "both seen and heard" (Morm. 1:1, 5). He was chosen to write the final chapter of his people's history because he is "sober" and "quick to observe" (v. 2). His son Moroni later confesses that he and his father made their records "according to our knowledge" (9:32). Nephi also made his record by "commandment of the Lord" and "according to my knowledge" (1 Ne. 1:3; 9:3, 5; 19:2, 3), and is qualified for the work because he is "highly favored of the Lord" and possesses "a great knowledge of the goodness and the mysteries of God" (1:1). Perhaps Smith, too, believed that he was specially qualified to write scripture, that God had called upon him because of his talent as a story teller and considerable powers of persuasion, that he was inspired by God in the general but not in every particular.

V

In pursuing the prophet puzzle, I have sought to understand Joseph Smith, not condemn him. Smith, to be sure, presents historians with a formidable puzzle, but, as Shipps said, "The mystery of Mormonism cannot be solved until we solve the mystery of Joseph Smith."[32] The paradigm explored in this essay attempts not only to bring Shipps's two Joseph's together but to search out his motives, inner conflicts, and rationalizations, as suggested by Hill. Because this model has the advantage of explaining the historical record more fully than previous attempts, either pro or con, I believe it may be destined to replace Brodie's, at least as far as non-Mormon historians are concerned.

In refining Hullinger's thesis, I suggest that Smith really believed he was called of God to preach repentance to a sinful world but that he felt justified in using deception to accomplish his mission more fully. Like the faith healer who uses confederates to create a faith-promoting atmosphere in which true miracles can occur, Smith assumed the role of prophet, produced the Book of Mormon, and issued revelations to create a setting in which true conversion experiences could take place. It is the true healings and conversions that not only justify deception but convince the pious frauds that they are perhaps after all real healers or real prophets.

What did Smith hope to accomplish by his pious deception? One goal, as the March 1830 revelation shows, was to bring humankind to repentance. Initially, Smith hoped to frighten his fellow humans into repentance and therefore help them avoid the torments of even a temporary hell. Later he used the incentive of higher rewards. Meanwhile, if humankind was saved by incorrectly believing in an eternal hell, to that end Smith believed his method was justified. Whatever the means, he believed his followers would be saved as long as their repentance and faith in Christ were sincere.

What did he believe his own fate would be? Perhaps he believed that with God's sanction he would escape punishment, but there is another possibility, one that takes us to the core of his private world. The March 1830 revelation declares that the unrepentant would suffer for their own sins: "For behold, I, God, have suffered these things for all, that they might not suffer if they would repent; But if they would not repent they must suffer even as I" (D&C 19:16-17). Of course, the idea that humans can suffer as Jesus did for their own sins is viewed by orthodox Christians as an infringement on Jesus' infinite atonement. But in Smith's day it was a concept held by many Restorationists in one form or another. Ap-

32. Shipps, "Prophet Puzzle," 19.

plied to Smith's pious deception, his reasoning perhaps went something like the following: those who believe the Book of Mormon and repent, regardless of the book's true origin, will be saved or, perhaps of more immediate concern, will not be destroyed at Jesus' appearance. For this act, Smith—like Jesus—would suffer in a temporary hell and become a savior to his followers.[33]

Smith's March 1830 revelation, the Book of Abraham, the story of Nephi and Laban, and the fortunate Fall demonstrate that Smith believed that God sometimes inspires deception, that some sins are according to his will, or that occasionally it is necessary to break one commandment in order to fulfill a higher law. Smith likened the command to take plural wives to Abraham's moral conundrum (D&C 132:29-37), and in attempting to coax twenty-year-old Nancy Rigdon into secretly becoming a plural wife in 1842 Smith argued that "That which is wrong under one circumstance, may be and often is, right under another. ... Whatever God requires is right, no matter what it is, although we may not see the reason thereof till long after the events transpire."[34] We may never know exactly Smith's reasoning, but we can at least say that if he wrote the Book of Mormon, became a prophet, and founded the church as a pious deception, it is evident he had the psychological means of justifying such acts.

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33. That Smith's mission of saving souls went beyond the usual calling of sinners to repentance is hinted at when the Book of Mormon applies Old Testament scripture, traditionally interpreted as messianic prophecy, to Joseph Smith. Jesus, for instance, is made to declare concerning the coming forth of the Book of Mormon: "there shall be among them those who will not believe it, although *a man* shall declare it unto them [Acts 13:41]. But behold, the life of my *servant* shall be in my hand; therefore they shall not hurt him, although he shall be marred because of them. Yet I will heal him [Isa. 52:13-14], for I will show unto them that my wisdom is greater than the cunning of the devil" (3 Ne. 21:9-10; emphasis added). Here Jesus alludes to Isaiah's suffering servant (previously quoted in 20:43-44), traditionally interpreted as a messianic prophecy fulfilled in Jesus (compare John 12:37-38; Mark 9:12), and applies it to Joseph Smith. On a deeper psychological level, one might view Smith's death as an inevitable extension of a messiah complex. The *Broome County Courier* for 29 December 1831 may have picked up on this theme when it called Smith a "second Messiah."

34. Joseph Smith to Nancy Rigdon, Apr. 1842, *Sangamo Journal*, 19 Aug. 1842, as cited in Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 508; cf. Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:134-36.

Miguel

Peter Richardson

I meet Miguel
bear hugging him from behind
tense tendons in his neck
rage squeezing out his eyes:
one thick tear,
a spot grows
dark on my sleeve.

A good looking, wiry, small boy.
Wants to be a boxer.
When he's off task, I get in his face,
stern reprimand, hand on one shoulder, he counters:
-Ud. no es mi papá.

Two scars nicked
in the back of his close-cropped head
like someone snuck up from behind
and tried to take a bite.

A friend offers him some Cheez-its.
He takes one, looks at it,
crosses himself,
kisses the Cheez-it,
tosses it in his mouth.
He and the friend look at each other,
laugh.

-¿Por qué viniste?
-Vinieron mis papás.

Playing basketball on the indoor court
eyes on a ball sailing over his head
he backpedals then turns to run,
still looking at the ball. He smashes into a column,
hits his head solid.

Never saw it coming.
Stifled sob, sucking breath in
through clenched teeth.
No words.
At lunch, Miguel eats everything on his plate.
On the court, he jumps well. Dives after loose balls.
Not afraid to put up his shot.
In class, all he asks is some free time.
Straight for the Tinker Toys,
he makes an airplane.
Every time.

Tomasov says, categorical:
"He's special ed."

At home
Nintendo is a drug.
Bad graphics, easy highs.
A banal riff, same jingle over and over.
No words, nothing to read.
Nothing to say.

Some space, a pair of skates,
free time, a chance to look at the pictures.

Returning home from a field trip
to Ellis Island
a long way to walk among dense buildings.
-Maestro, me duele la barriga.
-Ya sé; ya me dijiste.
-Me duele.
-¿Qué hago? ¿Qué puedo hacer?
-...
-¿Te cargo?

No answer.

One Man's Definition of LDS Membership

Larry N. Jensen

SOME THIRTY YEARS AGO MY FAITH in the Mormon church changed forever. I was twenty-eight years old, a husband, father, school teacher, high priest, and a highly idealistic and credulous young Mormon. Looking back, I had complete faith in the religious belief of others, my universe was ordered, and I was happy. I was also a student/scholar and was beginning to assume the mantle of an intellectual. I was changing in the way I viewed the world.

In the summer of 1969, while working on a Master's degree at the University of Utah, I met two other teachers doing the same thing. As we came to know each other, our religious affiliations came up. They were Mormons but were troubled in their membership. After some prodding, they confided that they had come into some knowledge about the claim that the Pearl of Great Price contained an authentic translation of the Book of Abraham. The church says that Joseph Smith translated the book from ancient Egyptian papyri. They were anguished in their knowledge that this was not true and were further distressed that the authenticity of Joseph Smith as a prophet was in question because of what they knew. As a believing Mormon, I challenged them, arguing that such a discovery was impossible. They asked me to read what they had discovered and judge for myself. I accepted. My credulous faith in the church was assailed and my ordered universe began slowly to tumble.

The source of their enlightenment was a package of essays entitled "The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri" in the periodical *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, volume 3, issue 2. The gist of these articles noted the recent recovery of the lost papyri used by Joseph Smith to create the Book of Abraham, a canonized book of scripture in the church. The authors argued convincingly that these papyri were authentic and the exact ones used by Joseph. Additionally, several Egyptologists reported examining copies of the papyri and, with minor variations, translated them as por-

tions of a Book of the Dead, a common funerary artifact that accompanied Egyptian mummies. This analysis provided a basis for comparing the modern translation and that produced by Joseph Smith 140 years earlier. The difference was indisputable. No instance of agreement between the two translations was found. The conclusion was inescapable: the Book of Abraham was fiction, Joseph Smith's perfidy was exposed, and the foundation of my belief in the church and its leaders was permanently shaken.

The effect on me was not immediate; in fact, it took years to adjust to my knowledge. I was a member of the Mormon community and in the beginning tried to test my new-found knowledge on other Mormons. I found myself stonewalled; to try to talk about it was to be dismissed. The only ones willing to discuss my discovery were outside the church, but I was interested in accommodating what I knew within the church. In the intervening years such an accommodation has been impossible. Only through silence have I preserved my church membership. I valued the community of Mormonism for my family and also for the impact the church has had on me as a young person. I needed the Puritan ethic as practiced in Mormonism to help me raise my children. So I opted for an alliance of expediency. My active involvement in the church ebbed and settled on the backwater of activity, but my family remained immersed in the Mormon community.

Quite incidentally, over the years other sources of trouble for the believing Mormon have come my way. I will mention two in the following paragraphs.

The historical biography, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet,* by Fawn M. Brodie, was helpful in understanding the historicity of Joseph Smith. He was indeed a man for his time; a bright, intelligent, industrious, creative, imaginative, and visionary leader who was also a dishonest scoundrel. After reading this excellent scholarly work, I was persuaded by her conclusion, that the Book of Mormon is fiction. It was exciting for me that the book, when viewed from the historical context of the times, including an understanding of the surrounding social, political, and economic milieu, now made sense. While Joseph's claim that the book was an authentic revelation/translation from ancient golden plates by the power and will of God may be abhorrent to some, his life and the way he died creates for millions of members an authenticity to his claims that historical and other facts cannot dissuade. His book is saga, his life epic, and his theology a modern religion.

The second source of trouble for the believing Mormon are the essays found in *Studies of the Book of Mormon,* by B. H. Roberts, edited by Brigham D. Madsen, and published by the University of Illinois Press in

1985. These show that skepticism concerning the historicity of the Book of Mormon was not ignored by Roberts, a Mormon general authority in the early 1900s. In his day reasoned debate was tolerated in the church and questions about the Book of Mormon deserved discussion. Roberts's defense of the faith is well known in church circles, but it was not revealed until 1985 that he was troubled in his attempts to explain away conflicts between modern historical facts and Book of Mormon historicity. In the 1920s, seeking enlightenment, he documented these problems, presented them to the highest church leaders, and was ignored. He was a scholar, but his love of truth and his love for his church were problematic for him, and like others he chose silence rather than confrontation. With Roberts's death, the toleration of intellectuals and reasoned debate in the church also died. A Mormon cultural tenet of anti-intellectualism emerged and remains in place today. Any Mormon who publicly questions church dogma today is summarily dismissed as a heretic subject to disfellowship or excommunication. Reason, it seems, places the very foundation of the church, the efficacy of Joseph Smith, into question. To lose him as the theological bedrock of the church would bring chaos to the organization. In reaction to this possibility, homeostatic forces within the church continually deaden reasoned intellectualism, thereby steadying the modern ark of the covenant, the LDS faith.

And if anti-intellectualism is not enough to discourage the thinking Mormon, Brodie brings to light another similar tenet in the church: the Calvinistic notion of literalism brought to the early church by Sidney Rigdon. Among other things, Mormons believe literally in Noah's flood, a 4,000-year-old earth, and a boy seeing God on a hill in New York in the early 1800s. Myth is never discussed in the church; scripture is literally true.

The intellectual Mormon usually finds a discussion with a faithful Mormon a frustrating experience. The faithful one is armed with dislike for the intellectual, a slavish belief in church dogma, logic defying circular argumentation, and is usually full of self. The intellectual is likewise full of self, and is bound by education and training to reasoned argumentation and logical rationalism. These are intellectually different worlds; productive argumentation is impossible since a common battleground does not exist. Rather than do battle, silence is the better part of valor between these two. Besides, to engage the battle is to suffer a fool too easily on either side.

Where does all this leave the thinking Mormon? Being at odds with much of church dogma is spiritually uncomfortable. Is orthodoxy all there is and is a middle ground of membership impossible? Brigham D. Madsen, in an essay published in the fall 1997 issue of *Dialogue,* used the term Partial Covenant to describe the relationship between a thinking

Mormon and the church. As I pondered what Partial Covenant membership meant for me, I needed a definition of Full Covenant membership. Since, in my limited research, no such definition exists, I decided to create one.

It seems useful here to use the term Orthodox Mormon to refer to Full Covenant membership. The term, Orthodox Mormon, characterizes a member who accepts without compromise the authority of the church and the subordination of personal freedom to that authority through purposeful religious behavior. Partial Covenant membership means something less than this but is not treasonous of church authority. A Partial Covenant Mormon practices the faith, but through a compromised acceptance of church authority consistent with personal integrity, and does so silently. A critical mass of Orthodox Mormons keeps church authority in place, but many Partial Covenant Mormons presently practice the faith.

To arrive at a satisfactory definition of Partial Covenant membership, it is may be useful to view Orthodox church authority as four interrelated precepts.

1. *The Authority of the Prophet.* The church is an autocracy. Orthodox acceptance of the prophet's authority comes from the personal conviction that he is a living oracle of God. This is the cornerstone of all authority in the church. The power of the authority of the prophet stems from Joseph Smith the person. He was the first and last public oracle of God in the church. Orthodox members affirm his authority over and over in fast and testimony meetings. While some succession of authority occurred after his death, the authority of the prophet remains historical rather than contemporary. Present-day prophets derive their prophetic authority from their position in the organization of the church. Partial Covenant members find the prophetic line of authority doubtful given Joseph Smith's history but recognize present-day presidents of the church as honorable leaders.

2. *The Authority of Scripture.* There are four canonized works of scripture in the church. These works guide members in personal everyday behavior. The theology expressed in them is powerful. The authority of scripture comes from two sources. The first is belief in the authenticity of Joseph Smith as an oracle of God. The second is acceptance of western Christian Puritan religious traditions found in eighteenth-to-nineteenth-century America. Mormonism is not a new kind of religion but is a Christian church. Through these four books, Mormonism is married to Christianity, and in particular to frontier Christianity. Through the authority of these works, the church finds its Christian theological existence, but with an imaginative spin. It is the authority of this spin that is problematic for many thinking Mormons. Belief in Joseph Smith's imaginative necromancy, not Christianity, is the problem contained in these works.

3. Priesthood Organizational Authority. Two interrelated sources of authority exist here. One is the authority of priesthood, the other is classic organizational authority. The priesthood provides male members a place in the organization and legitimizes their membership. It authorizes active participation in church rituals such as blessings, baptisms, confirmations, and prayer. For me, the authority of priesthood enhances the practice of Christianity in the church. While it is a class system that excludes women and children, and has a hierarchy of authority, its use is not constrained by a member's position of authority in the church and allows for the free practice of Christianity through church rituals. However, the real work of the church is authorized through organization of individual neighborhood wards where the work of the organization is primarily educational with a sprinkling of compassionate service. In the ward the authority of priesthood and organization is married to do this work. All members, male and female, can find a place in the ward organization to practice their religion through this work. Orthodox Mormons accept all of this, but Partial Covenant members are selective of authority that conflicts with personal integrity.

4. Authority of Mission. The mission of the church is to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Arising out of political motives, Joseph Smith imagined a real kingdom, a socialistic theocracy, that would be self-governing and apart from the government of the United States. Shortly before his death, he was appointed king of his kingdom by church leaders. While literal establishment of his kingdom died with him, establishment of a conceptual Kingdom of God remains as his legacy. Orthodox Mormons feel an obligation of membership is to build this kingdom. They believe in an afterlife in heaven where one finds favor with God by helping build his kingdom on earth. The church is the earthly kingdom that somewhat mirrors the Kingdom of God in heaven. A perfect earthly kingdom would have all people, everywhere, faithfully practicing Mormonism. Accordingly, Orthodox Mormons are evangelists. The authority for their behavior arises from a desire for heavenly salvation for themselves and anyone else they can convert. This is a powerful motive for a faithful Mormon and a pious arrogance often emerges when their message is rejected. While evangelical missionaries try to convert the living to the Kingdom of God, temple work, through genealogical research, provides salvation for the dead. In short, Orthodox Mormons bow to the authority of mission through missionary work, everyday evangelicalism, or performing vicarious rituals for the dead such as baptisms in church temples. Partial Covenant Mormons are troubled by the piety of all this and also by the nineteenth-century Masonic influence found in the temple ceremony.

For many Partial Covenant members, Mormonism is mostly an

empty vessel. The authority of the church is based on the Orthodox belief that Joseph Smith was God's living oracle. Partial Covenant members are not so sure. Without belief in Joseph Smith, the authority of the church is reduced for these members, and the practice of their faith is different from that of Orthodox members. They are not evangelists, teachers, preachers, missionaries, or temple workers. They are Christians, and find meaning in their faith by compassionate service and by practicing the Christian rituals found in the church. Being Christians, they accept the authority of the church where it does not conflict with truth. To paraphrase a popular saying in the church, Partial Covenant members are in the church but not always of it. Beyond its Orthodoxy, the church circumscribes a community culture—a shared set of Christian Puritan values, norms, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors affecting members and nonmembers in the community. A strong Christian Puritan ethic resides in Mormon communities. While Partial Covenant members may question most of church authority, they sustain the community culture created by it. Their personal lives mirror the Christian Puritan ethic of the church as well as Orthodox members do. Living a Mormon Christian life is not equal to Orthodoxy. In fact, practicing Mormonism in possession of the truth concerning Joseph Smith enhances the Puritanical Christian ethic that Partial Covenant members seek to live.

In summary, I am a Partial Covenant member of the church, a Christian in possession of a creed than defines my faith in God and my membership in the church.

1. I believe in God the Father, Jesus Christ his son, and in the grace of God working through the Holy Ghost.

2. I believe that practicing the principles of the gospel of Christ can lead to a worthwhile and satisfying life.

3. I believe in an afterlife, where spiritual development continues.

4. I believe that my membership in the church enhances the practice of my Christian faith.

5. I believe in doing the right thing in the circumstances of life and letting that be my legacy.

6. I believe in the right to truth, in the free expression of ideas, and in open dialogue among thinking individuals.

7. I believe in the right to dissent without prejudice.

8. Finally, I believe that family is the core of a Christian life where Christ-like love can be nurtured and understood.

Paradigms toward Zion: A Reply to Allen Lambert on Zion-building

James W. Lucas

I AM TOLD THAT NOT SO LONG AGO church Correlation adopted a policy of discouraging use of the word "Zion" in official publications and discourses. Perhaps they felt that the term created an irrational exuberance about moving to Jackson County, Missouri.[1] However, in a small victory for those who long to keep Mormonism whole, that policy does not appear to have been successful. This may be due in part to the popularity of the term among ordinary Latter-day Saints, including apparently a Brother Gordon Hinckley. One reason for the term's popularity must be its versatility. It is used to describe the center city to be built in the aforementioned Missouri county, the Mormon settlement region in the western United States, even all of the Americas. It can refer to both the institutional church and the Saints generally. It can be a state of being, the "pure in heart" (D&C 97:21).

The word is also used to invoke a state of society. From the beginning of the Restoration, it was clear that all of the concerns of God's children were within the ken of the restored gospel. Numerous early revelations and efforts of the Saints were devoted to implementing a concept of economic righteousness usually referred to by rubrics such as "consecration and stewardship" or the "united order." The concept that the restored gospel addresses social as well as personal righteousness has carried into our century. David O. McKay described the purpose of the church as "first, to develop in men's lives Christlike attributes; and, second, to transform society so that the world may be a better and more peaceful

1. See William O. Nelson, "Refrain from Speculating about Zion," *Church News*, 13 Feb. 1982, 13. Here Zion is narrowly defined to mean only the city to be built in Jackson County immediately prior to the Second Coming.

place in which to live."[2] Mormons readily understood the intended meaning when a compilation of Hugh Nibley's social and economic criticism was entitled *Approaching Zion.*[3]

These aspects of the restored gospel have increasing potential importance as Mormonism grows into a religion where substantial numbers of members are prosperous and influential in developed nations but where a majority lives in less developed nations. Much has been written about the economic aspects of the restored gospel from political, Mormon historical, and theoretical perspectives. However, Warner Woodworth, a professor of organizational behavior at Brigham Young University, and I were unaware of any work that addressed the economic aspects of the restored gospel from two perspectives which we felt were important. One was to better understand these teachings by putting the historical and doctrinal analysis in the context of the broader world in which revelations on the topic were given. The second was to look from a practical perspective at what ordinary Latter-day Saints might realistically do to apply the restored gospel's economic teachings here and now. These were our goals in writing *Working Toward Zion: Principles of the United Order for the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1996).

It was therefore with some chagrin that I read Allen Lambert's review of *Working Toward Zion* in the spring 1998 issue of *Dialogue.* One source of chagrin was that substantially the same review had already been published in *FARMS Review of Books* last year. A greater source of chagrin is the extent to which Allen, who we thought would have been sympathetic to our efforts, misread and misrepresented *Working Toward Zion* in his review. Of course, Allen does make some useful comments. In the second printing of the book, we endeavored to update and, I hope, improve Appendix B on worthwhile charitable organizations. Also, we changed the name of the section previously entitled "Bibliography" to the more accurate "References Cited." As Allen notes repeatedly, the absence of any of Allen's own private writings alone requires that we avoid giving the impression that that section is a comprehensive list of works on the united order.

This absence may explain in part the tone of Allen's review. Or, it may be that Allen's negativity reflects more fundamental differences in our approaches to building the Zion society. In either case, I would almost not have recognized my own book from the description in Allen's review. For example, I am at a loss to see how he can describe the book as

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2. David O. McKay, *Gospel Ideals* (Salt Lake City: Improvement Era, 1953), 96.

3. Hugh W. Nibley, *Approaching Zion,* Volume 9 of the *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley,* ed. Don E. Norton (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company/Provo, UT: FARMS, 1986). To appreciate just how invested the term has become in Mormon thinking, try asking comparative groups of Mormons and non-Mormons to guess what a book of that title is about.

an "apologia" for modern capitalism (a term used explicitly in the *FARMS Review of Books* review and strongly implied in the *Dialogue* version). Did he not notice pages 5-12, 23-39, 78-82, 102-107, 129-34, 251-55, 258-61, 344-46, and 349-352, where we try to discuss in some detail many of the defects of our modern economic system? He implies that we recommend Nu-Skin as a Mormon corporate culture when that company is never mentioned in the book. He accuses us of focusing on Adam Smith's views on limiting government regulation of the marketplace when the (I believe) very obvious point of extensive textual and endnote discussion in the book precisely is to show that Adam Smith's arguments went far beyond that one point for which he is best known (pp. 62-66, 387-91). And how does one respond to Allen's criticism of the first part of the book when he never really explains what he found so "annoying" and full of "uncritical self-consciousness" (whatever that means) other than that we were too nice to Adam Smith and too mean to Karl Marx.

My overall impression is that this is one of those reviews where the reviewer is negative mostly because we did not write the book that he would have written. I believe that it is not unreasonable to ask reviewers to critique a book on the basis of what it tries to be, and not for not being some other book. However, I sense that Allen's reaction to our book comes from something more fundamental than personal upset that we developed views on consecration and stewardship independent of his. How and why the book we wrote is very deliberately a different book from the book that Allen might have written highlights some important issues to modern Zion-building, and are worth brief elaboration. Although the general *Dialogue* reader may not be familiar with Allen's writings, I believe that it is fair to address them since Allen devoted a considerable part of the review of *Working Toward Zion* to describing his own views.

One fundamental issue is whether building the Zion society is a task for now or later. Is David O. McKay's second great purpose of Mormonism, to "transform society so that the world may be a better and more peaceful place in which to live," a concern of our age or of the post-apocalyptic Millennium? Allen's private writings (at least those in my possession) generally presume that an imminent collapse of the modern economy will clear the way for establishing the complete, self-contained, united order-based economic system which he has theorized. I acknowledge that Allen is far from being the only Latter-day Saint with this apocalyptic world view. However, I believe that we are called to work toward Zion in the muck of the real world now, and not to passively theorize while waiting for an apocalypse to clear it away for us.

Perhaps I am too impatient, but I believe that we are in a unique moment which makes a beginning of real Zion-building not only possible,

but necessary. It is necessary for two reasons. First, the large majority of twenty-first-century Mormons will be from economically disadvantaged circumstances. Second, today, for the first time in history, Zion is physically expanding into and covering the entire world, making all peoples our neighbors. In Brigham Young's works, "Zion will extend, eventually, all over this earth. There will be no nook or corner upon the earth but what will be in Zion. It will all be Zion" (JD 9:138).

This extension also provides the opportunity and possibility of working toward a Zion society, because with expansion comes the possibility of influence. The central thesis of *Working Toward Zion* is that we can do Zion-building *now.* However, this means that it must be done in the midst of a world where most Latter-day Saints are a small minority in much larger host societies and economies. Allen asks whether we ought "to apply United Order principles *within* or *to* the modern world economy." In these circumstances, it is hard to see how modern Latter-day Saints realistically can be expected to do anything in a systemic way *to* these larger host environments.[4] However, we have a great potential to act as a leaven to promote changes *within* our native societies and economies, to transform them to become better and more peaceful places in which to live. If we are actually to *do* Zion-building rather than simply *theorize* about it, we must find ways of doing so *within* the world as it is, as detestable as that world is to us.

This difference in approaches to Zion-building perhaps explains why Allen so disliked the first nine chapters of *Working Toward Zion,* for they argue that it is indeed possible to apply the restored gospel's economic principles in significant ways in Zion's new modern worldwide setting. Perhaps another reason for his hostility to the first chapters may be that in doing so we attempted to appraise evenhandedly both the positive and negative aspects of our modern economy. As a utopian socialist and ardent environmentalist, Allen may be among those who are loath to admit that there is anything positive about the modern economy. However, for Zion studies to be credible, their critique of the modern free market economy must balance against its admitted social and environmental costs an historic increase in human freedom and decrease in human poverty.

How then does one approach a study of the application of the restored gospel to the modern economy? Allen criticizes us for not undertaking a theoretical critique of capitalism or otherwise creating a formal economic theory of consecration and stewardship. To some extent, this

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4. In the last few chapters of *Working Toward Zion,* we do attempt to explore how larger cooperative structures and enterprises might be established and encouraged. However, as elsewhere in the book, we try to limit the discussion to proven real-world cases which do not depend on political intervention.

criticism is essentially the same as that of some very conservative academic economists with whom I doubt Allen would feel he had much in common. However, like them, Allen's writings focus much more on creating an abstract theory than on practical "how-to's."

On the other hand, we are practitioners rather than theoreticians. I am a practicing business lawyer and Warner Woodworth engages in extensive consulting along with his teaching in organizational behavior. We wrote *Working Toward Zion* from the orientation of our disciplines, which look to actual real-life cases more than theoretical constructs. Is Allen arguing that theoretical economic analysis is the *only* way to approach writing on the united order principles in the modern world? If not, I hope that he would acknowledge that our emphasis on actual history and real cases is as valid as, though different from, an approach based on academic economic theory.

We would be delighted if trained economists were to publish work applying consecration and stewardship in economic theory, be it Marxist, Freidmanite, or whatever. Unfortunately, with very few exceptions, this has not happened. I do not believe that even Allen has done so, despite his extensive private writings. Rather than criticizing us for drawing on areas which we have studied, as opposed to venturing into fields where others are far more knowledgeable, I would ask Allen to organize his own material in a publishable form which could finally be made accessible to the wider LDS reading public. Indeed, we hope that one result of *Working Toward Zion* would be to create an audience for the interesting theoretical work of Allen and his colleagues.

I know that Allen will probably not agree with my perception of his work as abstract and theoretical. Perhaps the difference in approaches can be stated another way. I am sure that Allen would agree with us that there is a great chasm in modern economic life between where we are and where we ought to be. A few, including Allen, have devoted their lives to leaping that chasm, and hail us from the far shore. The task of all who seek to build Zion is to try to bridge that chasm. Allen works to build the bridge from the far shore of where we all ought to be, but very few of us are.

In writing *Working Toward Zion*, Warner and I decided to attempt to start building the bridge from the near shore of where most of us really are in our economic lives. Our objective was to write a practical study of the real-world application of the restored gospel's economic principles which would be accessible to a general readership. Thus, rather than describe an ideal, fully consecrated life achievable only by a heroic few, we try to suggest a wide range of possibilities for people in any circumstances for living a somewhat more consecrated life. Our view is that any steps taken on the path toward Zion are worthwhile. In concluding that

Working Toward Zion "makes a modest contribution to understanding possibilities for living a more Consecrated life in this world," Allen acknowledges that the book achieves its intended purpose. Given the current paucity of reflection and discussion on applying consecration and stewardship in any form, I hope that Allen would see that contribution as worthwhile even if it begins building the bridge only on the near shore.

As Latter-day Saints become more and more mixed into the masses on the near shore, we must also consider how we relate to others in going about the work of Zion. Allen seems to regard our favorable mentions of positive corporate cultures, charitable activities of corporations and the well-to-do, Adam Smith, and the idea of applying united order principles within (rather than against) the free enterprise economy as "stretching to find more goodness and hope than reality warrants." Certainly we could have devoted much more space in the book to criticizing the shortcomings of modern capitalism and our own behavior in our modern economy. In part, we did not do this because, as noted above, we wanted to produce a book that would start from where we are, and in today's world we are all capitalists in practice, if not belief.

Beyond that, however, we had certain principled reasons for trying to take a positive, "Big Tent" approach. We are discussing the economic teachings of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. I believe that these teachings yield something greater than socialist politics covered with a veneer of Mormon language. On the surface it is not difficult to equate scriptural and prophetic denunciations of the wicked wealthy with the Left's traditional cultural hatred of anything connected to business or the free market. However, such an equation is dangerous to a religion that also purports to teach love of one's enemies. Genuine religious motivation has accomplished enormous social good, from the abolition of slavery to the civil rights movement. But when political agendas drive out the spiritual, religion becomes hollow and churches empty, as has been the case of many of the mainline Protestant denominations.[5] The challenge is to seek economic righteousness as an integral part of our religious life, not as a substitute for it.

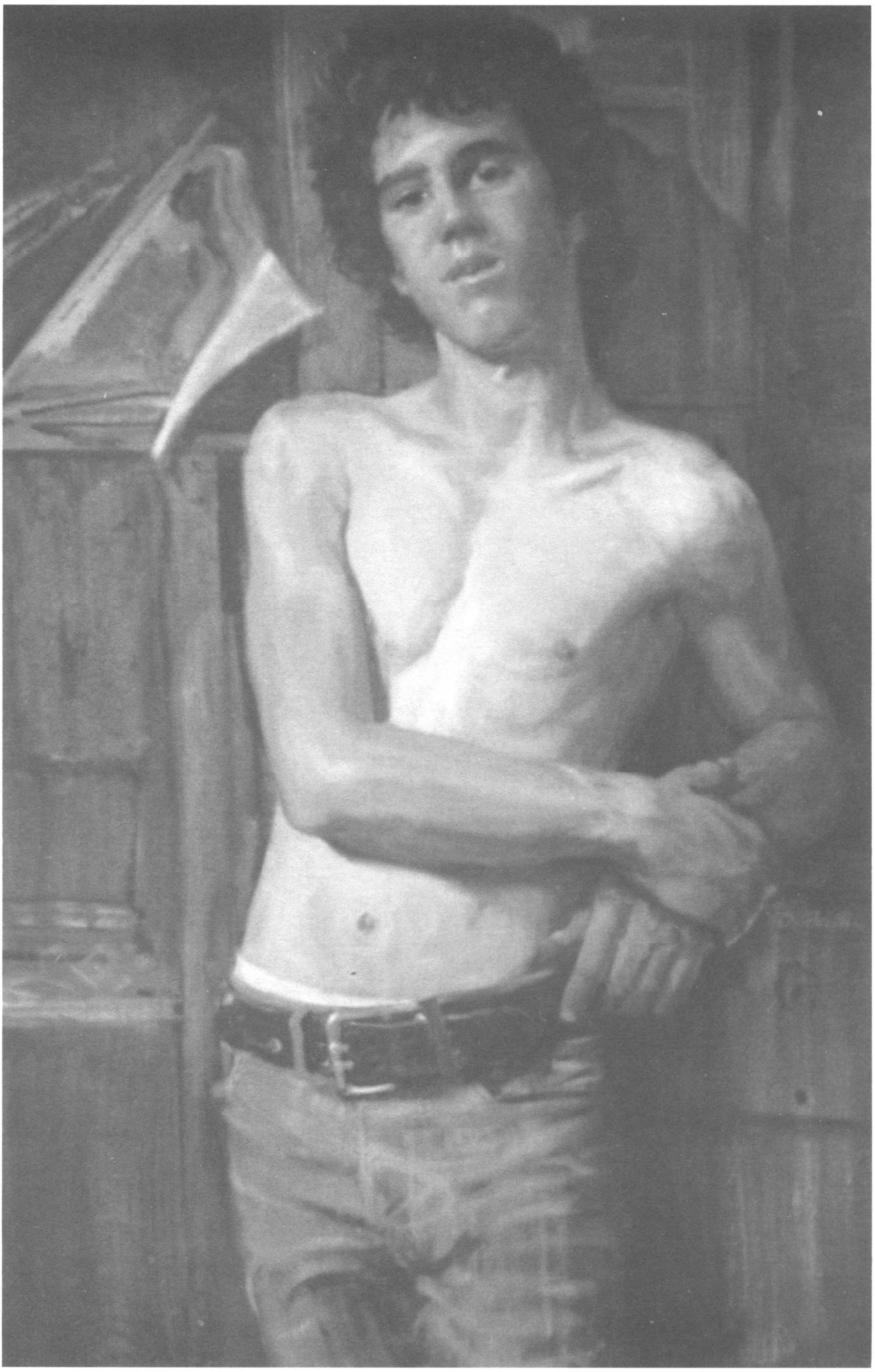
Mormonism is still only beginning its transformation into a truly international faith. We are barely a couple of decades away from being a predominantly white, Anglo church still concentrated in the western United States. We are still deciding how we will interact with the great wide world we are growing into. There are early but encouraging indications that we may be able to engage positively with our new neighbors rather than regard them with the hostility sometimes manifested in our

5. See Thomas C. Reeves, *The Empty Church: Does Organized Religion Matter Anymore?* (New York City: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

persecuted past. For example, the Roman Catholic church is no longer the great and abominable church of the devil, but rather a Christian partner in humanitarian and social policy efforts. Can we achieve a similar approach to economic righteousness—can we find a gospel way of promoting economic justice grounded in purifying hearts rather than vilifying those who question systemic changes that we believe are desirable?

There is great pleasure to be found in denouncing the wicked. It is much harder to treat the so-called "wicked" as our potential partners in building a Zion society. Calls to the barricades are exciting, but lovers of Zion are supposed to prefer cooperation to competition. Creating a Zion that can function, and supplant Babylon, in every "nook or corner upon the earth" will require building on others' good actions and motives, even if they are not as pure as we would like. Reaching out in fellowship will bring more and stronger hands to building the bridge to Zion than beating down our perceived "opponents" with rigid denunciations of their failings or the strident tone so common in academic writing.

Of course, such practical engagement in the world leads us to confront a morally complex reality where individuals do both good and bad for a mixture of motives. In *Working Toward Zion* we decided to focus constructively on the good they do. Thus, we endorse Andrew Carnegie's example in philanthropy, while fully noting the moral failings of his labor policies (pp. 79-82, 100). The resolution of moral complexities in economic matters is as much a part of our passage in this mortal life as any other exercise of our moral agency. We cite Adam Smith so often in part to remind us that "economics" was once a field for moral philosophers, and to urge that it be so again. It was not until a century after Smith that ethics became separated from economics. We believe that, outside of academic economics, most people will see that separation as unhealthy, and will readily come to an ethically founded view of economic matters if they are not turned off by contentious, Marxist-sounding denunciations of their lives. In this choice of approaches, *Working Toward Zion* may be too idealist and Allen's adversarial approach the realist. However, in the end, if Zion can not be built on a foundation of love, can it be built at all?



Cosmos, Chaos, and Politics: Biblical Creation Patterns in Secular Contexts

Sheldon Greaves

THE CONCEPTUAL LINK BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE COSMOS has been explored many times by scholars over the last several decades. Mircea Eliade gave us his reflections in his book *The Myth of the Eternal Return or Cosmos and History,* which, although I feel he oversteps the evidence a bit, remains a thought-provoking study. Mormonism's Hugh Nibley also discusses this phenomenon in his article "The Heirocentric State." The idea behind these and other studies is that cosmos is a state of being that is reflected in the vitality of the political state. Moreover, the state and the state of creation are a unity, set in opposition to those realms beyond the control of the state. Areas that are outside the influence of the state were often considered to be realms of disorder, of chaos, in a word, wilderness. Creation stories were frequently used to legitimize the cults and governments of ancient states.[1] The best-known example from the ancient Near East is perhaps the Babylonian epic of creation, the *Enuma Elish.* Its final form was used to promote the Babylonian god Marduk and his city and was probably adapted from Assyrian versions that sought to promote the god Assur.[2]

The book of Genesis in the Hebrew Bible also legitimizes the late Israelite cult. Along the way it attempts to answer several large questions and innumerable smaller ones. It is the story of the creation of a covenant people and their migration from the land of their forebears to the land of Egypt. One might ask why the Torah begins with the story of creation, especially when this creation does not immediately result in the formation of what we would consider a political or secular state. Certainly it promotes the God of Israel to the exclusion of all other gods. The careful

1. See Robert B. Coote and David Robert Ord, *In the Beginning: Creation and the Priestly History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).

2. A. George, "Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies," *Iraq* 48 (1986): 133-46.

avoidance of words that could even be mistaken for the names of Canaanite sun and moon deities is proof enough of that. This is why our text reads "greater light" and "lesser light" rather than sun or moon, because in the original Hebrew those words are orthographically indistinguishable from the astral gods Shamshu and Yarih.

What I find interesting about the act of creation in the Hebrew Bible is that while other civilizations allegedly considered cosmos an outgrowth or result of their good government, in the Bible there are occasions when a political entity is the result of creation, and its fall a dismantling of creation. Creation is the way you push the reset button on civilization—it is how you start over. I would like to cite a couple of examples to illustrate this point.

The story of Noah and the Flood rests upon the assumption that once society has deteriorated beyond a certain point, the only option remaining is to start afresh. As such, it contains a thinly-veiled creation story. The story recalls details in the first few chapters of Genesis in a way that is intended to associate the two events in the reader's mind. The earth is filled with violence, so God warns Noah to build his ark. Seven days—a number calculated to recall the creation story a few chapters earlier—before the floods begin, God gives Noah his final notice, then floods the earth, covering it with the wind-swept Tehom or primordial abyss. During this time the ark carries the seed of living creatures until it comes to rest. The passengers emerge, new covenants are made that are almost, but not quite, like the ones made in the Garden of Eden. Humans are blessed to be fruitful and multiply. Finally, Noah plants a vine, and after he partakes of the fruit of his labors, when he comes to his senses he finds he is naked. Thereafter, one of his sons is cursed. The parallels are not exact, but they are enough to make the point.

One other item is worthy of mention: the role of the ark itself. Certain features of this part of the story make it clear that the ark has a very important—and hitherto overlooked—creative symbolism; namely it functions as a uterine symbol. The time spent by the ark upon the waters, from the beginning of the rain (Gen. 7:11-12) to the time when Noah realizes that the flood is truly over (8:10-12) is 277 days. Scholars and interpreters have struggled for centuries to understand the character of this odd calendar with many varied and imaginative solutions proposed.[3]

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3. A representative sample of the literature on this subject includes the following: Lloyd M. Barré, "The Riddle of the Flood Chronology," *Journal of the Study of the Old Testament* 41 (1988): 3-20; Gerhard Larsson, "Chronological Parallels Between the Creation and the Flood," *Vetus Testamentum*, 1977, 490-92; Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 1968; Jack P. Lewis, "Noah and the Flood in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Traditions," *Biblical Archaeologist* 47:244-39; Niels Peter Lemche, "The Chronology in the Story of the Flood," *Journal of the Study of the Old Testament* 18 (1980): 52-62; F. H. Cryer, "The Interrelationships of Gen. 5, 32; 11, 10-11 and the Chronology of the Flood," *Biblica* 66 (1985): 241-61; and N. A. Mundhenk, "The Dates of the Flood," *Bible Translator* 45 (1994), 2:207-13.

However, they have all failed to explain this time period to the satisfaction of all because the basis of the interval is not calendrical, but biological. This time period, 277 days, works out in the Flood's chronology to nine months and one week, almost precisely the period of human gestation. More interestingly, the waters reach their height at 150 days (7:24, 8:24), which also corresponds to the point at which the waters of the uterus swell to their maximum point of expansion. Other parallels can be cited.[4]

To return to the subject at hand, creation resets the cycle of civilization, or provides a convenient metaphor for the establishment of a political entity. The larger context of the act of creation in the Hebrew Bible does not admit the concept of *creatio ex nihilo* simply because creative themes appear so frequently when something is being re-made or made out of something else.

Many other allusions to the Creation in the Old Testament do not use the solemn imagery of Genesis.[5] These references show a god who vigorously opposes the forces of chaos and sometimes violently imposes his will on it in order to form the cosmos. One example is Psalms 74:13-15:

> It was You who drove back the sea with Your might,
> who smashed the heads of the monsters on the waters;
> it was You who crushed the heads of Leviathan,
> who left him as food for the denizens of the desert;
> it was You who released springs and torrents,
> who made mighty rivers run dry ...

The first thing that strikes the reader is the difference in the tone of this passage compared to the austere quality of the Genesis account. God violently subdues the personified forces of chaos in his creation of the earth. This poetic idiom is unmistakably derived from the mythologies of surrounding peoples, and a few of these myths, notably the Babylonian epic of creation and the Ugaritic Baal and Yamm story, are known to us today.[6]

This passage is notable for its defiant language, given the context. This psalm describes the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, probably

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4. These findings will appear sometime in the next year or so in an article by Anne Kilmer, whom I was privileged to assist on this project.

5. The following is a partial list of passages in the Old Testament, outside of Genesis, which refer to the Creation: Isa. 30:7; 40:22; 42:5; 44:24; 45:7,12,18; 48:13; 51:9-11; Jer. 5:22; Ezk. 29:3-5; 32:2-5; Hab. 3:8-11; Job 7:11-12; 9:8-13; 26:12-13; 38:4-26; 41:1-26; Ps. 74:12-17; 77:16-19; 93:3-4; 104:2-35.

6. J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, *Psalms 51-100*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 128-29.

by the Babylonians.[7] The writer uses poetic imagery associated with non-Israelite gods to express the superiority of his God, even though the nations of these foreign gods have left the temple looted and burned, Israel defeated, and her armies annihilated. The psalm becomes a kind of polemic; the creation that foreign gods have done in distant history, God has done in actual history.[8]

The idea of rescue by God comes as the psalmist recollects the creative deeds of God in the primordial time, and yet some commentators feel that it is the nation of Israel whose creation is being recounted. There are references to events surrounding the exodus from Egypt, which is considered to be the moment of Israel's creation as a national entity. Some of these events are the releasing of springs and torrents—the water miraculously provided in the desert, the successful subduing of the sea as the crossing of the Red (or Reed) Sea, and the drying up of the "mighty rivers," which is often interpreted as pertaining to the crossing of the Jordan. These themes are certainly tied in with the creation of the universe, since in verse 16 God sets up the heavenly bodies and arranges the seasons and years. E. J. Kissane writes, "It is difficult to decide whether the Psalmist is speaking in the literal sense of the conquest of the powers of Chaos, which was the prelude to the work of creation, or of the wonders of the Exodus, described figuratively as a renewal of the conquest of Chaos."[9] Given the context of the psalm, centering as it does on a time of national catastrophe, I believe the psalmist is referring to the Exodus in terms of the creation of the world, combining them to enrich the meaning of both.[10]

In my final example of cosmos and politics, I refer to the prophet Jeremiah, who wrote at a time in which he foresaw the utter destruction of the Jewish state at the hands of foreign powers. One of his most interesting and vivid statements on this subject is found in chapter 4, verses 23-26a. Here he describes in cosmic language the results of the besiegers who will come from foreign lands and surround her capital:

> I looked on the earth, and lo, it was an empty wasteland;
> and to the heavens, and they had no light.

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7. This psalm was written on the occasion of the destruction or seizure of the temple at Jerusalem. Both the desecration during the Maccabean revolt and the capture by the Babylonians have been suggested, but it is more likely to have been the latter. See J. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 2 (Dublin, Ire.: Richview Press, 1954), 9-10, for a brief discussion of the dating and the events surrounding this psalm.

8. Derek Kidner, *Psalms 73-150*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (London, Eng.: Inter-Varsity, 1975), 268.

9. Kissane, *Book of Psalms*, 15.

10. Arthur Weiser, *The Psalms*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 519-20; see also H. J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, vol. 1, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1961), 517.

> I looked on the mountains, and lo, they were quaking, and all the hills moved to and fro.
> I looked, and lo, there was no man, and all the birds of the air had fled.
> I looked, and lo, the fruitful land was a desert, and all its cities were laid in ruins ...[11]

Note that he begins by viewing the earth as waste and void. This phrase is *tohu wa-bohu* in Hebrew, the same phrase used to describe the chaotic earth in Genesis 1. He then describes the heavens with no light, unsteady landmasses, and the lack of flora and fauna. His statement responds point by point to the Genesis creation pattern. In the coming destruction of Judah, the cosmos will be systematically undone. As it was assembled, so shall it be disassembled.

Cosmos, Politics, and Apocalypse

The situation today is equally interesting, if only because of its direct relevance to our own place in the cosmos. Modernism has given way to Postmodernism. Lacking a useful definition of Postmodernism, I will employ one suggested to me by a colleague. Modernism was a child of the Enlightenment, which was, according to Descartes, to make man the master and possessor of nature. Postmodernism is the realization that this was not such a bright idea.[12] One of the most intriguing things I have seen in recent years is the increasing dialogue between religious scholars and those who are concerned about the degradation of the environment. The subdiscipline of ecotheology is becoming common fare at conferences and seminars. A recent issue of the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (Vol. 65 [1997], 2) is almost completely devoted to environmental and related issues.

The roots of this discussion go back to a seminal article published in *Science* magazine by historian Lynn White.[13] White argued energetically that the roots of the environmental crisis lay in basic Judeo-Christian attitudes stemming from the command to subdue the earth and establish dominion over it. White also claimed that Christianity taught that nature was corrupt and crass, largely based on its interpretation of the creation story in Genesis, and this led to a harsh attitude towards nature.

During the years since the publication of White's article, many reli-

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11. See Jer. 4:23-26 and Job 3:3-13: "A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," *VT* 21 (1971): 151-67. See also David Noel Freedman, "The Structure of Job 3," *Biblica* 49 (1968): 503-507; and Eric W. Hesse and Isaac Kikawada, "Johah and Genesis 1-11," *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* (Tokyo: Mamamoto Shoten, 1984), 3-19.

12. Karl Sandberg, personal communication, 10 Oct. 1997.

13. Lynn White, Jr., "The Historic Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967): 1203-1207.

gious scholars and historians have contested and refuted portions of his argument. In a large, detailed study of the text of Genesis 1:28, Jeremy Cohen has shown convincingly that ancient and medieval interpreters of this verse "never construed the divine call to master the earth and rule over its animal population as permission to interfere with the workings of nature—selfishly to exploit the environment or to undermine its pristine integrity."[14] On the other hand, beginning with early Modernism in Western Europe, the attitude of reverence towards nature began to be replaced by a view that nature was something to be understood and exploited. The new scientific techniques and instruments allowed people both to understand and exploit nature in previously unimagined ways.[15] This trend continued, and accelerated rapidly, as the Industrial Revolution gained momentum. Throughout this period, Genesis was invoked to provide scriptural support for the exploitation of resources and the profits that resulted. The words of Genesis are clearly behind the claim of the Illinois editor Horace Greely during the nineteenth century: "God has given the earth to those who will subdue and cultivate it, and it is vain to struggle against his righteous decree."[16]

The weakening of White's thesis has not stopped the growth of ecotheology. Other, more informed and thoughtful critics have taken his place. One of the most popular and articulate is Daniel Quinn, whose novels *Ishmael*, *The Story of B*, *Providence*, and *My Ishmael* present a devastating and thought-provoking reassessment of our culture's view of the world and the religious components that make up that view. At the same time, the growing seriousness of the environmental crisis has prompted some remarkable work in religious studies, many of them involving a serious reevaluation of previous work. Historian Harold Coward cites Paul Tillich's correlational method of theology (which is about as far from LDS correlation as is possible to get, in my opinion)—namely, that in response to the current challenges and questions posed by the human condition,

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14. Jeremy Cohen, *Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master It: The Ancient and Medieval Career of a Biblical Text* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 309.

15. Carolyn Merchant's study of this trend in Western thought lays much of the blame at the feet of Francis Bacon. She writes: "Disorderly, active nature was soon forced to submit to the questions and experimental techniques of the new science. Francis Bacon (1561-1626), a celebrated 'father of modern science,' transformed tendencies already extant in his own society into a total program advocating the control of nature for human benefit. Melding together a new philosophy based on natural magic as a technique for manipulating nature, the technologies of mining and metallurgy, the emerging concept of progress and a patriarchal structure of family and state, Bacon fashioned a new ethic of sanctioning the exploitation of nature." Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1990), 164-65. My thanks to Dan Wotherspoon for bringing this study to my attention.

16. Quoted in Norman Graebner, *Manifest Destiny* (New York, 1968).

theology takes these new questions and thoroughly searches its sources of revelation and tradition for fresh, new answers.[17] The search for answers regarding the environment has yielded much fruit, but Genesis in the context of the environmental debate is still imperfectly understood. Moreover, I think that the Mormon perspective can add something to the discussion.

First, we must understand that in ancient thinking Creation and Chaos have distinct characteristics and roles. Creation happens when different basic elements are divided and ordered in such a way as to function in the service of life and fertility. When any one of those elements, for example, water, gets out of control, things revert to Chaos as in the Flood. The essence of Creation involved establishing boundaries, putting things in their places, and setting up zones of separation—firmaments, if you will. The creative paradigm insists that each component of the universe must remain within a specific boundary and act in a specific way (cf. D&C 77:3; 93:30; Moses 3:9). The ocean and the land were separate, as were the earth and sky. Animals bred with their own kind, as did plants. Time was also differentiated. One part of the year was for planting, another for harvesting. Light was kept apart from darkness, and each performed its function in turn. Creation was that state which came about when each part of the whole functioned in its own realm and did not exceed the limits defined for it during the creative process. The primary characteristic of a cosmos is the ability to support life. The fundamental understanding of biblical cosmology is that we live in a world of limits.

By contrast, Chaos knows no limits, no boundaries. When there are no limits, there is total homogeneity. Primordial elements mix indiscriminately. The result is monotonous sameness and lifelessness. If you want a good intuitive understanding of Chaos, contemplate a large empty parking lot, preferably on a cloudy, moonless night.

At the root of any discussion of the environmental crisis is the reality that the earth is a finite place. In this context it is vital that we examine an important idea in Mormon creation theology and ritual, that of the "measure of creation," a phrase we hear from time to time without carefully considering what it means. In an effort to better understand this phrase, I examined the use of the word "measure" as it appears in the Doctrine and Covenants, the only scripture where this concept occurs besides the LDS temple ceremony. Virtually without exception, measure is used as a noun, not a verb. Specifically, it denotes a boundary or limit of some kind, as when God promises to bless someone without measure, i.e., without limit. This brings new significance to the phrase "measure of cre-

17. Harold Coward, "New Theology on Population, Consumption, and Ecology," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65 (1997), 2:261f.

ation" since limits are integral to the fabric of creation.

Because we live in a finite world, it follows that the ability of a species to reproduce is also limited. This invites us to ask whether humanity's special place in creation exempts us from any limits on our reproduction. A look at Doctrine and Covenants 49:16-17 yields insight into this question. This is a crucial passage which discusses marriage and childbearing. According to this section, marriage and the resulting childbearing are designated to take place that the world "might be filled with the measure of man, according to his creation before the world was made." Since measure in the Doctrine and Covenants is a noun referring to a limit, the phrase "measure of man" in this context tells us plainly that there is a pre-determined limit to our reproduction, just as with every other species. The measure of its creation allotted to any one species, man included, is that limit within which that species ought to propagate. As with any other part of the cosmos, if we exceed or circumvent the limits defining the cosmos, we invoke chaos.

Some would respond that this is at odds with our role to be fruitful and multiply as outlined in Genesis. The phrase "be fruitful and multiply occurs" no less than eight times in Genesis, usually in the context of important covenants made with the Patriarchs. Do we not violate divine commandment if we intentionally reduce our fertility? The language of the Pentateuch is usually deliberate in its choice of words, so this bears further scrutiny. A more careful look at the phrase "be fruitful and multiply" does not support the interpretation that humans are to reproduce as much as possible. There are two main problems with this understanding. First, in each case where "be fruitful and multiply" appears in Genesis, it is a blessing, not a commandment. The parallel verse in the Pearl of Great Price also agrees and calls this pronouncement a blessing (see Gen. 1:22; 1:28; 8:17; 9:1; 9:7; 35:11). Second, when a person or group multiplies in the Hebrew Bible, it is consistently attributed to the action of God, not man (Moses 2:28). For example, God tells Abraham, "I will multiply thee exceedingly ..."

This raises yet another question: why a blessing and not a commandment? Is this distinction important? Obviously it is, or the text would not be so consistent on this point. Another way to explore this problem is to ask what the purpose of this blessing is. In Genesis, it appears in the context of forming or renewing a covenant. Anciently, covenant formulae frequently included the stipulation of blessings for compliance and curses for violations. The blessing of expanded progeny for living up to the terms of God's covenant is also implied in other passages outside Genesis, where the terms "fruitful" and "increase" occur in close proximity to each other in the context of covenant or related issues. If your people were thriving, it was a sign of God's approval and constancy. In

Jeremiah 3:16 the prophet expresses the hope that the ark will be replaced as a physical symbol of the covenant by a fruitful, numerous people (see Gen. 3:16; 17:2; 17:20; 22:17; 26:24; Ex. 32:13; Lev. 26:9; Deut. 1:10; among others).

Today increasing world population numbers can no longer be viewed as a sign of divine favor. Our ability to manipulate the reproduction process, as well as the near-universality of population increase, make this unrealistic. Instead, our new understanding and control require us to acknowledge and assume the responsibility this control brings with it. The "measure of man" in Doctrine and Covenants 49 forms the basis of a question that is being debated in many circles concerned with environmental issues. That question is how many of us can the earth support? Mormons learn in the temple ceremony that all forms of life have a "measure of their creation," that is, a portion of the biosphere that is theirs to fill wherein they can find joy. A partial description of the "measure of man" is that sphere within which human activity will not significantly interfere with other species while they fill the divinely ordained measure of their creation. An important test is to ask whether the capacity of a given area to support life is enhanced or degraded by adding more people, especially if those people come from a culture that, like mainstream America, encourages excessive levels of resource consumption.

Let us return to the issue of blessings in general. From a theological standpoint, usually God decides when and how to bestow blessings. We have to decide how we are going to handle them. I think this is why all blessings have a way of being mixed. There is a bias towards consumerism in our modern—and Mormon—view of blessings. The accumulation of blessings, or more precisely, the stereotyped outward manifestations of blessedness have a corrupting effect that the Book of Mormon warns against time and again. But today we see that not only does material consumption and consumerism increase the social differential between the haves and have nots, it is actually threatening the ability of our world to sustain life. Our blessedness is bringing about chaos on a cosmic scale.

Creation is an important theme in Mormonism. Mormon scripture is top-heavy with creation theology. We have no less than four major accounts of the Creation in our tradition; Genesis, the Book of Abraham, the Book of Moses, and the temple ceremony. Maybe I am jumping to conclusions, but I see a pattern here. I should also note that these creation stories are not scientific accounts as many among us think. Instead, what they give us is a basis for understanding our place in this world. They are not scientific; they are theological.

What is the relevance of creation stories today? They do not legitimize our state; the state assumes its own legitimacy in other ways. We are less concerned with the creation of covenant people. My observation is

that humanity is barely concerned with preserving those few covenants it still remembers. This takes me back to the link between the cosmos and the state, a link that has been forgotten in the West for centuries until the last few decades. Both cosmos and state are where we live. Although Genesis discusses the Creation in the context of creating a covenant people, the cosmic covenants made in Genesis are not restricted to the house of Israel. They were made with humankind and are thus relevant to all of us. Those covenants represent our stewardship; a chance to experience in microcosm the business of nurturing worlds.

Straight Up

Marilyn Bushman-Carlton

Shirley is the punch line who holds the joke
while we wait like pieces on a game board
in the line that wanders
from the classrooms, through the halls,
around the walls of the gymnasium,
all the way to the dreaded shot station.

Holding dollar bills and marked slips—
diphtheria, polio, tetanus—
we rub arms we know will ache at recess,
and watch the thin dishwater girl
with mottled skin
who always looks like she's been crying.
She does cry in the shot line, quietly at first.
When she spots the doctor—
his erect collar and white coat, how he holds the needle up
to check the level of pink serum—
she sobs, agitates our blood with screams,
and tries to bolt.
Remembering that she kicked the doctor once,
they hold her arms and legs,
force into her rigid arm
the medicine that's good for her.

Standing in twos and threes,
we laugh. We trust our times tables,
which way is north or south.
We read in groups, not alone
in a back pocket of the classroom.

Every year we let her pantomime our fright—
watch her do what we would do
if we dared,
or had reason to.
After she is gone, the great room calm,
our elementary hearts heaped
with something new,
we focus frozen eyes on those who held her down,
and take it in the arm,
straight up.

FICTION

Defending José

Dan Bischof

SAMUEL WAS WATCHING THE DOOR INTENTLY when they let José in. He stood up, smiled as if he were greeting an old friend. He opened his body toward the inmate and reached out, completing the facade of taking José's coat at the door. They picked up the phones on each side of the glass.

"José, you doing OK, buddy?"

Prepare. First step. Get them ready. Be their friend. Build on common beliefs. Build on common ground.

José said nothing.

"José, I knew a guy who looked like you when I was a missionary in Mexico. Are you Mexican?"

José nodded. He was probably getting used to the idea that the person sitting across from him spoke Spanish.

"Are you liking it here?"

He meant the States, but knew instantly from his client's expression that José thought he meant prison. He moved on.

"I know you're gonna like this. The D.A. has given us a great offer so we can get you out of there, buddy."

Samuel was always smiles. Had he been sitting next to his client, he would have put his hand on the man's knee and looked at him square in the face.

"What are you talking about?"

"The D.A. An offer. Get out of jail almost free card, my man." Still the smile. No blinking. He felt like he was selling Buicks as Cadillacs.

"Do I know you?"

José was slow. Stupid, Samuel thought. The dumber the better. First smiles, then guilt. Only angry if he had to be. He had never been angry in Mexico. He didn't have to. They were so easy. Push the right buttons, get the right answers, get 'em in the water. Seventeen in one month. It was glorious to behold. It was the same thing here: commitment pattern them into submission.

"Are you José Alcala-Martinez?" Samuel asked him, glancing quickly back at the file.

"Yes."

"I'm your attorney. I'm going to help get you out of there." Samuel paused for effect. "Today." Samuel paused again for effect, waiting for the realization of his promise to hit José's face. "This afternoon."

It was Tuesday afternoon. The police report said they picked up José Friday night. Samuel hadn't known a drug inmate yet who wouldn't sign off on any deal to get out of jail after weekending at the justice center. Especially if the report he was holding was true and José had no criminal history. First time's the hardest.

A smile spread across José's face. "Good."

"Now listen, José," he said softly, as if they were right next to each other without a glass wall between them and Samuel was about to share some deep, personal secret or perhaps a hot stock tip or a key to personal happiness. "The D.A. has a real problem here—"

"Yeah, he does." José cut in. They were speaking the same language. Finally he and his attorney were speaking the same language.

"He can't keep you here—"

"No, he can't."

A real unity, these two. One language, one voice. They were edified and rejoicing together.

"The jails are too full. There's no room for guys who get caught with a few syringes and some meth. You're going to be out of here this afternoon with this deal."

Samuel was still smiling, even though the smile was disappearing from his client's face.

"I didn't do anything."

Of course not. It was his brother, Juan. No, his cousin, Alejandro. No, really, your honor, he's taking this rap for his brother-in-law, Ignacio. He has to because Ignacio has been arrested before and if he goes in again, there won't be anyone to stay with his sister, Gloria. And who would earn money to pay for their dying mother's surgery if it wasn't going to be—

Samuel bit off the cynicism. BRT, dammit, BRT.

"José, I've been doing this now for a long time. Every week I come in here and I talk to guys just like you who get busted with just enough evidence to put them away. A few syringes, maybe a trace of meth or coke. That's all it takes. You can go away for a long time."

Samuel tapped his finger down on the report.

"All it takes is some bad cop with a hangover to not like the way a Latino looks and you're picked up. All it takes is some frustrated judge who doesn't like the way a Mexican looks and you're behind bars a long time. Let me tell you something," Samuel said leaning toward his client, tilting his head down, but looking José dead on, "you can fight the sys-

tem a long time, buddy, but the judicial system has a lot more resources than you. It will wear you out."

You and me against The Man. Samuel liked it. He pushed it in the first stage. The whole world against us. I feel your pain. We can make it, but we've got to work together. He perfected the little lean-forward thing and was proud of it. He was sincere. They bought that.

"I can tell you, buddy, you aren't going to get a better offer than this. You plead to a felony and you don't give up much. Your driver's license. A small fee. Stay out of the downtown drug-free zone. Probation. Rehab. It's not hard, and it beats the alternative."

This was the dividing line. If they didn't jump now, he had to move onto the alternative. But he never thought he'd be here with this guy. A cherry, who wasn't agreeing to get out today. Samuel checked his watch. It was 2:40—2:40 on a Tuesday, he had just finished similar consultations with three other coke-heads, he then had to go enter pleas for each one and if he was lucky he'd finish up the paperwork and be home at 7:15, and he was talking this guy into getting *out* of jail?

José would accept, though. He had to. He had been prepared. Time to invite.

"José, will you take this offer?"

"I didn't do anything."

"José, I'm thinking you have some concerns," Samuel said carefully. It was the script, and Samuel had helped write it. He had to say it. He would ask some open-ended questions and pretend to probe his client's feelings, then dismiss any problems José expressed with pat quips and clever sayings that other attorneys taught him to convince this guy that his problems weren't anything special and—

"Don't you want to know what happened?"

José wasn't confrontational. He was looking at his attorney compassionately as if he were embarrassed that his attorney could have glossed over such routine stuff as his side of the story. It was 2:40—2:40 on Tuesday and Samuel was about to listen how the syringes weren't his client's. The drugs weren't his client's, and on top of that, your honor, they picked up the wrong guy. His twin, I swear.

No time for questions; he would stick with the direct route. Samuel read from the report again and looked up. Time to switch approaches.

"José, they found syringes. They found traces of a brownish fluid in the syringes and they found a packet of white powder. That's strong evidence."

Samuel looked like he was giving an opening statement for the state. He was serious, but somehow managed to look pained as if the admission of his client's sins disappointed him.

"You gotta talk to my family. I've never been mixed up in drugs be-

fore. I'm not guilty of anything great, except maybe hanging around the wrong crowd. I like people. I like to laugh. I didn't do anything."

José was still congenial. Still confident. Usually Samuel could spot a crack in there somewhere. He would exploit it and bring them around. He wasn't getting through. Move on to guilt.

"José, you don't want to disappoint that family. You don't want to be doing a lot of time for something small like this. Let me show you something."

He brought out the sentencing grid. He pointed to a block in the upper right corner.

"José, in this state possession of cocaine or methamphetamines is a class-B felony. You can be sentenced for up to ten years. Ten years. Ten years and $200,000. Is that what you want to do to your family?"

The likelihood of that happening was something short of José walking through the glass pane and getting the hell out of there, but he didn't know any better. He might get thirty days in jail and all of those other minor penalties on top. Sixty days if the judge was really pissed for allowing this to go to trial.

"Now, José, I'm your attorney. I'm supposed to tell you that you have the right to a trial before a jury. That you have the right to ask questions of the ones who accuse you. That you can remain silent and the jury can't read anything into that. But if you did that—if you got a trial—you'd be making a big mistake. This case is air-tight, and they're gonna nail you down."

Samuel was trying to remember what the police had on him. Four of these consultations right in a row and you can't tell the difference. Coke. Marijuana. Meth. In the car. In his pocket. Dropped on the sidewalk. If it wasn't one thing it was another.

"I didn't do anything."

Samuel jumped up from his chair, sending it backward into the door behind him. The chair didn't travel far; the clearance was maybe a foot. His face was bright red in rage and he slammed his fist into the glass.

"Dammit, José, I'm trying to help you and that's all you can say? What the hell do you want? You got caught! Get over it, man, and be responsible! Quit wasting my time! What do you think the judge is going to do, agree that you didn't do anything just because you *say so*? That he's going to let you go because you *want* to?"

It was all scripted. He'd done it before. Every word. Now was his favorite part. He gave José an exasperated look, sighed deeply, and let the phone hang down.

"Damn, it's hot in here," Samuel said and he opened the door. Just a crack. Two inches, tops. Enough to let José know that one of them was in a room with a door that he could open and one of them wasn't. One of

them could follow that door out to the hallway down the stairs out the front door and into the afternoon sunshine. And one of them had to pound the door to let the guard know he was finished and could be escorted back to his cell now.

Samuel always liked to pretend he wasn't watching them watch the semi-open door on the other side of the glass, wondering if the space beyond the door was something more or less than the other side of their door. He let them think about that hallway for another minute or two then he would give them the full deal. And no one had ever refused.

But José wasn't biting. José waited until the frustration on his attorney's face melted into genuine curiosity and he picked up the phone again.

"You know," José said, "you're going to have to decide whose side you're on."

He got halfway home before he remembered this was Tuesday the eighth, the night he and 'Reenie appointed to get their temple recommends renewed. In most wards this was a sterile back-and-forth answer session: yes, yes, yes, make an appointment with the stake presidency, sign here, see you on Sunday. But he and 'Reenie weren't in any ward; they were in the Third Ward, and the Third Ward was guided by the heavy, loving hand of Bishop Thomas Young, who never let his counselors handle the recommend interviews, who always made sure to impart three bits of scriptural wisdom to the recommend seekers who piously entered his office, and who just happened to be 'Reenie's father.

When Samuel got to the chapel he was nearly an hour late. 'Reenie had sat patiently waiting, reading an *Ensign* while Bishop Young tut-tutted his young son-in-law's lateness, and took all of the appointments ahead of them. He parked and jogged in. 'Reenie looked up, expectant and tired.

"Well," the bishop said, looking at Samuel up and down quickly, not quite disapproving, but certainly not with any fondness either.

"Hi, 'Reen," Samuel said and opened his mouth to give an explanation.

"Let's do this one at a time," the bishop said, "then we can talk all three together. Sam, why don't you come in first." It was a statement, not a question.

Samuel squeezed his wife's hand and walked into the bishop's office. 'Reenie. Samuel often wondered how much more she wanted. He had been such a bright, young stud: returned missionary, honors undergraduate, accepted to no less than five law schools. Together they chose one closest to her parents because you go to law school where you want to practice law, and 'Reenie wanted to be near her parents.

First there was marriage, and for the first time in his life he felt like he had to have family home evening. Then they moved from the students' ward to the family ward, and home teaching wasn't something he could pass on when he didn't feel like it. Then he was called to the elders' quorum presidency and he always was either on the phone, moving someone in or out of the ward or preparing another lesson. Then their daughter Kailey came and there was no sleep for the sleepless.

And to the surprise of neither he nor 'Reenie, his grades fell. First came the disappointment of the first semester with the realization that these grades wouldn't get him on law review. Then the shock of the end-of-the-year grades when the envelope came and he knew he wouldn't finish in the top quarter of his class, probably not in the top half and likely wouldn't finish much higher than bottom third. Second year came and went and Samuel flirted with the line between acceptable and probation. In his third year Samuel stopped looking forward to school altogether, the steam totally gone. He hung on and graduated 158th out of 171. But he had finished.

'Reenie had been so good about it though. "He's not Perry Mason," she'd tell people with a sly grin on the corner of her mouth, "but he's not Hamilton Burger either."

So he looked for a job without the experience of a clerkship, without the law review's stamp of approval, and with a G.P.A. that would have embarrassed most. He didn't come close to making it in the door of the city's large firms. He didn't even get many second interviews, but he kept looking until a little Spanish-speaking criminal defense firm looked his way and liked the fact that he could speak better Spanish than the Hispanic managing partner.

"At Mejia-Morales, they like Samuel because he looks like such an Opie, but eats peppers like such a Juan," 'Reenie would tell all the Relief Society ladies and laugh. Laugh and laugh. 'Reenie, the only daughter of a self-made businessman, who had grown up never wanting, now cut coupons and chided her husband when he ate lunch out. So it goes when you have $84,000 in student loans. But she never complained. Samuel always watched her, waiting to see the bitterness behind the laughter. Perhaps sometimes he hoped she would break and they would finally have it out in the open, but she never did.

"You were a little late today, Sam. Had us wondering," the bishop said. Wondering, not worried. Always accusatory, making you feel guilty, unsettling you from the start, even when you haven't done anything wrong. It was a mission president's trick and a cheap one.

"I had a live one at the justice center this afternoon. Refused to take a plea. Made for a few hours of extra work."

"So what's José in for? Drugs? Prostitution? Immigration?" The tone

again spoke more than the words. Thomas could care less what his son-in-law's client was charged with, he wanted to set him back, let him know what he thought of his client, his profession. Samuel briefly thought it was amusing that his father-in-law's derogatory term for Hispanics was dead-on for his client's name.

"He's been charged with possession. He claims he didn't have any drugs, though, and that the cops found drugs in the car he was a passenger in and picked him up."

"Hmm. No accountability. No responsibility. No one stands up and accepts the consequences of their actions anymore. No one stands up for what is right. Drugs, sex, murder, theft, rape, pornography. *They will be drunken with iniquity and all manner of abominations.*"

Signs of the times—Bishop Young saw them everywhere. Everything on television pointed to the Second Coming. Everything that had to do with technology was good because it portended the Savior's arrival, but bad because it usually came with some sort of filthy message, which Bishop Young could neatly frame in a final warning to the ward before dismissing for Sunday school.

"No one stands up for what is right," he said again looking at Samuel.

"The Constitution demands that Mr. Alcala-Martinez get a trial if he wants one. It doesn't matter if he had drugs or not. It's his right," Samuel said without revealing José's name.

Samuel fell back to his fall-back argument earlier than usual. There was no arguing the Constitution, and he knew his father-in-law knew it. Bishop Young scowled; he had heard this argument at dozens of Sunday dinners and Thanksgivings. It was what Samuel always came back to when he was asked how he could defend someone whom he knew was guilty. Besides, Samuel knew there wasn't a quorum of Mormons anywhere who would argue against the divine inspiration of the Constitution.

"Sam, I don't disagree that it's his right. I know he gets an attorney and all that. But why does it have to be you? Why can't you leave that to someone else and practice a more respectable kind of law, like tax law or patent law?"

Sam and 'Reenie had kept his law school grades and employment search woes from her parents. At Sam's insistence. His father-in-law had no idea how lucky he was to be practicing at all. There were those who graduated ahead of him who looked for months to no avail, and finally resigned themselves to a volunteer position to get experience.

"Not my style. I'd get too bored poring over bottom lines and contract disputes. Besides," he said, trying to charm his bishop, "who would keep bringing the Latinos into the church?"

There had been one man who Samuel felt he had really turned around in the last year and a half he had worked as a defense attorney. One person who served a short sentence after he took a plea, then came back to Samuel's office, and started taking the discussions. Samuel baptized him in weeks.

"We haven't seen Dias in over two months," Bishop Young retorted, stifling Samuel's attempt at levity. "I'm worried about you. I'm worried about Maureen. I see you working all kinds of hours to keep drug dealers and prostitutes on the street. I see Maureen by herself, or worrying herself to death about loan payments and grocery bills, and I wonder how you're ever going to make it. Remember, *if you will be delivered you shall set in order your own house.*

"Sam, we've had our differences. But I want you to succeed. I want you and my daughter and my grandchildren to grow together and be bound to one another."

Samuel feigned deep reverence for his father-in-law's feigned deep feelings.

"But I'm concerned because when I look out there and see you, all I see is you standing up with the pimps and the pornographers and the child molesters. Let me read you something."

He flipped open the scriptures, even though Samuel knew he probably didn't have to.

"Wherefore, he that fighteth against Zion, both Jew and Gentile, both bond and free, both male and female, shall perish; for they are they who are the whore of all the earth; for they who are not for me are against me, saith our God."

Samuel's expression didn't change. He waited.

"I just want to see you out of the middle, Sam. This," he said, holding up the small piece of paper that gained him access to the temple another year, "is just a piece of paper. It doesn't really get you in and not having it really doesn't keep you out. I know how you'll answer all of the questions, and, to be honest, I don't feel much like asking you them. Please think about what I've said. Don't be ashamed of partaking of the fruit of the tree."

Samuel knew he had been dismissed. He watched his bishop sign the recommend and he got up to leave. As he ushered in his wife, he realized he had been graced with a fourth scriptural gem.

When the guards brought José into the courtroom, the room was cramped with attorneys all trying to sweet-talk the clerks and the judge into letting them go next. An early afternoon might mean eighteen holes instead of nine. Or it might mean a chance to eat dinner at home instead of over a desk. Either way no attorney liked spending the day in one of the justice center's courtrooms listening to other attorneys drone on and on.

But Samuel was ready for this hearing on his motion to suppress with his interpreter and had checked twice to make sure José would be brought up, not conveniently forgotten at the jail, forcing him to set over. When Judge Thompson looked up, he saw an almost too eager Samuel, his unshackled client, and an interpreter, and called them first off the docket after lunch.

The prosecutor was ready too. Both the officers showed up and testified at the hearing. The first, Officer Macy, was brief. Samuel held his questions for the second officer, not wanting to tip his hat too early. José had been a passenger in a car without taillights driving through one of the heavier drug areas in town. The officers ran a check on the license plates and found the car was stolen. They pulled the car over, and the driver took off running. He escaped into the night, and José remained in the passenger seat.

"He seemed to be tucking something under the seat as I approached the car," recalled Officer Tucker.

"I was tying my shoe," whispered José to his attorney.

"Be quiet," Samuel scolded him under his breath.

José was asked to step out of the car. One officer took his driver's license while the other started questioning him.

"Did you speak to José in Spanish or English?"

"English."

There wasn't an officer in the bureau who would admit that the Hispanic he'd picked up couldn't speak anything but the clearest, most intelligible English he'd ever heard.

"Did he seem to have any trouble understanding you or responding?"

"No, he did not."

"Did you have a reasonable suspicion that José had committed a crime?" asked the prosecutor.

"Yes, I did."

"And what was that suspicion?"

"José was in a stolen car. He was tucking something under his seat. He was in an area of town that I knew from training and experience to be an area full of drug traffickers. And the driver of the car ran away."

"What did you do then?"

"We checked the inside of the car under the seat where José was sitting."

"What did you find there?"

"We found drug paraphernalia: syringes, some of which had brownish fluid in it which, based on my training and experience, I suspected to be methamphetamine, balloons, small plastic disks, and we found a baggie full of white powder, which, based on training and experience, I sus-

pected to be cocaine."

The officer's testimony continued. The prosecutor had prepped him well, and he stuck in the right phrases at the right times. He certainly had "training and experience" down.

But it became obvious to Samuel that the prosecutor never read the motion and memorandum which he had filed with the court and sent copies of to her office. She was doing half of the prosecutor's work for him. The memo Samuel had drafted became his manifesto. He worked on it for days, researching and writing, double checking the citations and the quotations, and making sure that all of the case law hadn't been overruled recently. Then he filed it and waited for his chance at the hearing.

When the prosecutor finished questioning the officer, Samuel's questions were direct and stabbed the heart of the officers' conduct.

"Do I understand you correctly to say that you pulled the car over because of the taillights and because it was stolen?"

"That's correct," replied the officer.

"Was José driving the stolen car?"

"No."

"Did you see José holding the drugs?"

"No."

"Did you even see the drugs in plain sight?"

The officer blanched momentarily, and Samuel knew his use of the legal term "plain sight" had set off an alarm inside the officer's head that something was wrong. He shifted defensively.

"Not until I took it out from under the seat where José put it."

Samuel let the conjecture pass. This was a hearing, not a trial, and the evidence rules were relaxed anyway.

"You said you were talking with José while Officer Macy was checking his identification."

"That's right."

"And you said he spoke English."

"Yes."

"What did he say?"

"He said there might be drugs in the car."

"Did you think he had committed a crime."

"I had a reasonable suspicion, but he was perfectly free to go at that point," the officer said, wanting to solidify the propriety of his actions, but not realizing the contradiction of his own testimony. "He could have left at any time."

"But how could he leave," Samuel asked, "if Officer Macy was holding on to his license?"

The officer looked at him blankly for a moment. Then decided to stick to what he had already said.

"He was free to go."

"Do you usually let criminals go?"

Again the officer shifted, but didn't answer. Samuel hadn't really expected one.

"Do you know what it means to be 'Driving While Hispanic'?"

The officer's face burned and the prosecutor jumped out of her chair. Even Judge Thompson didn't look pleased with the question. Samuel withdrew the question quickly with a wave of his hand and concluded the questioning.

In the hearing's summation, the prosecutor argued reasonable suspicion to the judge and did it effectively. Samuel could barely contain himself while she spoke. He was going to win this one and send José home, although it was almost a month after he had first promised to do so.

Samuel stood up and argued to Judge Thompson the illegality of the search. The search was outside of the scope of the traffic stop. José was "stopped" when one officer held his license and the other one interrogated him. He was not free to leave. The search of the car was warrantless. Reasonable suspicion can't be based on furtive gestures. The drugs were not in plain sight of the officers. José was not given an interpreter. He was not driving a stolen car and was not responsible for the taillights. There was never consent to search the car.

Any one of the litany of his arguments would have invalidated the search and he knew it. The hours of research on the computer and in the firm's tiny library were paying off. As Samuel continued to argue, he watched Judge Thompson begin to nod in assent until, when he finished, Samuel was sure of the outcome.

The judge ruled the search illegal and suppressed the drugs. Samuel turned to his client, who was still getting a translation in the ear from the interpreter.

"That's it," he beamed.

"That's it?" José seemed incredulous.

"The D.A.'s office has nothing to prosecute you with if the drugs are suppressed. They won't try you. You'll get out this afternoon."

"That can't be all. You never did it. You never told them. You never told them the drugs weren't mine. That I didn't do it." José's eyes were wide, imploring his attorney perhaps to re-initiate the hearing. The interpreter watched, puzzled.

"It doesn't matter, José. They won't try you. The case is over."

"It does matter," José replied as the guard reattached his cuffs and began to escort him away. "You should have told them I was innocent. You never told them."


SHOT

The Celestial Kingdom

Susan Burdett

JULIE WAS ASKED TO BE BAPTIZED FOR THE DEAD. Her teacher, Mrs. Dixon, had read down the roll, asking the girls in alphabetical order. She had moved into Julie's neighborhood, just up the street in a new house built with used bricks, or so the bricks looked because flecks of variously colored paints stuck to the surface of the bricks and many corners were chipped. Julie had watched the house go up. She decided that the bricks were meant to look that way because Mrs. Dixon, who had good taste, left nothing to chance regarding her own appearance. Her wavy brown hair was carefully spray-netted into place, and she wore a suit, a frilly blouse, and comfortable heels to class every Tuesday. The bricks reflected a contemporary style Mrs. Dixon might actually have chosen, but they looked authentically old and used anyway. Julie was convinced that the bricks had been salvaged from older houses.

Julie would have said no except that her best friend Bobby Ann had also been asked. Julie habitually said no to requests put to her at church because she didn't like church at all, especially on Sundays. She felt like a stranger in the building, no matter how often she went. At church the adults didn't act like themselves, but like other people. Julie's circle of friends, however, felt differently, and Julie enjoyed being with them the rest of the time to overcome her dislike of church. Bobby Ann loved church, even on Sunday afternoons when she sat with her family. Julie enjoyed it best on Tuesdays, when the kids had the building to themselves and the teachers planned activities just for them. Most of the year Julie walked to the church with her friends for an hour of lessons and activities after school on Tuesday. During the summer the hour was changed to 10 a.m. so they could linger all morning. Julie agreed to be baptized for the dead because Bobby Ann would be with her.

Julie said yes to Mrs. Dixon before asking permission from her mother, which made her nervous. Her mother objected to everything Julie did in church. She especially objected to Julie's request to be baptized, even though she herself had been baptized when she was sixteen. Julie's father, who had been baptized when he was eight, had approved,

but in that cool, detached way of his that signified his lack of commitment to Julie's request. Julie resented the family fuss because neither went to church anyway, although both were members. The rite hadn't been worth the bother. Julie's baptism had taken place in a different building from the one Julie knew, none of her friends had been invited to watch, and her father had hurried her out as soon as her turn was over because he had to see a very sick patient in the hospital. Soon Julie put the dull, uneventful ceremony behind her. Nevertheless, she was glad she had been baptized because it opened the door to more activities she could enjoy with her circle of friends.

Julie held a piece of linen cloth in one hand and a needle with green thread in the other. She read the words she was cross-stitching for a clue to some method of getting her mother's permission to go.

GREET THE DAY WITH A SONG.
MAKE OTHERS HAPPY.
SERVE GLADLY.

Her mother, who approved of arts and crafts, bought embroidery thread for Julie only on the condition that Julie fully understood that these sentiments were disadvantageous to her because the words were meant to teach women to accept the role of obedient servant to men. She asked Julie, do boys cross-stitch? to prove her point. Nevertheless, Julie knew that her mother generally agreed to Julie's requests if she offered to help around the kitchen, spoke politely, and never asked for a ride. Mrs. Dixon's true job as teacher was to explain to the girls that the dead were kept outside God's celestial kingdom until they were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ in the new revelation. She only went through the motions of cross-stitching. As Mrs. Dixon was not among Julie's mom's circle of friends, Julie more readily accepted needlework because Mrs. Dixon disliked it.

Julie pondered the problem of asking permission on the way home from the church. She walked along the street with her friends. She would liked to have climbed down the creek bed behind the church to study the water for a while, and would have, too, had she been alone. Instead, she listened to Bobby Ann talk with absolute certainty about being united with her entire family in the celestial kingdom after death because her grandmother had done her family's genealogical work. Julie knew that her family's spirits would live elsewhere because Julie's grandmother smoked cigarettes and drank coffee on her visits to Ogden. In fact, Julie's mother's entire family drank coffee and liquor and smoked cigarettes, even though they had all been baptized. They weren't healthy, either. They attended church when it was convenient, as Julie did. Julie's fa-

ther's family, on the other hand, had years of life ahead before meeting again in the celestial kingdom. Most were young and healthy. Julie's dad wouldn't enter the celestial kingdom with them because he drank liquor. Julie was embarrassed to have to ask her mother's permission to participate in a rite that seemed to divide families. But wanting to see was reason enough, Julie concluded, to ask.

The girls walked slowly down the hot street, as if going no place in particular. They inspected the fronts of the houses and yards intently, as something needing to be done regularly. The girls pretended to know all the families in every house they passed, and, by trading information, they could name most: the Andersons, the Belnaps, the Sessionses. Julie herself knew only one or so neighbor on each block because only a few families had children exactly her age. She had been inside one maybe of the four or five houses on each block but, like the other girls, pretended to know them all. The girls agreed that all the neighbors were nice once you got to know them. Occasionally Julie daydreamed about scouting her way along the creek bed behind the houses, where things grew wild near the water. She found minnows and puff balls. The water exposed giant tree roots to the air. She had explored the creek once or twice, and felt more herself when she did because she wasn't pretending anything. Those times were few, however, because she went to church to be with her friends. None would skip church to explore the creek with her, not even Bobby Ann. Eventually the girls acknowledged they were going home and separated to make it in time for lunch.

Julie's mother was busy feeding Julie's little brother and looked tired, so Julie fixed herself a peanut butter sandwich. Her mother asked her to bring up a can of tomatoes next time she went downstairs because they were going to have macaroni and tomatoes for dinner. Then her mother smiled because she remembered that Julie's aunt had called to see if Julie wanted to go swimming at the club with her cousins later that afternoon. Julie did want to go swimming, even though it meant that she would watch her cousins eat their hamburgers afterwards, which Julie would not because her parents did not want to make a habit of children eating expensive meals at the club. Julie took a moment to say that Mrs. Dixon, who was also a member of the country club, had asked if she could be baptized for the dead with some of her friends, and Julie's mother agreed, because not too much could go wrong with a daughter who was going to go off swimming at the country club later on. Julie was genuinely relieved because she would not have to make excuses in front of her friends. She was doubtful that the dead would ever express their gratitude to her for being baptized in their behalf. Anyway, to Julie, Jesus said that his words were for the living, and Mrs. Dixon said that the celestial kingdom existed in a more perfect galaxy far away in the distant heav-

ens. Julie completely doubted the existence of the celestial kingdom.

Downstairs her older brother and his friends were working on his electric train. The boys had been migrating from house to house during these intensely hot summer days because the basement rooms in all the houses were cool. Julie's brother's train board, as large as a ping pong table, folded up into the wall like a Pullman bed, so all the track had to be nailed down and the miniature city and surrounding countryside glued carefully in place. Therefore, although his required more work than the other boys' train boards, the results were superior and permanent. They listened to the radio while they worked, and in between the songs the disk jockey announced all sorts of fun events for young people being sponsored by this or that business in town. Julie received only the slightest nod of recognition from the boys because her presence made each aware that he was really learning how to be a man later on in life. She listened to the end of "Yellow Polka Dot Bikini" and then inspected the fish tank for any changes. A female guppy was swollen with eggs. Julie moved on to the unfinished part of the basement.

The storage room wasn't mysterious, just scary, even with the lights on. Julie's parents bought only a few household items in cases, tomatoes, peaches, pears, beans, corn, and toilet paper. The cans themselves looked small on the shelves, which were broad and deep and filled a whole wall. The cans were significant in their inadequacy because they would not last a week in the event of disaster. Furthermore, disaster was inevitable—both her school and Sunday school teachers agreed on that point. At school Julie had been carefully taught the civil defense procedures to follow during an atomic blast, and at church she had been assured that Christ's second coming was at hand. At church her teachers had said that if two men were standing in a field, one would be taken and one would remain, a description that resembled the school's educational films in which, in their peculiar way, atomic bombs destroyed some buildings and spared others. Julie believed that her teachers were describing the same event. Some neighbors stored a two-years' supply of food in their basements. Julie's mother, however, refused to "stockpile," a position she had taken during World War II. The rest of the room was better supplied. Julie's father owned a lot of camping equipment. There were tents, sleeping bags, canteens, coolers, Coleman stoves, and lanterns, as well as fishing poles, tackle, boots, and guns. The smell of canvas and dirt reassured Julie of good times hunting and fishing in the mountains. Although he could not tell her to quit worrying, Julie's dad scowled at her impatiently and argued that he was not going to build a bomb shelter because it would lower the resale value of the house. Therefore, Julie worried and planned alone. During an atomic blast her family would have to retreat to the unfinished area behind the furnace, which was covered by the

front porch upstairs, and then they would have to move to the windowless storage room and do the best with what they had. They wouldn't follow her plans, however, because they all had ideas of their own. Prepared to die, Julie sighed, as she always did whenever her mother sent her downstairs for a can of something.

Upstairs the world, with all its familiar predictability, was less dreadful. Julie's mother had put her little brother down for a nap, which he had outgrown but she hadn't. The doors were closed to both bedrooms, but only Julie's mother was dead to the world. Julie peeked in to see her brother sucking the corner of his blanket and staring vacantly at nothing in particular. Seeing him caused her to forget about being blown up. She smiled, whispered go to sleep, and closed the door. Then she planned out the afternoon at the club. She would need thongs to guard against the thorns from the pink rose bushes planted just outside the pool's fence. They often fell inside the fence and pierced her feet. Otherwise, all Julie needed were a swimsuit and a towel. She wouldn't ask for money for a hamburger because she wasn't embarrassed not to eat around her cousins and had been lucky to get permission to be baptized for the dead so easily. She picked up *Lorna Doone* to read while she waited until it was time to go swimming. Eventually she heard the familiar noise of toy cars rolling on the floor in her little brother's bedroom.

Julie and Bobby Ann walked to Mrs. Dixon's house because she lived up the street. Mrs. Dixon looked smart in her navy blue pants suit, yellow blouse, and silk scarf which she had tied around her neck, and she drove her brown station wagon, a "woody." Both Julie and Bobby Ann wore cotton skirts and blouses just as they had decided the day before. The girls sat patiently in the back seat while Mrs. Dixon drove to the other houses to pick up the other three girls, whose names were Marsha, Shari, and Esther and who could have walked, but didn't. Both Marsha and Shari wore shorts, and Esther wore a skirt. When Mrs. Dixon drove across the viaduct, Julie asked her why she was driving north towards Bear Lake instead of south to Salt Lake City. Mrs. Dixon explained that they were going to be baptized in the Logan temple and told them to roll down the windows because it was going to get hot. At that Julie settled in to worrying about not getting car sick when they reached the windy canyon road to Logan. On the way to Bear Lake once Julie had asked her father to take another road, but he had explained that every car from Ogden had to drive through Sardine Canyon to enter Logan because that was the direct route.

Mrs. Dixon drove quickly, creating a strong breeze in the car. Julie whispered to Bobby Ann that she couldn't talk because she had to look intently out the window to keep from getting sick. She didn't want Mrs.

Dixon to know, or Mrs. Dixon would make her sit in the front seat next to her, where Esther was sitting, and that would be worse than throwing up. Julie stared with relief at the cattle and horses in their pastures, at the fruit orchards, and at the Great Salt Lake shimmering like a mirage in the far distance. She believed she wouldn't get car sick because everything was so peaceful that the view would settle her stomach. Julie wasn't missing much because Bobby Ann and Marsha were talking about their families' genealogy, making up stories as they went along. Bobby Ann said that her aunt had told her that she had traced their family's history back to a baron who had left Scotland in the sixteenth century, and Marsha said that her grandmother had told her that she had found out that her family had come over from France to England with William the Conqueror. Julie didn't tell them that her mother had told her that her grandfather was a bootlegger in Idaho and had made her mother paste labels on the liquor bottles because she might throw up if she opened her mouth. When the car entered the canyon, Bobby Ann and Marsha started to compare their patriarchal blessings. Both had been told, among other things, that they would live to see Christ's second coming. The scenery was beautiful because stands of dark green trees on the mountains alternated with golden meadows. The road rolled and turned. What little water there was cooled the air, and Julie closed her eyes and felt the breeze as she struggled to keep from throwing up

The temple had thick granite walls and looked dignified amidst the tall, green trees and brightly colored flowers planted around it. Mrs. Dixon pulled up in a shady corner of the parking lot because everyone was sweating. Julie forgot all about getting car sick the minute her feet touched the gravel. Mrs. Dixon asked the temple worker if they could wait their turn inside because it was too hot to stay outside—in fact, Mrs. Dixon insisted because the temple worker had strict instructions not to let in anyone without a proper temple recommend, and the girls had only a modified recommend based on their youth and innocence, not a proper recommend based on their church standing. The temple worker had wrapped her braided hair around her head and wore a faded cotton blouse with little flowers printed all over it to go to work that day, and she grudgingly gave in to Mrs. Dixon's request. But the temple worker straightened her back and used her authority to order the girls to sit quietly and not touch anything because, by acting strict and stern, she forgot about feeling slighted in the presence of Mrs. Dixon, even though she had addressed her as "Sister." The girls were led to a large living room with thick blue carpet. From her place on a velvet couch, Julie could look at the chandeliers and gilded mirrors throughout the room. Bowls with prisms had been placed on the polished table tops. Julie wouldn't touch anything because fingerprints could be traced. Eventually Bobby Ann

suggested that they look for the face of Jesus in the painting on the wall. Julie stared until she was cross-eyed and then found it in the foliage, but Bobby Ann found it in six places, including the haystack. Julie was relieved when the temple worker returned to fetch them for baptism because, being stained and blemished, Julie knew that she lacked holiness, so her presence violated the sacred house of God.

The girls undressed in a locker room like the one at the country club, to Julie's delight because she belonged in locker rooms, knowing what to do in them. She didn't have to be especially holy, either. Mrs. Dixon had assured them that the baptismal room, where the less pure were ordinarily allowed, was spiritually apart from the temple proper, reserved as the latter was for the recommended and approved. The girls removed their clothes nervously, giggling occasionally to break the silence of the locker room. They knew what each other looked like naked because they had been to slumber parties together. The stiff canvas gowns had yellowed here and there from previous use and were too big and dragged on the cold cement floor. Julie could smell the water and chlorine. She set her glasses on her clothes and closed the locker door. Julie was too nearsighted to see much without her glasses. Although she knew she looked silly, Julie felt like an angel.

The blurry baptismal room, dramatically beautiful, was everything Julie could have wished it to be. The blue room was light here and shadowy there, and it was filled with the echoes of lapping water and mysteriously whispered words. The big, golden bowl of water had been placed on the backs of twelve huge golden oxen, each representing one of the twelve tribes of Israel. Although Julie called to mind the golden calves whose worship had brought death and destruction to the faithless Israelites fleeing Egypt, to her the statues honored the sturdy oxen that had carried the pioneers across the plains to Zion. Elderly men in bleary white robes sat indistinctly at a table and carefully inspected papers with the names of the dead to be sure that the authorizations and signatures were in order. Were these patriarchs like those that had blessed Bobby Ann and Marsha? Up close they looked like Julie's grandfather. Their wisps of gray hair stuck to their blotchy scalps and their wire-rimmed glasses slipped down their noses. They sat solemnly, concentrating on their holy work. They had no time for the likes of Julie and her friends, who giggled and huddled together, but ordered them to get into the baptismal font at once and without fuss. Marsha complained that the water was too cold. Julie, used to getting into cold water, quickly stepped off the ladder and dropped down until it reached her shoulder because the bowl was like a swimming pool on a smaller scale. One of the younger men, less somber than the other men sitting gravely at the table, climbed in after the girls and assigned them numbers, Julie number two.

Bobby Ann walked into the middle of the bowl to be baptized while the others clung together to watch. Julie was next. The man placed her two fingers on her nose to pinch it shut, then, holding her back with one hand, her shoulders with another, tipped her backwards, submerging her completely under the water, or almost completely because the man had noticed the tip of her pony tail floating on the water's surface, invalidating the baptism. Julie slipped her ponytail under her gown so they could perform the baptism again. She was shaking with the excitement of having an adventure worthy of Tom Sawyer and Becky Thatcher. She climbed out of the water and sat in the golden chair made wet from Bobby Ann. An obscure man placed his cold hands heavily, soberly on Julie's head while the men at the table proclaimed that she was being confirmed in the name of the next person on the list. While awaiting her turns, she listened for anyone she knew, Charlotte Brontë, perhaps, or Charles Dickens, people whose accomplishments made them important. She recognized none of the names. To Julie's thinking, Charles Dickens's and Charlotte Brontë's own baptisms in their own churches probably were the ones that mattered to them anyway. She heard names like Charles Smith, Elizabeth Rigby Smith, and Catherine Mathilda Rigby, ordinary names for ordinary American families that Mark Twain might have described in his novels. She was too confused being dunked and confirmed to catch the names of the people she was being baptized for, although she tried to listen carefully each time. Julie laughed away the indignity of honoring other people's families, not her own, because she believed in facing difficulties with a light heart. She was baptized for the dead thirty times. That morning the five girls had helped hand the keys to the celestial kingdom to 150 waiting spirits.

Mrs. Dixon stopped at Maddox's for hamburgers before beginning the last leg home. Julie had taken two dollars from her toy letter box, which she used as a bank, just in case Mrs. Dixon decided to stop. Her friends' parents always made sandwiches for their children's friends at home, but never bought them meals in restaurants. Julie ordered a hamburger for herself and gave a dollar to Marsha, who forgot to bring money. Marsha ordered ice cream. While waiting for their food, the girls listened to Mrs. Dixon give the lesson. She explained that the baptisms allowed the dead to be united with their families in the celestial kingdom because every spirit had to be baptized under the new revelation given to Joseph Smith and the church prophets. Some spirits, however, might reject the keys to the celestial kingdom. Julie, who listened politely, appreciated Mrs. Dixon for trying to give an explanation for the rite of baptism for the dead. Impossible ʰough it seemed to Julie to track down the names of every person who had ever lived, those families who were interested were free to try. Mrs. Dixon blessed the food after the waitress

brought it.

Julie was glad to get home. Although she disapproved, Julie's mother discussed Julie's participation in the temple rite with good humor. She had found a poem by Ogden Nash to read to Julie after dinner in which Nash argued that people would spend more time with their loved ones "If one's kin and kith/ Were more fun to be with." Julie's mother also referred to her family as the "in-laws and out-laws." Julie reassured her mother that she didn't believe in the celestial kingdom, but enjoyed herself and had at least been inside the Logan temple. Then Julie took the cheap paperback book of Ogden Nash's poetry to read because it seemed doubly funny to read the poetry of a man named Ogden in Ogden.

For the next two weeks Bobby Ann teased Julie daily about being in love with Malcolm Fergusson. Bobby Ann, who was in love with Gary Hadley, wanted Julie to be in love, too. In fact, Julie was in love with Jerry Boyle, but was too self-conscious to say so. Bobby Ann never mentioned Jerry Boyle to Julie because Bobby Ann believed that another girl had prior claim to him. Julie tried to tell Bobby Ann again and again that she did not love Malcolm Fergusson and that Malcolm Fergusson did not love her, but finally gave up because, to Bobby Ann, saying it made it so. During this time Julie checked daily on the female guppy. One morning little transparent guppies swam among the plants near the top of the tank. She counted fourteen, all in good shape. She inspected them carefully because a year earlier two baby guppies had been born deformed, one a Siamese twin with a dead guppy attached to its back, and the other with a crooked back bent inward. Julie attributed the deformities to radiation because at the time all the children in the neighborhood had had to play indoors for a couple of days when fallout from atomic testing had blown upwind to the north. She had no proof for her belief, however. Relieved that this set of guppies was in good shape, Julie fed the fish. Later she and her brother would scoop them out with a net and feed them separately. Julie expected that, in the meantime, some of the baby guppies would be eaten by other fish, in accord with the natural order of things in the fish tank.

Julie wanted to do something to protect her own family. So she asked her mother if she could store just a little water in case an atomic bomb was dropped on Utah. Julie's mom agreed to let her have an empty Clorox bottle and a shelf in the storage room because it wouldn't cost anything. Julie thanked her for the bottle. Because her mother never did laundry as often or as thoroughly as her friends' mothers did, a year could go by before Julie got a second one. Still, a Clorox bottle was a first step. Julie had been baptized by water. Strengthened by her love for her family, Julie filled the Clorox bottle to await Christ's return to earth.

Thistle Field

Casualene Meyer

*

So speaks King Saul:
I want this modest man of war
David, dead.
Snare him with a string
from his own harp,
promise him my daughter Michal
for the bride price:
five score Philistines.
No, just their foreskins.
And she can have
her bloody husband.

David flourishes
for love, killing 200,
covenanting with Michal:
You are Sarah and I,
Abraham.

*

Shining arms raised to heaven,
back arching, David
dances before God and women
praising enduring mercy:
Philistines routed,
ark of the covenant
brought to Jerusalem.

Michal at the window chants
The Lord our God is one,
let us exalt his name together.
Watching David by slices
when linen leaps high,
twirls wider than his body,
Michal chews her long braid.

*

Having feasted his people,
David comes home, kisses
the door post, puts hands out
to press blessings on Michal's head.

—You should be so lively
at home, King—
Are you God,
when you reveal yourself,
a burning bush?

—I will dance more.
I will take
a real daughter of the covenant.
I will look to it.
Bless yourself.

*

Possessed again, Saul paces
the thistle field where servants
dumped his demand with citrus peels,
palm fronds, pot shards.

In Ashkelon, Philistine women
scream the cadence of waves
casting at iron-clay sand.

A Part of History Overlooked

Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah. By Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Hallet Stone (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1996).

Reviewed by Jessie L. Embry, Oral History Program Director, Charles Redd Center, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

HOW DO NON-MORMONS FEEL ABOUT living in Utah? *Missing Stories* answers many such questions. These are the people's words and not interpretation. As Helen Papanikolas explains in the introduction, "This is not a book of scholarly history. It is a book of voices, voices of speakers who desperately want us to know how life was for them and their forbears in Utah" (1).

In 1982 the Oral History Institute received a small Utah Humanities Council grant to conduct interviews. From a modest beginning, the project grew to 729 interviews, including photographs, with Utes, African Americans, Jews, Chinese, Italians, Japanese, Greeks, and Chicano-Hispanos. Each section includes an introduction by a member of the ethnic group or a knowledgeable scholar, followed by eight to ten interview excerpts. The book is beautifully illustrated with the narrators' photographs.

I applaud the Oral History Institute for collecting and preserving these stories. I can only imagine the problems of transcribing and translating the stories of first-generation Japanese. I enjoy the variety of people represented. Chiyo Matsumiya was a picture bride who came from Japan to marry; Jim Yoshiho Tazoi was born in Garland, Utah, and fought in Europe during World War II. Many interviewees have now passed away, and I am thrilled their stories were preserved.

Most interviewees describe their lives in their own communities. A few mention their interactions with Mormons. Their complaints about Latter-day Saints hurt me. I want to scream, "That's not true." But then I calm down and realize the people are telling their stories. I learn how a non-Mormon sees me. Vito Bonacci, an Italian immigrant and union organizer, explains, "Utah was a rough state to organize in because Mormons were against it. And in this state, if you ain't got them behind you, you ain't going to get nowhere. ... I [still] don't know why they don't believe in it. But I work[ed] for a lot of strong Mormons. And they were always trying to tell me they were better than we were." Bonacci befriended a Mormon bishop at work, "but every time we argued about something, he said, 'You're in the minority. We are [the] real Americans'" (274).

Missing Stories, however, is not without shortcomings. For example, it is difficult to read. Oral historians debate on how to transfer the spoken word into a written text. Some tran-

scribe verbatim to preserve the flavor; others (like myself) edit to make the manuscript more readable. For example, I would rewrite Bonacci using standard English. I would not include brackets. I know from reading some of the Oral History Institute's original transcripts that these interviews have been edited. I think the interviews needed more editing, and the editors needed to provide more explanation of the editorial policy in the introduction.

For me, *Missing Stories* is a primary document, an invaluable collection of stories. But it should not be read cover to cover. The organization is hard to follow; I am not sure why some of the interviews are called prologue and epilogue. Short excerpts are often intermixed with longer stories. The notes at the end of chapter are oversimplified and unnecessary. There is no index, so it is impossible to look up one subject. Even a listing of the interviewees' names would make it easier to locate information.

Despite these concerns, *Missing Stories* does tell an important part of Utah history that has been overlooked. It is a valuable primary source that Utah and Mormon historians should use.

Issues of Individual Freedoms

Friendly Fire: The ACLU in Utah. By Linda Sillitoe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).

Reviewed by F. Ross Peterson, Professor of History, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

AT FIRST, THE TITLE OF THIS BOOK seems a bit misleading and confusing. "Friendly fire" became popular during the Gulf War as a description of how American troops were killed by their comrades during desert skirmishes. However, a reading of this volume illuminates the reality that Utah society does have the capacity to destroy some of its own citizens through discrimination and denial of civil rights.

Linda Sillitoe has chronicled the Utah chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union's brief history through a focus on leaders, lawyers, and court cases. As a journalist, Sillitoe emphasizes particular individuals and cases that brought considerable attention to the ACLU. Although she discusses numerous First Amendment cases as well as prisoners' rights and discrimination issues, her greater contribution is to show how the ACLU champions the issues that make democracy work.

Utah is particularly unfriendly turf for the ACLU and its causes. The organization is often targeted as the "anti-Christ" that only cares about prisoners, homosexuals, radicals, and religious dissenters. In fact, some blamed the ACLU for the destruction of family values by their attacks on public prayer, use of religious facilities for public meetings, and challenging Utah's cable decency act. At the core of the conflict are the two century-long constitutional battles concerning the

protection of the minority from a heavy-handed majority will.

The volume chronicles leadership as well as issues. The author has a tendency to idolize the skeleton staff which chose to champion civil liberties issues on the Utah stage. The executive directors, who also serve as spokespersons for the organization, are publicly viewed by most Utahns as evil outsiders sent by the devil to destroy traditional religious values. Consequently, Stephen W. Cook, Shirley Pedler, Robyn Blummer, and Michele Parish move throughout the headlines but ultimately take their battle to other states. In retrospect, they are courageous individuals who chose to sacrifice personal goals and ambitions for the cause of civil liberties.

At times, a reader may wish for more in-depth analysis and consequence. A good example is the Logan, Utah, case relative to counting LDS seminary credit in non-sectarian classes, Old and New Testament, toward graduation. The students and parents who challenged this forty-year-old tradition suffered considerable pressure and some ostracism. Although the ACLU technically lost the battle because the court compromised by allowing other religions to offer classes adjacent to the Logan High School campus, in reality the ACLU won the war because the eventual fallout was that school districts eventually chose to stop accepting religious credits. The ACLU goal of separation of church and state was achieved, and Utah's universities and colleges chose to no longer accept LDS institute credit as elective hours. The institutes and seminaries survived, but the principle of First Amendment protection also received enhancement.

The volume obviously offers a pro-ACLU posture and that is not troublesome. What is a problem is that the author and editor(s) made errors in spelling individuals names such as Victor Cline not Klein (30), the famous University of Utah psychologist, and Jack Scherting not Sherting (52), the Utah State University English professor. Frank Pignanelli's name (234) is also on the list of those incorrectly spelled. The Democratic legislator is significant as a voice of reason. Finally, the infamous Madalyn Murray O'Hare is identified as O'Hair (116) in a quoted article. The author and editor(s) needed to correct these mistakes. The author even identified William Nelson as a "recently-ordained" apostle (177), whereas Nelson is not a general authority but chairs a watchdog committee "To Strengthen the Members." These oversights illustrate two fundamental problems with current publishing. In the first place, spell check is wonderful unless proper names are involved and editors fail to check against other sources. Second, newspapers are unreliable as primary sources because of the journalistic demand for speed. Editors and authors must make sure that proper names are presented correctly. There also needs to be a consistency in both the text and index relative to formal and informal presentation of names. Utah is most aware of all general authorities initials and they are presented formally, while other significant players such as Congressman Bill Orton and Wayne Owens are both without initials and in the case of Orton, or Bud Scruggs, his formal name.

However, this is an excellent survey of a very significant aspect of Utah's recent past. The author is most perceptive in seeing the large picture and keeping the reader focused on the

issues of individual freedoms. She also has interviewed extensively and brought to light the role LDS leaders play in the numerous battles for civil liberties. Indeed, she describes recent cooperative efforts as a tremendous step forward on the part of the ACLU and the LDS church. The volume is a major contribution to Utah history and deserves to be thoughtfully considered.

Similar yet Different

How Wide the Divide? By Craig L. Blomberg and Stephen E. Robinson (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997).

Reviewed by Robert M. Sivulka (M.A., M.A., Talbot School of Theology, BIOLA University, M.A., San Diego State University), minister of Christian Theology at Cornerstone Evangelical Free Church, Salt Lake City, Utah.

How Wide the Divide? is a nice change from the typical literature published by evangelical publishing houses concerning the subject of Mormonism. This book attempts to enter into an open dialogue on the basic differing theological backgrounds of two biblical academicians. Blomberg, an Evangelical, and Robinson, a Mormon, dialogue on four primary issues: (1) scripture, (2) God and deification, (3) Christ and the Trinity, and (4) salvation.

These four issues are dealt with in four individual chapters in which each author takes turns explaining his own position. Every chapter begins with an author breaking up his discussion into four sections: (1) what his own religious tradition believes about the particular issue to be discussed, (2) clearing up misconceptions primarily from those in the other's tradition, (3) misgivings about the other tradition's beliefs, and (4) concluding on a positive note towards the other's beliefs. After both authors' expositions, there is a joint conclusion which lists the areas of agreement as well as disagreement.

The focus of the remainder of this review is to comment on and critique the first chapter on "Scripture." Contrary to their joint conclusion, the authors may *not* in fact share the same understanding of inerrancy.

Blomberg explains how more conservative Evangelicals, among whom he includes himself, believe in the inerrancy of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament and the twenty-seven books of the New Testament as they were *originally* given via their writers. He points out that we do not have the original autographs today, but manuscripts or copies of the originals. It is these manuscript variants which allow scholars to reconstruct what the original autographs *most likely* said. Although these manuscripts mostly vary in spelling and grammar, there are variants in which it is not always clear which reading is to be understood as belonging to the original. In

this regard, it is important to note that no Evangelical doctrine rests on any disputed manuscript.

With all this, Robinson claims to be in virtual agreement. He even cites the Mormons' own 8th Article of Faith ("We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly") as having precisely this meaning. It is not the translations *per se* that are the inspired, inerrant word of God, but it is the *correct* translations that count as such.

However, for Latter-day Saints, not only the correct translation, but the correct interpretation ultimately rests on the living prophet to determine. (This is reminiscent of St. Ignatius, ca. sixteenth century, founder of the Society of Jesus, who said of one who lacked obedience of judgment that "[h]e loses the much praised simplicity of *blind obedience* ... perhaps blaming his superior because he commands that which is not to his mind. ... Do not look on the superior as on a man subject to errors and miseries, but look at what you obey in the man, which is *Christ the highest wisdom* ... so, using the inner eyes of the soul rather than the outer eyes, you will be able to confirm your will and judgment" [Paul Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola,* 227-28, emphasis added].) For Evangelical Protestants, there is no living prophet to guide the whole church to the correct translation or the correct interpretation. Instead, there are only fallible scholars who would presumably come closer to the truth rather than any nonscholar. Protestants may see what good a living prophet would do for getting the correct translation, but when it comes to interpreting scripture correctly, we each must still fallibly interpret the prophet. If, as Robinson notes, "it is possible to mistranslate or to misinterpret the Hebrew and Greek (or Nephite) texts" (57), then surely it is possible to mistranslate (i.e., inaccurately give the prophet's word in another language) or to misinterpret the living prophet (whether there is maliciousness involved or not). If individuals misinterpreted the living apostle's words to their own destruction in the first century, other individuals would probably do the same today (compare 2 Pet. 3:15-16). Contrary to Robinson, epistemologically there is never any "guarantee of doctrinal correctness" (57) for the church, nor any assurance that "the written word will be interpreted and applied correctly to new contexts" (58), not even if God himself were to state the same thing in a more contemporary way. Here the best kind of "certainty" might be a practical one from inductive verification (compare Paul Helm, *The Divine Revelation,* 76-88). As Dallas Willard has reminded us, "The infallibility of the messenger and the message does not guarantee the infallibility of our reception. Humility is always in order" (*In Search of Guidance,* 31).

Now for Robinson, although prophets are the agents of revelation, could they still be fallible in communicating that revelation? It is this crucial question that Robinson never directly answers, and it is this question that raises ambiguity in his presentation (particularly pp. 56-58). Robinson could really be agreeing or disagreeing with Blomberg and other Evangelicals that the prophets and apostles were infallible in communicating that revelation. For example, Robinson says, "Scripture, including the Book of Mormon, is in our view recorded by men who can and do make mistakes, and it is possible to mistranslate or to misinterpret the Hebrew and Greek (or

Nephite) texts" (57). Who exactly are these men who recorded scripture? Further, do these men, who make mistakes, make mistakes when they record scripture? And who exactly are those who may mistranslate or misinterpret the texts? Are they different from the ones who record the scripture? Could they be the prophets and apostles in either case, or are they merely scribes in both cases?

The understanding that would affirm the former seems to fit with Robinson's next paragraph. Here he says that prophets and apostles receive direct and primary revelation. This is the purest sense of the word of God—"as *word* and *hearing* rather than as *text*" (57). It is the latter which is accompanied by "*recording,* transmission and interpretation" (57, emphasis added). Robinson says that this all depends on fallible reason and language. This all seems to imply a distinction between the original, pure revelation that the individual receives (WORD-1) and the impure, or at least potentially errant (Robinson never claims they were *de facto* initially errant), writings or scriptures that he, or she (at least, in terms of a prophet [e.g., Acts 2:17, 21:9]), records (WORD-2).

Now who must initially *record* the revelation? The prophet or apostle who receives it must initially record it in one's memory and then upon the text by either oneself or via dictation. In either case, Robinson would seem to imply that the recording or communicating would have to be at least potentially fallible. This may be why Robinson says, "The *record* of revelation cannot logically be more authoritative than the *experience* of revelation" (58). This may also explain his understanding of the 8th Article of Faith. Here WORD-2, initially or further along the way, could only be *de facto* the word of God inasmuch as it corresponds to WORD-1.

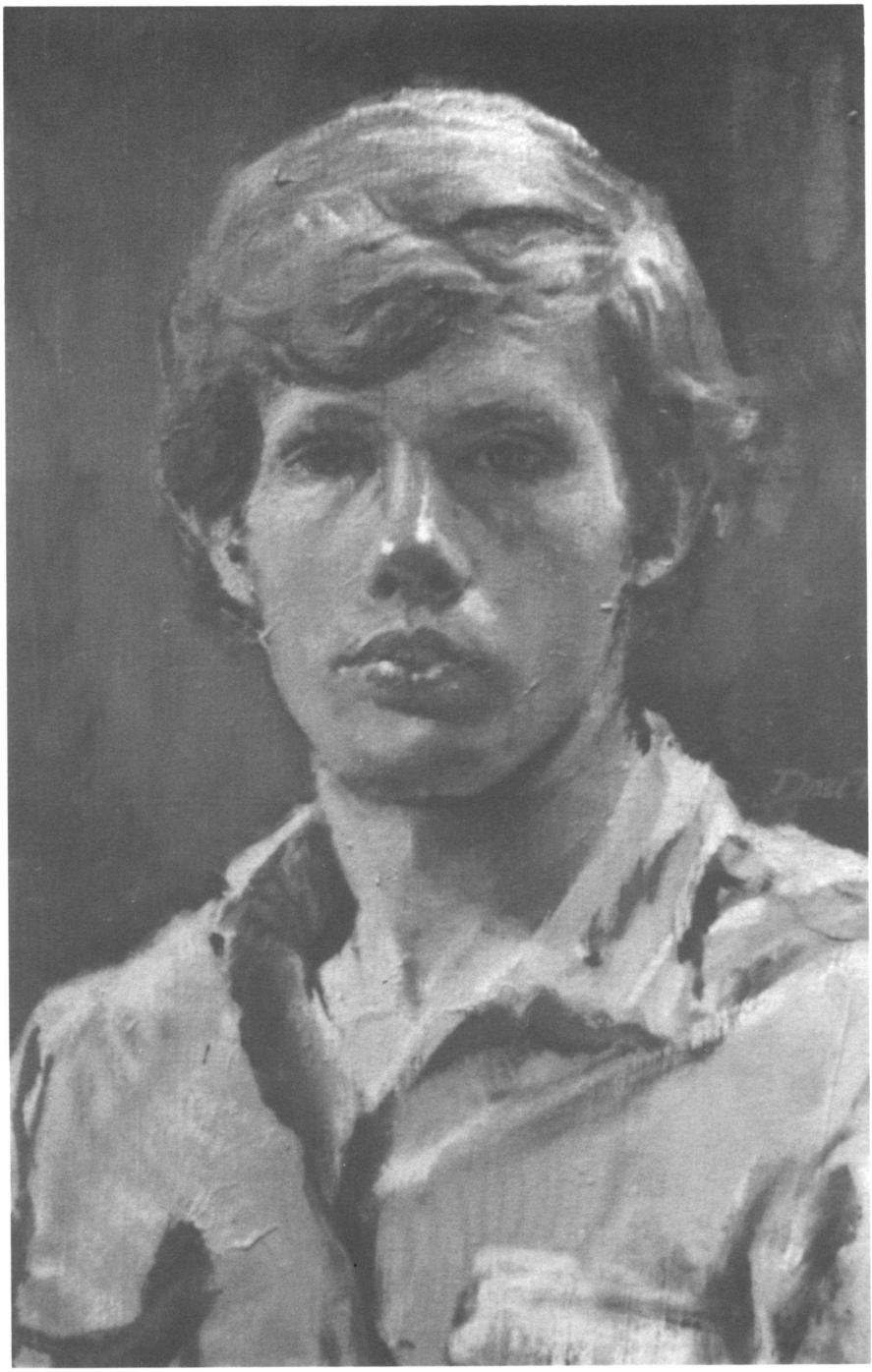
Again, who determines this correspondence? The living prophet decides to what extent his own revelations, as well as those of former prophets (WORD-2), actually correspond to the pure revelation of God (WORD-1). But if the prophet can record WORD-2 fallibly, it is not at all clear how he "ensures the written word will be interpreted and applied correctly to new contexts" (58).

If one should read Robinson as allowing for the possibility that the initial WORD-2 could have erred, it does not seem to be very congruent with Blomberg's understanding of inerrancy. He said, "We believe that God superintended this process so as to *guarantee* both *the accuracy of the results* and the specific nature of the *content* God wished the *inspired text* to include" (37, emphasis added). Blomberg seems oblivious to this distinction between his understanding of an inerrant original text and Robinson's possible understanding of an inerrant direct revelation with a resulting possible fallible text, since Blomberg affirmed in his joint conclusion, "We hold the same understanding of 'inerrancy,' though the LDS would use different terms to say the same things" (75). Granted this possible understanding of Robinson, Blomberg needed to ask him how he could affirm this understanding of the origin of scripture, while at the same time affirm the abbreviated version of the "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy" that Blomberg quoted: "Inerrancy means that when all facts are known, the Scriptures in their *original autographs* and properly interpreted will be shown to be *wholly true in every-*

thing that they affirm, whether that has to do with doctrine or morality or with the social, physical or life sciences" (35, emphasis added).

It may be surprising to many (both LDS and non-LDS) to read how Robinson may have extended this same logic to the Book of Mormon (compare 56-57). Thus the current edition, as well as the original recording of the Book of Mormon, may not, strictly speaking, be the word of God. They may simply be the words of fallible men who were the recipients of a pure, inerrant word of God, which they consequently attempted to record to the best of *their* ability (this view would seem to fit best with such passages as 1 Nephi 19:6 and Mormon 8:12, 14, 17, 9:33). Concerning the Book of Mormon, Robinson is again far from clear. He says in endnote 7, "See, for example, the title page of the Book of Mormon where the prophet declares, 'And now, if there are faults, they are the mistakes of men.' That is, the revelation itself is not at fault but may be vulnerable to human error in the course of transmission" (205). Given the distinction already discussed between WORD-1 versus WORD-2, we need an account of what type of "revelation" and what type of "human error" (prophets/apostles or merely scribes) are being referred to.

The rest of the discussion of this chapter primarily centers on the question of canonicity, and some of the problems and rebuttals for the supposed latter-day scriptures. Blomberg claims that the canon is open in principle, but closed in terms of practice. Robinson, on the other hand, rejects the canon being closed in any sense. As one who holds to latter-day scriptures, he continually wants to stress that they are in no way contrary to the original *revelation* God gave in the Old and New Testaments simply because they were added to them. The extent to which Robinson succeeds in supporting this claim is something each reader must decide. In so doing, each will determine for him- or herself *How Wide the Divide?*



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ABOUT THE ARTIST

Daniel Bischoff Baxter was born on 7 July 1948 to Kenneth and Ada B. Baxter in Ogden, Utah. His life in art began at an early age. For many years he and his brother, Ken, spent Wednesday nights and Saturdays painting under the instruction of Frank Ericksen. Following graduation from West High School in 1966, Dan received several scholarships to attend the University of Utah, including a Sterling Scholarship in art, an academic scholarship, and one in gymnastics. He graduated from the University of Utah in 1973 with a B.F.A.

As a protégé of Alvin Gittins, Dan taught figure painting and drawing at the University of Utah for two years and also conducted classes privately. He completed his formal education with two scholarships to the National Academy of Art and the Art Students League in New York City, where he studied with Daniel Greene, a portrait artist well known on the East Coast. Dan lived for several years in New York City and San Francisco where he primarily painted landscape, portrait, and city scenes. He died of AIDS in Salt Lake City in 1986 at age thirty-eight. "One has to wonder if Danny were alive and painting these past ten years," wrote Bevan M. Chipman in 1997, "what heights he might have attained."

—*Adapted from* Revisiting Dan Baxter, *an exhibition catalog, prepared in 1997 by the Friends of Dan Baxter.*

PAINTINGS

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