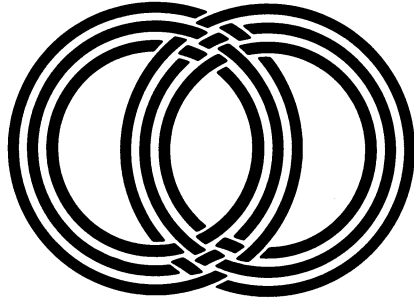


DIALOGUE

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
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effort is made to ensure
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LETTERS

Dreaming of Zion

I applaud David Pace's courage in "going public" with his article, "After the Second Fall: A Personal Journey Toward Ethnic Mormonism" (Spring 1998), especially given his illustrious Mormon background.

I was one of those adoring BYU students in the mid-1970s who basked in the charismatic glow of his father. As a "backward" Mormon—I had been converted to Christ at thirteen, and to Mormonism at sixteen—I loved George Pace's emphasis on our personal relationship with the Savior. When he was chastised by the church for teaching such doctrine, I was quite bewildered. When he caved in to "follow the Brethren," I was angry. This was a seminal moment in my own personal journey.

David's choice to resign his church membership raises questions about my own choice to stay in. I wonder if his is the wiser choice. I wonder what he will tell his children. I wonder from which side—in or out—I can best serve the church I love. I wonder if I am doing any good by my years of service on ward and stake councils, where I am generally regarded as a gadfly, but afforded some respect. Am I helping to build Zion or a Tower of Babel?

In a recent conversation with my husband, he asked, "Do you think the church is on target in building a Zion community?" "No, unfortunately not," I replied. "What will it take to change that?" he queried. "Revolution. Revelation. People who see. People who listen. People who love truly."

I can only hope that David is right to leave, as I hope I am right to stay. I can only pray that we visionary revolutionists—all those, both in and

out of the church, who dream of Zion—will pursue the journey with integrity, will see clearly, listen carefully, and love purely. God bless us all.

Lisa Garfield
Tigard, Oregon

Saying No

By the first few paragraphs of "Drinking Blue Milk" (Spring 1998), I was completely captivated by the beautiful, moving, imaginative writing of Tessa Meyer Santiago, and fell instantly in love with her and it—a writing so powerful that when I reached the part of the prolonged emotional rape and its terrible consequences, it ripped my heart apart and made me weep inside. I could not sleep, though forty years as a general practitioner had inured me to tragedy and protected me from too much intense vicarious pain (a doctor can afford only so much empathy drain).

Every young girl should know (if she is at all "good looking") that when her breasts develop and she starts to become a woman with its associated drives and sensations, the male wolves will prowl hungrily around, and some of them may be relatives, whom she would ordinarily trust. This is the dark side of the eons' old mating process of all life on earth (including human life). The emotions and sensory responses are not evil (millennia of clerical warping to the contrary), but were placed there by a benign creator to ensure perpetuity of the species.

A girl should know how to cope with these new (exquisitely exciting) and troubling reactions. She should be prepared to stomp on any unwelcome overture from any source, with

whatever means necessary—an artful dodge, a raised eyebrow, a plea, a gentle “no,” a firm “no,” a threat, a push, a shove, a flight, a scratch, a bite, or even a bullet. Hopefully it can be done gently without alienation or devastation. This may not be easy, for she may find that she emotionally does not want to say “no.” She must, however, control her half of this fierce (hormonally driven) instinct.

Societal mores dictate bounds, forged from long experience, that are both good and bad. Religious bounds, sometimes prurient in their extremes, are designed to impose control through guilt. To learn about ourselves, a certain amount of experimenting with emotions must and should be done by youths, despite the cautions and the inherent dangers.

The actuality of her emotional rape can’t be changed, so emotional adjustments to it must and can be made. The terrible “flashbacks” she is experiencing are now damaging (and may destroy) her wonderful marriage, unless they are attenuated. A very good, experienced psychiatrist might help if she could find one and afford it. The catharsis of writing about it may be adequate. I’m sure God understands, and will “forgive” anything needing forgiveness. Many of us will be praying for her.

She should not despair. Feel and share the emotional agony of Joseph Smith in his impassioned prayer in D&C 121. When she overcomes the intrusive devastating memories, Mrs. Santiago will be able (with her beautiful power of expression) to help countless other girls who may find themselves in similar situations. She will “save” herself (salvage her own life) in the process. May God grant her the strength and faith to persevere

and succeed! I look forward to more gifts from her pen.

Lew W. Wallace
San Gabriel, California

Belief in an Amoral System

Michael Zimmerman wrote an excellent piece on the adversarial judicial system institutionalized in this country in the spring 1998 issue. This article was well written and truly defined the ethical and moral dilemma of the legal profession. His understatement about the “public’s increasing dislike or distrust of lawyers” was eloquent. He identified two primary reasons for this dislike of the profession: The lawyers’ clientele and the morality of obfuscating the truth.

He, like most of his colleagues financially dependent on the system, misses the real reason we dislike lawyers. Lawyers and judges perpetuate a system where lying, deception, withholding vital facts, and the miscarriage of justice are merely “our ethical duty.” I think we dislike the legal profession because it does not rise up and demand a better way. Consider this: a man commits a horrible crime. The legal system commits vast resources protecting this man’s “rights” (many of which are just thirty years old) rather than cooperatively finding the truth about the crime and applying the justice (punishment) mandated by our representative elected officials. Mr. Zimmerman documented the reasons this “amoral conduct is so inviting” and rationalized them as lucidly as I have ever read. To exemplify lawyers’ behavior by quoting Murray Schwartz—“a lawyer is neither legally, professionally, nor morally ac-

countable for the means used or the ends achieved"—is chilling. He did not mention his firm belief that this system is superior to others. (*Res ipsa loquitur.*) He sees no inherent evil in the system and does not "suggest that the adversary system should be abandoned." I ask why not?

According to Mr. Zimmerman, people dislike lawyers because we don't understand the position lawyers are in when they practice within the adversarial system. I maintain our dislike of lawyers goes much deeper than any misunderstanding of legal ethics. Our distrust has been spawned by the lawyers' misuse of this system. Why haven't lawyers risen up and demanded change to our flawed system? They claim our common heritage (perverted as it has become) is the only fair way and is even the best way to deal with crime and dispute resolution. Does anyone besides lawyers believe this is the best system? Given this belief in an amoral system, is there any wonder why we distrust and dislike lawyers?

Michael R. Warner
Manassas, Virginia

Telling Her Side

Thank you for publishing Sarah L. Smith's essay, "Not Spirit, Not Law," in your spring 1998 issue. It means a great deal that you gave our mother the chance to tell her side of a painful situation that was hard for us to understand. Since the completion of the essay, we have heard of several cases in which inactive or less active parents were allowed to speak at their children's missionary farewells/homecomings.

Although she doesn't share our activity in the church, she has a truly Christlike manner, and has supported and loved us in our missions, callings, meetings, and activities, even when it was difficult for her to do so. And we have tried to support and love her in everything she does. Welcome encouragement has also come from others who have read the article. Again, thank you.

Darrell L. Smith
Danny K. Smith
David J. Smith
Orem, Utah

The Missionary Uniform

In "Tying Flowers into Knots" (Spring 1998), J. Todd Ormsbee states that he had better success handing out copies of the Book of Mormon on Preparation Day in France while wearing jeans and tee shirts than when wearing standard missionary costume. I had a similar experience in California.

In the mid-1950s, I spent two and a half years in Uruguay. In those days we had to wear our suit coats at all times, though it was hot and humid in the summer. We also wore 1930s style fedoras anytime we were outside. We stood out like two sore thumbs. After graduating in 1958 in physics from BYU, I accepted a job at the Naval Ordnance Testing Station in the desert at China Lake, California. The church soon called me to be a district missionary for the Ridgecrest Branch of the California Mission. Our district headquarters was some distance away in Barstow and we rarely saw those leaders.

My companion was a middle-

aged engineer. I was initially shocked to find that he wore Levis and sport shirts on our missionary visits, but I soon eagerly conformed. That first year, working just two evenings a week, more converts accepted the gospel than had in my two and a half years in Uruguay. Then they made us a branch of the stake in Lancaster. The stake mission leaders forced us into compliance using the Missionary Uniform. The stake president also told all men in a stake priesthood meeting that wearing anything other than a pure white shirt to church was verboten. We were unable to convert any of the local Desert Rats the following year. They wanted no part of an organization that wore suits and ties in 115-degree weather.

Jack Lovett
Orem, Utah

Hidden Beauty

Reading Michael Quinn on Mormon Fundamentalists (in the summer 1998 issue) is like reading Robert Thurman on Tibetan Buddhism. One gets the feeling that the author knows a lot about his subject.

I'm not at all surprised that some young Mormons join these groups so they can discuss "deep doctrine," in lieu of the main church's tendency not to discuss doctrine. Where are our "study groups" of yesterday?

Quinn says the young men leave these polygyny groups, leaving more young women for the polygamist men. Why do the boys leave? Quinn doesn't say. Are they being RUN OFF?! And why do the girls stay? Is it that they look forward to being a man's *favorite* sex partner? Quinn's corollary is not surprising—that the women most likely to seek divorce are the first wives.

It must be very sad for a first wife to watch her husband of many years romance a sweet young thing. Maybe in the future he can be stimulated by Viagra instead, and internalize the sentiment of Thomas Hardy:

I see her in an aging shape,
Where beauty used to be;
That her fond phantom
 lingers there
Is only known to me.

Joseph Jeppson
Woodside, California

Courting

Peter Richardson

I. Prayer

Bless us as we try to find
ourselves,
each other.

II.

Went to play ball
on the low hoops on 9th East.
Got next game with my buddies.
The team we challenge has a girl
playing. When we walk on
the court, she picks me to guard.
She's tough here, sweating
and gritting her teeth, playing with the boys,
not afraid to mix it up.
I'm a little uncomfortable
playing defense on her.
Then I get a pass that leads me past her;
open path to the basket, I dribble twice and dunk
the ball weakly. She is behind me,
and before I can land
she clips my feet out from under me.
Trying to twist in air, I break my fall with a hand, land
on my back. I'm embarrassed and bleeding
and have no idea what she did
(snicker? gloat? feel remorse?)
as I walked off the court applying
direct pressure to the cut on my hand
which stayed infected for 2 months
and left a pink scar.

III. Rodin's "The Hand of God"

There is no doubt this Hand is flesh,
a creator of the physical.
Softly curving couple, contorted and still soft
in their effort to find each other,
to touch and fulfill, to fit.
The Hand is bigger than their life. Maybe shielding, maybe blessing,
maybe creating, or it may be that its work is done
and now it's backing out to go somewhere else.
But for now, it's in the picture, and there is no doubt
it's physical.

IV.

4 hours alone with my mind in the car driving back to California
from Las Vegas. Despair, creating absurd scenarios, hope,
back to despair.

V. Prayer

I suppose I'm supposed to be thanking you now.
Right? You've answered my prayers.
I left it in your hands.
Right?
I'm off the hook, away from something unhealthy.
I've suffered
and that is for my own good.
I'm stronger now. I've learned something.
You've got something waiting
in the shadows for me
and I'll be so thankful
when I find out what that is.
Right?

VI.

This woman I see
every day when I leave my building.
She walks in
the door as I walk out.
Walking smartly, our schedules cross paths.
We have noticed each other.
I can close my eyes now
and see the lines of her legs.
My mind can take me into a meeting
with her—stopping her at the door,
her weighted dark hair, the sound
of a voice I've never heard.
But I have no precedent for this.
I have no name for her.
At best she is a pronoun,
maybe a metaphor
for the distances involved
in passing by,
in longing.

VII.

Falling in love with the woman who waited my table at Nunzio's
who helped me find a Tindersticks CD at Blockbuster
who sits in the car next to mine
at the red light.

VIII.

Remedios la Bella is dead.
So is the young Italian woman
in *The Godfather*.

She made me angry because of her idyllic
nature: written by a man who dreamed his appetites.
Of course that Italian beauty had to be blown up,
and of course I don't remember
her name (how could she have one?).

Remedios isn't really dead.
She is a figure that when stretched
beyond its bounds
falls, shrivels, deflates—
the down after the high
that's lower than before the high,
that leaves us with nothing but
sleep that I rub out of my eyes.

IX.

The trick is going to be falling
in love with someone
I actually know who actually knows me.

X.

I am inside a prism
that reaches out into a point
straight ahead at my eye level.
Just outside the transparent parameters
of this prism is the woman
I saw from behind at the grocery store,
dark luxuriant hair, compact body
and her boyfriend's arm draped
over her shoulders (he was wearing sunglasses
which signified an utter lack of style or taste).

When I saw her more clearly, she was
somehow not so appealing. But
even if she had lived up to the promise
of her hair
I think she would've been outside
the prism I'm in
that narrows and narrows
into a clear-eyed point
in front of me in the distance.



“One Flesh:” A Historical Overview of Latter-day Saint Sexuality and Psychology

Eric G. Swedin

THE ISSUE OF SEXUALITY, its expression or non-expression, even questions about its very nature, torments American culture. Various philosophies and systems of morality abound which advocate chastity, promiscuity, sex solely for procreation, sex for recreation, and every possible variation imaginable. Within the LDS community, the primary values which have defined the boundaries of sexuality are procreation and chastity. In 1975 church president Spencer W. Kimball reaffirmed these values:

The union of the sexes, husband and wife (and only husband and wife), was for the principal purpose of bringing children into the world. Sexual experiences were never intended by the Lord to be a mere plaything or merely to satisfy passions and lusts. We know of no directive from the Lord that proper sexual experience between husbands and wives need be limited totally to the procreation of children, but we find much evidence from Adam until now that no provision was ever made by the Lord for indiscriminate sex.¹

Of all the values which Mormons try to live, the value of chastity is probably one of the most difficult. In the early 1970s a member of the church's First Presidency estimated that “75 percent of the problems crossing his desk each day were sex-related.”² The prevalence of sexual issues is certainly not unique to the LDS community, but rather reflects the obsessions of mainstream America.

The focus of psychotherapists and our society on sexual issues is not

1. Spencer W. Kimball, “The Lord’s Plan for Men and Women,” *Ensign* 5 (Oct. 1975): 4.

2. Kenneth L. Cannon, “Needed: An LDS Philosophy of Sex,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 58.

just a byproduct of Freud and his psychosexual theory. Western society, so focused on religious issues in the nineteenth century, turned to sexual issues in the twentieth century. This widespread cultural focus is reflected in the preoccupations of institutionalized schizophrenics. A study comparing patients admitted into the Bethlem Royal Hospital in England during the years 1853-62 and 1950-60 found that "three times as many patients of both sexes had religious preoccupations in the nineteenth century as compared with the twentieth century," and "approximately twice as many patients of both sexes had sexual preoccupations in the twentieth century group as compared with the nineteenth century group." The authors tentatively concluded: the preoccupations of schizophrenics, almost certainly suffering from an organic illness, are "culturally determined."³

Obviously, the mainstream sexual values of nineteenth-century America and early-twentieth-century America are in sharp contrast to post-World War II America. The traditional prohibition of sexual relations outside of marriage has faded among an onslaught of explicit sexuality in all forms of media and everyday discourse. Historian John C. Burnham argues that the acceptance of what had once been defined as sexual misbehavior is interconnected with the other minor vices: drinking, smoking, taking drugs, gambling, and swearing. This constellation of "bad habits" has moved from being socially condemned to being tolerated, even accepted. These "pleasurable 'misdemeanors' are (within very broad extremes)" nowadays considered to be "harmless, natural, spontaneous, sociable, and without significance."⁴ A key contributor in this dramatic social change was the opportunism of the "merchandisers of the minor vices," who through gradual stages cultivated their markets.⁵ "Central to the new standards was the idea that individual, not community, standards should be the basis for judging conduct."⁶ Since the LDS community considers its communal values to be superior to any individual, such a contrary emphasis in American values was bound to create disagreement.

The LDS community generally views contemporary American society as disordered. The values which Mormons hold dear bring order to their lives. Chastity brings order to a culture, a community, an individ-

3. Franklin S. Klaf and John G. Hamilton, "Schizophrenia—A Hundred Years Ago and Today," *Journal of Mental Science* 107 (Sept. 1961): 827.

4. John C. Burnham, *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), xvii.

5. *Ibid.*, 294.

6. *Ibid.*, 22. An interesting consequence of this emphasis on individuality is the rise of New Age spirituality, where each person is the sole arbitrator of religious truth and meaning, a consumer of a wide variety of ideas from all religious traditions.

ual's own psyche, and keeps him or her in the correct relationship with deity. Breaking the value of chastity brings disorder in the form of sin, guilt, venereal diseases, unwed pregnancies, and a fraying of family bonds.

BIRTH CONTROL

The convenience and effectiveness of new forms of birth control was a major contributor to the change in sexual values within America. It is instructive to examine the changing attitudes within the LDS community towards restricting fertility. During the first century of Mormonism, birth control was commonly associated with abortion, and both were anathema. Latter-day Saints were encouraged to produce as many children as possible. A belief in a pre-existence promoted the idea that eager spirits waited to be born.⁷

When the birth control movement started in the United States, Mormon leaders reacted with horror. The prophet at the time, Joseph F. Smith, wrote in 1908: "I do not hesitate to say that prevention is wrong ... It destroys the morals of a community and nation. It creates hatred and selfishness in the hearts of men and women ... it disregards or annuls the great commandment of God to man, 'Multiply and replenish the earth.'"⁸ Smith recognized that there were circumstances where "weak and sickly people" should avoid child-bearing, yet in his "estimation no prevention, even in such cases, is legitimate except through absolute abstinence."⁹

The church hierarchy had cause for concern. The birth rate among Mormons was declining, mirroring a national trend. The birth rate among Latter-day Saints has always exceeded the national rate, but in 1910 each Mormon family contained, on average, four to five children. Twenty years earlier the rate had probably been above five children; by the mid-1960s that average dropped to below four children.¹⁰ Regardless of the attitudes of the church hierarchy, members of the LDS community were practicing fertility control.

During the late 1930s and 1940s, the attitude of some LDS general authorities changed, allowing the rhythm method as a suitable option.

7. See Brigham Young, "The People of God Disciplined By Trials," *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 4 (Liverpool, Eng.: S. W. Richards, 1857), 56.

8. Joseph F. Smith, "Editor's Table: A Vital Question," *Improvement Era* 11 (Oct. 1908): 959-60.

9. *Ibid.*, 960.

10. Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Birth Control Among the Mormons: Introduction to an Insistent Question," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 23. See also Tim B. Heaton and Sandra Calkins, "Contraceptive Use Among Mormons, 1965-75," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Autumn 1983): 106-109.

Other leaders remained loyal to the old position.¹¹ In 1969 a compromise was published as a formal statement.

We seriously regret that there should exist a sentiment or feeling among any members of the church to curtail the birth of their children ... However, we feel that men must be considerate of their wives who bear the greater responsibility not only of bearing children, but of caring for them through childhood. To this end the mother's health and strength should be conserved and the husband's consideration for his wife is his first duty, and self-control a dominant factor in all their relationships.

It is our further feeling that married couples should seek inspiration and wisdom from the Lord that they may exercise discretion in solving their marital problems, and that they may be permitted to rear their children in accordance with the teachings of the Gospel.¹²

In essence, the church asked its members to exercise personal inspiration and be responsible for their own decisions. Surveys have shown that a large percentage of Saints practices birth control, though the ideal of the large family remains firmly entrenched.¹³

The attitude towards abortion has also changed. In a 1976 statement the First Presidency wrote:

The Church opposes abortion and counsels its members not to submit to, be a party to, or perform an abortion except in the rare cases where, in the opinion of competent medical counsel, the life or health of the woman is seriously endangered or where the pregnancy was caused by forcible rape and produces serious emotional trauma in the victim. Even then it should be done only after counseling with the local bishop or branch president and after receiving divine confirmation through prayer ... As far as has been revealed, the sin of abortion is one for which a person may repent and gain forgiveness.¹⁴

Sexuality has always been considered a good. Those Saints who "inherit" the highest kingdom of heaven, the Celestial, assume the roles of gods and goddesses (D&C 132:19). In this state they continue to procreate, thus transforming the power of procreation into a divine attribute. This is usually viewed as a continuation of physical sexuality.¹⁵ To be

11. Bush, 24-25.

12. First Presidency Statement, 14 Apr. 1969, quoted in Bush, 27.

13. Bush, 32.

14. "Church Issues Statement on Abortion," *Ensign* 6 (July 1976): 76. For a review of the church's stance on abortion, as well as other issues, such as sterilization and artificial insemination, see Lester E. Bush, "Ethical Issues in Reproductive Medicine: A Mormon Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Summer 1985): 41-66.

15. For a view which questions if procreation within the Celestial Kingdom is a physical act, see Lowell L. Bennion, "This—Worldly and Other—Worldly Sex: A Response," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Autumn 1967): 106-108.

married and attempting to produce children is a religious duty. This is in contrast to the monastic tradition of older forms of Christianity, which clearly promoted celibacy as a higher form of spirituality. Within the LDS community, the highest spirituality is found in motherhood and fatherhood.

CREATION OF AN LDS PHILOSOPHY OF SEXUALITY

Rhetoric from the pulpit at church conferences has changed over time on the issue of sexual immorality. Very little was said about the topic in the church's first century because it was by and large a value that converged with contemporary mainstream American values, though nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints diverged considerably in their values toward marriage. The widespread practice of polygamy, especially among leaders, was considered the ideal form of matrimony. The acrimony this caused with the United States government is an interesting study in divisiveness. This divide was healed in 1890 when the church renounced polygamy, moving the LDS community into even more complete harmony with the mainstream values of America.¹⁶

American society did not remain static, but began its own transformation in sexual values. This revolution began in the lower classes within urban areas and gradually spread to find its culmination in post-World War II baby-boomers. The value of chastity was cast aside in favor of sexual liberation.¹⁷ LDS church leaders reacted by emphasizing more often and more strongly the value of chastity.¹⁸

Mormon understanding of the ramifications of chastity has been expanded through the efforts of LDS psychotherapists, though LDS therapists have found the process difficult because of the inherent shyness within the LDS community about sexuality. There are numerous accounts by therapists of inadequate sexual knowledge discovered in clients and

16. See Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias—the Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); and Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987).

17. See John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

18. See Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 253. See also Harold T. Christensen, "The Persistence of Chastity: A Built-in Resistance Within Mormon Culture to Secular Trends," *Sunstone* 7 (Mar./Apr. 1982): 7-14; and Marvin Rytting and Ann Rytting, "Exhortations for Chastity: A Content Analysis of Church Literature," *Sunstone* 7 (Mar./Apr. 1982): 15-21.

students.¹⁹ Surveys have found a dramatic difference between the rates of non-marital sexual experiences between Mormons and mainstream Americans. The LDS community does strive to adhere to the principle of chastity, yet, in a paradox similar to the consumption of alcohol among LDS teenagers, a sociologist found "that Mormons are somewhat more promiscuous when they *do* have premarital coitus."²⁰ A 1972 survey of LDS college students found that 19 percent of men who regularly attended church had engaged in "intercourse outside of marriage," while only 1 percent of comparable women had. For Latter-day Saints who did not regularly attend church, the statistic was 63 percent of men, 52 percent of women.²¹

A survey in 1976 found few books for sexual education in the LDS community.²² Mormons had not yet responded to the strong drive within mainstream society to provide material on sexuality. In an article published that same year, Kenneth L. Cannon, a professor of family relations at Brigham Young University, called for an LDS philosophy of sex. He wanted to penetrate the fog of confusion and, through the cooperation of "family life educators and enlightened church members and their leaders," develop "clear guidelines" for the LDS community.²³ This call was answered in a variety of ways.

At Brigham Young University an Institute for Studies in Human Behavior and Values was founded in 1976 to make psychology more gospel-centric. The institute disbanded in 1981, though the scholars involved have continued to work towards integrating the gospel with modern psychologies. One of the projects which grew out of the institute was a book by Victor L. Brown, Jr., *Human Intimacy: Illusion and Reality*. Brown had earlier served as Commissioner of LDS Social Services.²⁴ The book was published in Salt Lake City by Parliament Publishers, and not the church's publishing arm, Deseret Book, to distance the work from the official church, thus encouraging its acceptance among non-LDS therapists. Even so, church headquarters sent copies of the book to every bishop and stake president, thus promoting its contents as a quasi-official LDS phi-

19. See Cannon, 58.

20. Harold T. Christensen, "Mormon Sexuality in Cross-Cultural Perspective," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 71, emphasis in original.

21. Wilford E. Smith, "Mormon Sex Standards on College Campuses, or Deal Us Out of the Sexual Revolution," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 77.

22. Shirley B. Paxman, "Sex Education Materials for Latter-day Saints," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10 (Autumn 1976): 113-16. An early attempt at sexual education occurred in the 1960s with Ernest Eberhard, Jr., *Sacred or Secret? A Parents' Handbook for Sexuality Guidance of Their Children* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967).

23. Cannon, 61.

24. Victor L. Brown, Jr., *Human Intimacy: Illusion & Reality* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Publishers, 1981).

losophy of sex.²⁵

Brown argued that the views of contemporary American society on sexuality are illusions. The

Realities of human intimacy are love, trust, service, sacrifice, and discipline. Opposed to these realities are the glamorous illusions marketed by our society that equate intimacy with an obsession with self, an insistence that every appetite is legitimate and must be gratified, and, most tragic of all, the belief that the laws of human relations can be violated without damaging consequences.²⁶

Brown condemned American values which, he said, thrive on fragmentation rather than promote a holistic sexuality. "Through fragmentation, the larger matter of human intimacy is reduced to the smaller part of sex."²⁷ Sexual fragmentation enables "its users to counterfeit intimacy" and "can be particularly harmful because it gives powerful physiological rewards" when its users "mentally and physically use parts of another's body to gratify their appetite for power."²⁸

Brown decried the emphasis on technique which the newly emergent sex therapies of the 1970s often promoted. Furthermore, he condemned the "careless acceptance of masturbation as an inconsequential natural function."²⁹ He argued that the incidence of chronic masturbation is much less than Alfred Kinsey's misunderstood report suggested. Furthermore, habitual masturbation has negative consequences because

the individual cannot develop the attitudes and behaviors which will help him develop and retain close and rewarding relationships. Masturbation's consequences are social-emotional isolation and erotic obsession. As two proponents of masturbation said—ironically, with approval—it "means that one need not please anyone else or take another person's needs into consideration."³⁰

25. Carlfred B. Broderick, review of *Human Intimacy: Illusion and Reality*, by Victor L. Brown, Jr., *AMCAP Journal* 8 (Jan. 1982): 26. AMCAP is the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists, founded in 1974. It publishes the *AMCAP Journal*, newsletters, and holds semi-annual conferences on applying LDS values and theology to psychotherapy.

26. Brown, xii. Brown published an earlier book using the insights of the modern psychologies as a primer on life: Victor L. Brown, Jr., and Regenia Moody Chadwick, *On Being Human* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971).

27. *Ibid.*, 6.

28. *Ibid.*, 5.

29. *Ibid.*, 73.

30. *Ibid.*, 75. The quote is from Suzanne Sarnoff and Irving Sarnoff, *Sexual Excitement, Sexual Peace* (New York: M. Evans and Company, 1979), 28.

Brown feared that the attitudes honed in the solitude of masturbation contribute to an eroticization of relationships. "Couples ... who see each other primarily as instruments of erotic gratification literally ignore personality and character while sensual pleasures dominate."³¹ Instead, the ideal to which sexuality should be harnessed is an intimacy between husband and wife based on the use of "relationship skills" to create a complete relationship, of which physical sex is only a part. This is "an enduring relationship between whole people. It includes communion with one's innermost self and union with others in social-emotional, mental, physical, and spiritual ways ... Lasting, rewarding intimacy with self and others is the result of wise and disciplined living, not the quick and easy indulgence of appetite."³²

Brown wrote a hard-hitting polemic. Ironically, for a work which sought a wider, non-LDS audience, it is somewhat confusing. Brown's entire set of assumptions is hidden because they are based on the values of the LDS community. The value of chastity is implicit in such passages as:

Proponents of premarital sexual activity argue that sex before commitment is a valid test of the future relationship. This is illogical to the extreme. There can be no valid test of the relationship without the weight of a very formal commitment ... Either the commitment is considered binding—in which case it amounts to something like marriage and might as well include the ceremony—or else it is a "yours-mine" contract with limitations, qualifications, and escape clauses.³³

For a Mormon, Brown's work provided clarity; for non-Mormons, only confusion.

Brown's work was ignored by outside reviewers, yet prompted considerable discussion within the LDS therapist community.³⁴ Marybeth Raynes, a clinical social worker, used her review of Brown's ideas to voice broader concerns regarding LDS culture. "We have experienced collectively in the Church a winter season of buried feelings, ideas, actions.

31. *Ibid.*, 117.

32. *Ibid.*, 2, 3.

33. *Ibid.*, 116.

34. Brown applied his approach more clearly to the LDS context in Victor L. Brown, Jr., "Healing Problems of Intimacy by Clients' Use of Gospel-based Values and Role Definitions," *BYU Studies* 26 (Winter 1986): 5-29. The only non-LDS psychologist to review Brown's approach was in response to this article; see H. Newton Malony, "Facilitating Intimacy: The Process and Product, A Response to Victor L. Brown, Jr.," *BYU Studies* 26 (Winter 1986): 31-36. Two issues of the *AMCAP Journal*, 8 (Jan. 1982) and 8 (Oct. 1982), also contain articles addressing Brown's book.

Discussing sexuality openly has been difficult."³⁵ In other essays Raynes has argued that certain social structures within the church inhibit the creation of non-sexual intimacy between the sexes. In most circumstances church organizations for teenagers are separated by gender and only occasionally participate in activities together. Raynes draws from this an "ironic" implication.

The policy that the sexes must be segregated only underscore the belief that all male-female relationships are basically sexual, not spiritual or social. Although I am sure that the intent of the policy to segregate men and women is to deemphasize sexuality, in fact it highlights sex all the more. Regular social interactions such as a service project, tracking membership charts, planning a ward dinner or conducting a meeting become sexual not only because they are generally assigned only to one sex or the other, but because there are explicit prohibitions to doing such activities between the sexes alone. A premise of danger and difference underscores many male-female relations in the Church, whether as teens or adults. And when sex is perceived as dangerous or unpredictable, all forms of interactions between women and men must be limited in prescribed ways.³⁶

This segregation creates a chilly environment, and as a consequence "cross-sex friendships are rare in Mormon culture."³⁷ The emphasis on chastity and the LDS community's reluctance to discuss sexual matters can, from a certain perspective, be ascribed to fear. It can also be ascribed to an attitude of sacredness. Sex is a sacred mystery, to delve too deeply would compound the mystery and tarnish the sacred.

Another reviewer thought that Brown's book would not appeal to "most academics and therapists specializing in intimacy." With respect to the central theme of the book, illusion and reality:

What makes me suspicious, however, is that reality always comes down on the side of traditional Mormon values, while every other point of view ends up being illusion. It seems as if the conclusions precede the analysis. Most disturbing is the way in which Brown oversimplifies and distorts opposing points of view, making them into straw men which can easily be dismissed

35. Marybeth Raynes, "Perspectives on Human Intimacy: A Response," *AMCAP Journal* 8 (Jan. 1982): 24. This has been a common theme in Raynes's writings, see Raynes, "Issues of Intimacy: Dilemmas of Marital Sexual Intimacy," *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.-Oct. 1982): 59-62; Raynes, "Issues of Intimacy: Guilt and Intimacy," *Sunstone* 7 (May-June 1982): 62-63; and Bonnie Shaw, "Mormon Sexuality: An Interview with Mary Beth Raynes," *Exponent II* 9 (Fall 1982): 3-4.

36. Raynes, "Issues of Intimacy: Sexual Segregation," *Sunstone* 11 (Jan. 1987): 32. This essay is one of a regular column, "Issues of Intimacy," which Raynes wrote for *Sunstone* for a period of years.

37. *Ibid.*, 33.

as illusions. But for me, *his* illusions are illusions—misrepresentations of the real thing.³⁸

Brown's arguments are not without parallel in the broader American community. Edwin M. Schur, writing as an academic sociologist, critiqued modern America's sexual mores from a much different base. He tried to explain "why the apparent expansion of sexual choice and pleasure continues to be accompanied by such high frequencies of rape, sexual harassment, prostitution, and pornography."³⁹ Schur, a humanist and a feminist, asserts that "much of pornography's content features a systematic degradation of the individual that any real humanist would deplore."⁴⁰ He finds that larger trends within American life, such as a "general tendency toward depersonalization" and "our characteristic preoccupations with techniques and results," have led to an Americanization in how we approach sex.⁴¹

Depersonalization occurs because often "individuals view actual or potential sexual partners as replaceable objects and use them for their own purposes." The act of sex has been commercialized and commoditized, with "sexual responses and goals ... governed in large measure by abstract (culturally manufactured) images and associations."⁴² Prostitution and pornography are examples of this widespread value system. Sex becomes a "transaction" between individuals, with no personal obligation beyond the obligation to oneself to maximize pleasure.⁴³ If a transaction cannot be found, then coercion is used, of which rape is the most recognizable form.

Schur also takes to task the "depersonalizing impact" of modern sexuality.⁴⁴ Though sex research, such as the type engaged in by Alfred Kinsey or William Masters and Virginia Johnson, has taught us much, its methodology holds dangers.

By emphasizing physiology, sexual technique, and measurable results, it encourages us to view sexual relations as a mechanical process. As a result ... sex has been robbed of its natural spontaneity and joyfulness. It has been

38. Marvin Rytting, review of *Human Intimacy: Illusion and Reality*, by Victor L. Brown, Jr., in *Sunstone Review*, July 1982, 25, 33, emphasis in original. See also the book review by Phyllis Barber, "Intimacy in a Three-Piece Suit," review of *Human Intimacy: Illusion and Reality*, by Victor L. Brown, Jr., *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Spring 1984): 159-61.

39. Edwin M. Schur, *The Americanization of Sex* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 5. For a counterpoint which does not view prostitution in a negative light, see Nickie Roberts, *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992).

40. Schur, 197.

41. *Ibid.*, 199.

42. *Ibid.*, 33.

43. *Ibid.*, 34.

44. *Ibid.*, 51.

endlessly analyzed and quantified, disinterestedly observed and taught, and in the process it has been trivialized as well as depersonalized. Modern sexual science has thus led us to view sex as an abstraction, divorced from the immediacy and particularity of human relationships.⁴⁵

Sexologists have significantly affected American attitudes towards sex. For instance, in the nineteenth century masturbation was viewed with horror and all sorts of side-effects were attributed to it.⁴⁶ Havelock Ellis (1859-1939), arguably the first sexologist, transformed masturbation from "a malignant vice into a benign inevitability" in his writings. Masters and Johnson proceeded to elevate masturbation to the "ultimate criterion of correct sexual behavior." They even "suggest that the masturbatory orgasm is in some ways superior to that achieved in sexual intercourse."⁴⁷ Why should masturbation be thought of so highly? Should not sex be a social act? For both Schur and Brown, the social context is too often neglected when scholars and others turn their attention to the complexities of sexuality.

Schur provides a more convincing case than Brown for a number of reasons. Schur's agenda is visible, not veiled. Schur does not address the issue of chastity, which is not relevant to his value system. For Brown, chastity is the fundamental value upon which sexual expression rests. They both decry the divorce of sex as a physical act from an interpersonal emotional context. They both also argue that contemporary attitudes toward sexuality are based on illusion, not reality.⁴⁸

Another LDS therapist who has been developing an LDS philosophy of sex for more than three decades is Carlfred Broderick.⁴⁹ A nationally

45. Ibid., 49. See also André Béjin, "The Decline of the Psycho-analyst and the Rise of the Sexologist," in *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*, eds. Philippe Ariès and André Béjin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 181-200. Béjin portrays sexology as being preoccupied with orgasmology, and "on the ethical level" the orgasmologist "lays down a simple norm, the *orgasmic imperative* (not only the right, but the duty, to have an orgasm) plus the conditions for achieving this norm, which consist in a respect for the principles of 'sexual democracy' (a social contract which climaxes on a fifty-fifty basis)" (197).

46. For a review of this topic, see H. Tristram Engelhardt, Jr., "The Disease of Masturbation: Values and the Concept of Disease," in *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, eds. Judith Walzer Leavitt and Ronald L. Numbers, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 13-21. For a contemporary example of LDS counseling with respect to masturbation, see Wesley W. Craig, Jr., "Counseling the LDS Single Adult Masturbator: Successful Application of Social Learning Theory: A Case Study," *AMCAP Journal* 6 (Jan. 1980): 2-5.

47. Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters and Virginia Johnson* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 13. For a general overview of the history of scientific interest in sex, see Vern L. Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994).

48. Schur, 67.

49. See Carlfred Broderick, "Three Philosophies of Sex, Plus One," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Autumn 1967): 97-106.

prominent marital and family therapist, Broderick has published numerous professional works including a leading textbook and a prominent popular guide on marital relationships.⁵⁰ Broderick applied his knowledge for the LDS audience in a book, *One Flesh, One Heart: Putting Celestial Love Into Your Temple Marriage*. Despite believing that "the basic principles of psychology" are "telestial," Broderick finds "that people in the Church have the same sexual problems exactly as people outside the Church because they have the same sexual apparatus and attitudes, generally speaking, as others do. The same therapies work, the success rate is the same."⁵¹

Broderick also draws upon the Christian concept of stewardship when he urges members to consider their marriage and their sexuality as stewardships. And as with all stewardships, a person should nurture and expand that stewardship. This implies that a couple can exist at different levels within their sexual relationship, not only physically, but also emotionally and spiritually.⁵²

Other LDS therapists and many lay members of the LDS community have also written articles and guidance books promoting an LDS view of sexuality.⁵³ There is an active graduate program in marriage and family therapy at Brigham Young University, an appropriate emphasis considering the LDS accent on those areas of human life. In 1985 the church published *A Parent's Guide* for members to use when teaching their children about sex.⁵⁴ The content of this guide includes information reminiscent of Brown's approach. The thirst in the mid-1970s for an LDS philosophy of sexuality has been partially quenched. Theories have been presented and

50. Carlfred Broderick, *Marriage and the Family*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988); and Carlfred Broderick, *Couples: How to Confront Problems and Maintain Loving Relationships with a Consumer's Guide to Marital and Sexual Counselors* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979). For a personal essay on the basis of his faith, see Carlfred B. Broderick, "The Core of My Belief," in *A Thoughtful Faith: Essays on Belief by Mormon Scholars*, comp. and ed. Philip L. Barlow (Centerville, UT: Canon Press, 1986), 85-101.

51. Carlfred Broderick, *One Flesh, One Heart: Putting Celestial Love Into Your Temple Marriage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), ix; Carlfred Broderick, "New Wine in New Bottles," *AMCAP Journal* 1 (Oct. 1975): 33.

52. Broderick is particularly drawn to the idea of stewardship. See Carlfred Broderick, "President's Message: Will There Be Therapists in the Millennium?" *AMCAP Newsletter*, Spring 1983, 1, for the idea that psychotherapists also have a stewardship.

53. For example, see Kenneth R. Hardy, "An Appetitional Theory of Sexual Motivation: Its Contemporary Status and Applications in an Approach to Change," *AMCAP Journal* 15 (1989): 21-41, which expands his article of a quarter-century earlier, "An Appetitional Theory of Sexual Motivation," *Psychological Review* 71 (Jan. 1964): 1-18. See also the numerous books co-written by Wesley R. Burr, Brenton G. Yorgason, and Terry R. Baker, including their textbook, *Marriage & Family Stewardships* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982).

54. *A Parent's Guide* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985). For a critical review of this guide, see Terence L. Day, "A Parent's Guide: Sex Education or Erotophobia?" *Sunstone* 12 (Mar. 1988): 8-14.

elaborated upon, all centering around the core value of chastity. Many have continued to echo Raynes's pleas: "It is time for Church leaders to adopt a comprehensive approach to sexuality that includes positive messages emphasizing the joys and rewards of physical intimacy rather than focusing exclusively on the pitfalls of immorality."⁵⁵ These other voices, while still acknowledging the primacy of chastity, want to expand the potential of sexual and emotional intimacy. One area where voices have also been calling for change is homosexuality. The voices here have usually been irreconcilable.

HOMOSEXUALITY

Homosexuality is a special case of the complexity of sexuality and a topic which American psychology has grappled with during the last three decades. The decision in 1973 by the American Psychiatric Association to redefine homosexuality as nonpathological represented a major shift in psychiatric thinking.⁵⁶ Moving from the definitions of pathology which Freud had put forward, mainstream psychology has reached a point where sexual orientation is seen as mostly a non-issue, certainly not a sign of mental illness. Because American culture had previously defined homosexuality as abnormal, as a disease, most of the ensuing debate has centered around the etiology of homosexuality. Entire books have been written on this topic, and its difficult nature is reflected in the realist-essentialist debate that affects contemporary gay historiography. Suffice to say that "most of the evidence collected by sociologists and social anthropologists is inconclusive as far as questions of the etiology of an individual's sexual preferences or orientation are concerned."⁵⁷ Even with this uncertainty, historians can examine a community's attitudes toward this behavior and how self-identified homosexuals have banded together to form communities of their own.

The modern psychologies have been harnessed by both sides in this debate to lend support to preconceived views. If one accepts that homosexuality is nonpathological—a view which does not find much support within the LDS community—then therapy is not called for, except for the

55. Romel W. Mackelprang, "'And They Shall be One Flesh': Sexuality and Contemporary Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25 (Spring 1992): 64. This article is a good review, especially of the book by Rodney Turner, *Women and the Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), the issue of birth control, and whether sex should be enjoyed within marriage.

56. For an explanation of the social pressure, especially by gay activists, which prompted this decision, see Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

57. David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 489.

extent in which a gay person must learn to cope in a culture which has labeled him or her as a deviant. Certainly, this siege-like environment takes its emotional toll. Studies have found a much higher incidence of suicide among homosexuals. Those opposed to homosexuality have thrust forward these statistics as evidence of unbalanced personalities. Those defending the normalcy of homosexuality respond that the near-constant pressure of homophobia and the alienation from traditional support systems, like family and church, push people into suicidal behavior.⁵⁸

Latter-day Saint attitudes toward homosexuality within their own community have gone through three phases. The first, lasting until after World War II, is characterized by indifference. Non-heterosexual orientation was considered a sin but not a serious concern. This changed after World War II as homosexuality gained greater prominence in both mainstream American culture and in the attentions of the church hierarchy. Homosexuals were excommunicated and rhetoric from the pulpit portrayed sexual orientation as a voluntary decision to follow a road of sin. Under the influence of LDS therapists, this view softened somewhat in the 1980s. A greater appreciation of the limitations of moral agency developed. Now homosexuals are usually excommunicated for being unrepentant and acting on their impulses, not for merely feeling homosexual urges.⁵⁹

Though LDS theology has always condemned homosexuality as a sin, based on biblical injunction, this was an issue which attracted very little attention for the first century of the LDS community's existence. In 1947 a new member of the Quorum of the Twelve, Spencer W. Kimball, was assigned to handle interviews with members involved in sexual transgressions, including homosexuality. These experiences prompted him to make admonishments of chastity a frequent theme of his sermons.⁶⁰

Despite the frequent claim by homosexuals that they had no control over their sexual orientation, Spencer [Kimball] believed that this problem, like all others, would yield to the consistent prayerful exercise of self-restraint. He

58. Christopher J. Alexander, "Suicidal Behavior in Gay and Lesbian Mormons," in *Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-Sex Orientation*, eds. Ron Schow, Wayne Schow, and Marybeth Raynes, 257-63 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991).

59. For a useful history of homosexuality within the LDS community by a self-defined gay historian, see Rocky O'Donovan, "'The Abominable and Detestable Crime Against Nature': A Brief History of Homosexuality and Mormonism, 1840-1980," in *Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family*, ed. Brent Corcoran (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 123-70. See also D. Michael Quinn, *Same-Sex Dynamics Among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

60. Edward L. Kimball and Andrew E. Kimball, Jr., *Spencer W. Kimball: Twelfth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1977), 271-73.

pointed out that homosexuals rarely were excommunicated for their past acts but usually only for their unwillingness to make the effort to change.⁶¹

While many church authorities have compared homosexuality to the other sexual sins of fornication and adultery, they usually go further and refer to homosexuality as a "perversion" or a "crime against nature" in addition to a sin.⁶² Fornication and adultery, as heterosexual sins, are thought to be more understandable.

In 1959 Kimball and another apostle, Mark E. Petersen, received a special assignment to counsel homosexuals.⁶³ The church hierarchy noticed that the problem was appearing more often, and by 1968 the number of cases was considered so large that more general authorities were assigned to counsel homosexuals. A pamphlet, *Hope for Transgressors*, was published in 1970, encouraging homosexuals to repent. With the help of "a kindly Church official who understands," a "total cure" could be affected.⁶⁴ While the pamphlet does not refer to gender, the cover is of a man with bowed head resting on one hand. The focus of the church was on the male homosexual. Lesbians were always referred to in passing and never focused on as a separate issue in their own right.

In 1972 responsibility for counseling homosexuals was turned over to LDS Social Services. Two approaches were adopted: the development of literature and assistance for local priesthood leaders as they dealt with the problem on a ward or stake level, and the development of a "professional" therapy model to be used by the staff of Social Services. Robert L. Blattner, a special assistant to the LDS Commissioner of Personal Welfare, delivered a report on this research at the first AMCAP conference in 1975. He presented a portrait of the homosexual as a pathological individual, who usually came from a "disturbed family background," had a "lack of relationship with peers," and manifested "unhealthy sexual attitudes."⁶⁵ Homosexuality was "a symptom of a more basic difficulty within the individual that he has grown up with." Blattner took care to point out that the homosexual should be treated as "an individual in total."⁶⁶

The entire presentation focused on male homosexuality, since very few cases involving females had come to the attention of Social Services.

61. Ibid., 381.

62. *For the Strength of Youth* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1990), 15; Spencer W. Kimball, *The Miracle of Forgiveness* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 77.

63. The year 1961 has also been reported as when Kimball and Petersen were given this assignment. See Robert L. Blattner, "Counseling the Homosexual in a Church Setting," *AMCAP Journal* 1 (Oct. 1975): 6.

64. *Hope for Transgressors* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1970), 1.

65. Blattner, 6.

66. Ibid., 7.

The rhetoric coming from the pulpit also continued to focus exclusively on males. One area of therapy that Blattner concentrated on was teaching the client control over masturbation, since "Masturbation and fantasy seem to be a key in the maintenance of the problem of homosexuality." His final conclusion: "Homosexuals can be counseled with success if he so desires to accomplish this."⁶⁷

In a question-and-answer period following his presentation, Blattner was asked, "What is the church's feeling about electric shock and other forms of behavior modification?" The church employee responded that as far as he knew the church had made no "statement" on the issue other than its use should be "propriety with the standards of the church." His experience was that "most people coming to us can be helped" by "aversion therapy, relaxation or desensitization."⁶⁸ This exchange referred to research going on at Brigham Young University at that time.

Aversion therapy is based on the idea that if a "conditioned stimulus (CS) is followed by an intense unconditioned stimulus-unconditioned response combination," then "according to learning theory, after an appropriate number of pairings the CS will no longer elicit pleasure but displeasure (pain and anxiety)."⁶⁹ This therapy has been used to treat alcoholism, exhibitionism, and pedophilia, and some researchers had used this procedure in dealing with homosexuality prior to the research at BYU.⁷⁰ Experiments using this technique were conducted at BYU during the 1970s, where a male homosexual subject was shown homosexual pornography and given a variable electrical shock in association with these pictures. The erotic pictures are associated with anxiety in the subject as he anticipates the shock. After six sessions, the procedure was changed so that the subject could avoid the shock by pressing a button. This button instantly replaced the homosexual pornography with a picture of a nude female. A doctoral study at BYU determined, combined with the evidence from another study, that this form of electric aversion treatment was "an effective treatment for male homosexuality."⁷¹ Certainly this is not true from the one known written account of a person who experienced electric aversion therapy at BYU. Though he had only experienced homosexual feelings and had not acted on them at the time of the therapy, he later acted on his feelings and joined Affirmation, a gay rights group formed by excommunicated Latter-day Saints.⁷²

67. *Ibid.*, 8.

68. *Ibid.*, 9.

69. Max Ford McBride, "Effect of Visual Stimuli In Electric Aversion Therapy," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1976, 3.

70. *Ibid.*, 2.

71. *Ibid.*, 82.

72. Don D. Harryman, "With All Thy Getting, Get Understanding," in Schow, Schow, and Raynes, 23-35.

Robert D. Card, an LDS therapist in private practice, also used aversion therapy with his clients during the 1970s. Card defined a male homosexual as a person experiencing "conditioned avoidance of an adult female in a domestic setting." His entire therapeutic approach was to recondition the client not to avoid adult females. He used "aversion therapy," where the client suffered pain when he was aroused at the sight of explicit homosexual pictures. Card viewed this as "a trade off—they are trading some physical pain for some control of the obsessions that have been dominating their life."⁷³ Card measured his success by whether his clients married after treatment. This was a common goal which, prior to the mid-1980s, dominated the LDS approach to homosexuality.

When we started out working with homosexuals, the criteria for successful treatment as reported in the literature was a reduction in homosexual activity. I suppose if you stop the homosexual activity, this is some measure of success, and I think it has been the measure that has been used in many cases. I'm afraid that the measure of success that I'm looking for is marriage.⁷⁴

Card later abandoned aversion therapy in favor of "hypnosis in the context of ego-state therapy."⁷⁵

In 1977 a student in a BYU psychology class found himself outraged by the insinuations of the instructor that homosexuality is chosen. He wrote in response an anonymous fifty-seven-page pamphlet, *Prologue: An Examination of the Mormon Attitude towards Homosexuality*, and took the LDS community to task, detail by detail, for its stance against homosexuality. Arguing on the behalf of the numerous gay Latter-day Saints who hid in fear, the author asserted that homosexuality was not a matter of choice, but had a biological basis. Furthermore, "*very few psychiatrists claim any more that they can cure the homosexual.*"⁷⁶ The same year that *Prologue* was published, one of Allen Bergin's students, Elizabeth C. James, completed her dissertation, "Treatment of Homosexuality: A Reanalysis and Synthesis of Outcome Studies." Her analysis of 101 studies from 1930 to 1976 led her to find that 37 percent of clients were "not improved" by therapy, 27 percent were "improved," and 35 percent were "recovered." A basic assumption of these studies and of James's own study was the pathological nature of homosexuality.⁷⁷

73. Robert D. Card, "Counseling the Homosexual in a Private Practice Setting," *AMCAP Journal* 1 (Oct. 1975): 12, 13.

74. *Ibid.*, 10.

75. "Panel of Professionals Present Ideas," *AMCAP News*, Feb. 1988, 4.

76. Anonymous, *Prologue: An Examination of the Mormon Attitude towards Homosexuality* (Provo, UT: Prometheus Enterprises, 1978), 23, emphasis in original.

77. Elizabeth C. James, "Treatment of Homosexuality: A Reanalysis and Synthesis of Outcome Studies," Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1978, 182.

The publication of *Prologue* was part of a growing national gay movement, which promoted an acceptance of the gay lifestyle and legal rights for gay citizens. Having successfully campaigned for the 1973 APA decision, the gay movement continued to press its case with psychotherapists. LDS gay activism paralleled the rise of mainstream gay activism and assertions of gay pride. In 1977 a group of gay men and women in Los Angeles founded Affirmation, a support group for excommunicated Latter-day Saints. Satellite groups were formed in other locations, including Salt Lake City. A year later they began publishing a regular newsletter, *Affinity*. An original purpose of the group was to "work toward influencing Church leadership to change its perception and treatment of the homosexual in the church."⁷⁸ A basic premise was that "homosexuality is not learned or acquired; it is not something chosen."⁷⁹ Many members of Affirmation hoped that by educating the church leadership in the true nature of homosexuality, the prophet would then seek a revelation from God to sanction homosexuality.⁸⁰

Many members of Affirmation have been excommunicated. Church policy dictated excommunication for anyone who engaged in homosexual behavior or who did not actively seek to change his or her sexual orientation. A pamphlet published by Affirmation, *All About Excommunication for the Gay & Lesbian Mormon*, provides guidance for gay Latter-day Saints during these traumatic proceedings.⁸¹

The 1987 fall AMCAP conference focused on homosexuality. AMCAP president Clyde A. Parker did not want the conference to be confrontational: "It is not intended to 'take a stand,' to challenge, contradict or to oppose. The difficulty, it seems to me, is finding some reconciliation of individual needs and gospel principles ... acceptance of others, pursuit of truth, obedience to principle, compassion rather than judgment."⁸² For the first time, a general authority was not asked to give the keynote address. Instead, AMCAP invited Carol Lynn Pearson, an LDS feminist and

78. Gordon Miller, "Open Letter to Members and Friends of Affirmation," in *Affirmations: A Select Anthology of Writings for Gay and Lesbian Mormons*, eds. Gary Booher and Paul Mortensen (Affirmation, 1985), 43. A copy of this document is available at the Historical Department Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

79. *Ibid.*, 45.

80. This point of view is well-expressed in Antonio A. Feliz, *Out of the Bishop's Closet: A Call to Heal Ourselves, Each Other, and Our World: A True Story* (San Francisco: Aurora Press, 1988).

81. T. Robert Axelson and L. Paul Mortensen, *All About Excommunication for the Gay & Lesbian Mormon* (Affirmation, 1985). A copy of this document is available at the LDS Historical Department Library. Information on the number of Latter-day Saints who have been excommunicated for homosexuality is not released by the LDS church. Records of church disciplinary hearings are kept confidential, even if the person on trial requests that they be released.

82. Clyde A. Parker, "President's Message," *AMCAP News*, Aug. 1987, 1.

writer. Pearson had written a book about her experiences with the death of her ex-husband to AIDS.⁸³ She asked for people to understand and sympathize with the emotional toll that homosexuality took on homosexuals and on the people around them as they struggled with their sexual identity.

Besides presentations and panel discussions on therapy and etiology, a gay Latter-day Saint and his mother shared their experiences. Members of Affirmation presented their perspective. The opposite point of view was provided by Brian Page, who described himself as a homosexual who was excommunicated and later rebaptized. While he acknowledged that "he still has homosexual feelings," Page had undergone a spiritual rebirth. He still did not have heterosexual feelings, but he retained hope that he would eventually marry. He also spoke directly to the hopes of Affirmation: "The gay lifestyle is carnal. The Lord will never bring about a revelation saying it is OK to be gay."⁸⁴

Parker thought the conference "was received most favorably. To some it was 'the best thing AMCAP has done in recent years.'" To others, the perceived acceptance of homosexuality by the presenters caused disconcertion. At least one member withdrew his membership.⁸⁵ Both sides of the issue had been discussed, from those who thought homosexuals were born with their sexual orientation already cast to those who thought that homosexuality was a result of nurture. Members of AMCAP were also divided over whether therapy could be useful. Jan Stout, a psychiatrist, did not "feel that sexual orientation is a treatable disorder," whereas Thomas Pritt thought that it was.⁸⁶ A presentation on "Lesbianism and Women" at another AMCAP convention two years later prompted an AMCAP member to complain:

We were very subtly led to believe, though not directly told, that homosexuality is something one is born with and that the task of the therapist is to help individuals come to grips with what they are and to find ways to reconcile themselves to the Church and gospel teachings ... It distresses and amazes me when, even in AMCAP, we seek the solutions of the world ... We should not have to defend gospel principles and Church standards at AMCAP meetings. In our charter, they are a given.⁸⁷

Despite the efforts of the LDS gay community to promote a view of homosexual orientation as innate and unchangeable, LDS Social Services

83. Carol Lynn Pearson, *Goodbye, I Love You* (New York: Random House, 1986). See also "Author Stresses Need for Compassion," *AMCAP News*, Feb. 1988, 2.

84. "Plea Is Made for Morality," *AMCAP News*, Feb. 1988, 7.

85. Clyde A. Parker, "President's Message," *AMCAP News*, Feb. 1988, 1.

86. "Panel of Professionals Present Ideas," *AMCAP News*, Feb. 1988, 4.

87. Sheldon G. Lowry, "Letter to the Editor," *AMCAP News*, Fall 1989, 4.

has continued to treat homosexuals who express a desire to change. A professional development booklet was published in 1981 for use by LDS Social Services personnel in counseling homosexuals. The booklet describes homosexuality as resulting from a four-stage process: "confusion, filling the void, sexual identity crisis, and resolution."⁸⁸ A variety of motivational and spiritual therapy approaches was suggested as cures, though "teaching a homosexually oriented man to lust after women instead of men is inappropriate."⁸⁹ LDS Social Services has continued to be active in this area into the 1990s.⁹⁰

Private LDS therapists have also engaged in efforts at reparative therapy for those homosexuals who do not want to accept a gay lifestyle. Thomas Pritt and Ann Pritt are two LDS therapists who specialize in "compulsive sexual disorders, particularly homosexuality."⁹¹ Drawing on the work of English psychoanalyst Elizabeth R. Moberly, the Pritts have promoted a theoretical model to explain and treat homosexuality.⁹² In common with many other LDS therapists, the Pritts believe that "social learning etiological factors" are more important than "biological" factors in the origin of homosexuality. Furthermore, "homosexuality involves social role and identity issues more than problems of sexuality per se."⁹³ To believe in biological causation would seriously call into question LDS assumptions about sexuality.

A common assumption about homosexuals is that they have difficulty relating with the opposite sex. Moberly and the Pritts reverse this assumption. It is an inability to relate with members of their own sex in a non-erotized manner that defines the homosexual. Homosexuals who "are encouraged to get aroused by women and marry to become straight" are likely to be miserable because "*the primary and most critical problem facing homosexuals is not how to be sexually attracted to members of the opposite sex, but how to satisfy unmet, legitimate affectional needs with those of their own sex.*"⁹⁴

88. LDS Social Services, *Understanding and Changing Homosexual Orientation Problems* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 6.

89. *Ibid.*, 11.

90. See A. Dean Byrd and Mark D. Chamberlain, "Dealing with the Issues of Homosexuality: A Qualitative Study of Six Mormons," *AMCAP Journal* 19 (1993): 47-89.

91. Thomas E. Pritt and Ann F. Pritt, "Homosexuality: Getting Beyond the Therapeutic Impasse," *AMCAP Journal* 13 (1987): 64.

92. See three works of Elizabeth R. Moberly: *Homosexuality: A New Christian Ethic* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1983); *Psychogenesis: The Early Development of Gender Identity* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983); and *The Psychology of Self and Other* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1985). For an additional non-LDS perspective, see E. Mansell Pattison and Gala S. Durrance, "Religious Contexts for Change in Sexual Orientation," in *Psychiatry and Religion: Overlapping Concerns*, ed. Lillian H. Robinson, 133-54 (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1986).

93. Pritt and Pritt, 38, 39.

94. *Ibid.*, 48, emphasis in original.

The roots of homosexuality are laid in childhood emotional trauma when the child is emotionally separated from its same-sex parent. This separation can lead to the "parent-child affectional bond" being "damaged or disrupted and the child is left emotionally sensitized, vulnerable, and needful."⁹⁵

This inability to form attachments to the same sex leads to difficulty in "sex-role identification." Men who later become homosexual "generally report that during their childhood they had not felt competent or happy and successful in many of those sports and rough-and-tumble bonding activities that preadolescent boys commonly enjoy together." Later, with adolescence, these boys experiment with masturbation and sexual fantasies: "Their unresolved needs, when paired with self-gratification, can facilitate entrance into the addictive world of sexual deviation. Although these behaviors do nothing to improve self-esteem or counter relational deficits, they do easily become habitual and lead to compulsive, ritualized interactions."⁹⁶

Experiencing an "impoverished identity" and "role dysphoria," they compensate through "sexual interest" in same-sex interactions.

Though in adult bodies and expressing forms of adult sexuality, homosexuals are, in one facet of their personality, emotionally damaged children. Early in life they withdrew from relationships that were critical for the development of their sense of role-appropriate wholeness and worth, that is, their sex-role identification. Although the gap between gender dysphoric individuals and others of their sex widens, and the normal social channels for same-sex relating become less available, the need for intimacy, belonging, and identity persists. As their self-devaluation continues, homosexuals first admire others who ably express the desired role competencies, then envy them, and finally lust after them.⁹⁷

These are not conscious choices. Rather, the inability to find a masculine "identity and relational deficits and needs are developed long before these children reach eight years of age." Within LDS theology, children are not capable of sin before the age of eight, the age of accountability. These children go on to "gradually discover their orientation rather than consciously choose it."⁹⁸ The Pritts emphasize that

the homosexual drive has been misunderstood. Rather than being a voluntary expression of evil and moral depravity, it is the natural growth force operating within that is impelling the person to move toward maturity. It is the

95. *Ibid.*, 49.

96. *Ibid.*, 50.

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.*, 45-46, 46.

undeniable urge to wholeness. That drive for self and for unity with those of their own sex will never be denied but will persist until the individual's identity is fully and appropriately internalized and capable of normal expression with members of both sexes. The very strength of the homosexual drive affirms that person's heterosexuality ... It is unfortunate, that as wounded and vulnerable children, many equated sex with love, and that as adults, they were habituated to expressing their needs for intimacy in sexual terms.⁹⁹

Having explained a theory of etiology, the Pritts also offered a method of treatment. Since homosexuality is a behavior, brought on by inadequate relationships skills, change is possible. "Adults are not locked into sexual patterns because of past choices alone, but because reaffirming choices are continually being made. Behaviors that are not reinforced in one manner or another tend to diminish in strength and value" as time passes.¹⁰⁰ In order to overcome their "arrested development," homosexuals need to learn to satisfy their needs for same-sex relationships through non-sexual interaction.¹⁰¹ Male homosexuals should work with male therapists and lesbians with female therapists.

As part of therapy, homosexuals are taught that their "needs are legitimate" and that they are really misdirected heterosexuals. Hard work combined with a belief that the "Savior's divinely decreed order for sexual relationships" is the correct path. Because of the prevalence of homophobia, the Pritts discourage their clients from "coming out of the closet." If a person self-identifies as a homosexual, "their opportunities for same-sex heterosexual relationships are diminished." "Rather than their being seen and treated as normal persons and thereby helped to thus become, knowledge of their prior homosexual orientation would more than likely make proper same-sex emotional closeness very difficult to attain." The Pritts hope that one of the results of their work will be a reduction in homophobia. This "would encourage heterosexuals to more comfortably establish healing relationships with identity-impaired individuals." Homosexuals and heterosexuals must "share" in efforts at reparation.¹⁰²

The Pritts emphasize throughout their therapy that their clients are really heterosexual. When their clients accept this view, "their self-esteem can take a quantum leap forward."¹⁰³ The Pritts also teach their clients to "look and act more like heterosexual men," though without "compromis-

99. *Ibid.*, 55.

100. *Ibid.*, 46.

101. *Ibid.*, 57.

102. *Ibid.*, 58, 59, 39.

103. *Ibid.*, 59.

ing" their personal integrity, so that they can more easily integrate into the company of heterosexual men.¹⁰⁴ The clients also "learn to recognize their many and varied forms of defensive detachment, the defense mechanisms which maintain emotional distance from heterosexual men."¹⁰⁵

Alternative modes of behavior must also be taught. When tempted by "an overwhelming compulsion" to engage in homosexual relations, the client is taught to resort to "a series of alternatives," such as "visiting a heterosexual friend or family member or engaging in sports or some other distracting activity." These alternatives are facilitated by "mainstreaming themselves as exclusively as possible with heterosexuals."¹⁰⁶ A "healthy self-esteem" will develop when the client begins to value the masculine attributes within themselves instead of seeking out those attributes in fragmented sexual relationships. They learn that heterosexual friends can "satisfy emotional needs and that the comfort of these relationships can replace the pull toward debilitating sexual intimacies."¹⁰⁷

Having resolved the issue of same-sex attraction, the Pritts do not need to encourage opposite sex attraction because "as healthful, same-sex affections have grown, these men have also come to experience new appreciations for women." Their experiences with "cured" clients have taught the Pritts that there is "no need to artificially graft in heterosexual responsiveness. As the heterosexual child within matures, the individual will take care of his own responsiveness."¹⁰⁸

In keeping with their LDS focus, the Pritts argue that in order to become whole, homosexuals need the friendship of heterosexuals and the healing power of repentance and redemption. The homosexual must "become convinced in their hearts" of the truthfulness of the scripture, "the Lord giveth no commandments unto the children of men, save he shall prepare a way for them that they may accomplish the thing which he commandeth them" (1 Ne. 3:7). It is through such faith, based on an "application of gospel truths," that "a healthy sex-role identification will indeed occur." After therapy, the clients should not be encouraged to recount previous homosexual behavior. "To have a client return to the details of his errant behavior under the mistaken notion of proving progress is gravely countertherapeutic."¹⁰⁹

If one accepts the Pritts' explanation of not only the origins of individual homosexual behavior, but also the desired form of therapy, then previous approaches within the LDS community have been sorely mis-

104. *Ibid.*, 59, 60.

105. *Ibid.*, 60.

106. *Ibid.*, 61.

107. *Ibid.*, 60.

108. *Ibid.*, 63.

109. *Ibid.*, 64, 63.

guided, even harmful. Concentrating on marriage and heterosexual arousal as a solution would only lead to widespread misery. One homosexual Latter-day Saint who wished to change his orientation described the results of reading the Pritts' article as "one big turning point for me."¹¹⁰ This understanding helped him on his quest for reparative therapy.

Other LDS psychotherapists have also written extensively on homosexuality.¹¹¹ In 1993 an entire issue of the *AMCAP Journal* was dedicated to the treatment of homosexuality. Twice as many copies were printed than usual and the journal was completely sold out within a year.¹¹² Latter-day Saint advocates of reparation now felt increasingly under siege. Not only had mainstream psychotherapy adopted a position of viewing homosexual behavior as normal, but some professional groups had been moving to declare reparative therapy unethical. One LDS psychotherapist, P. Scott Richards, responded to this movement by declaring:

I now find myself unwilling to accept the notion that gay affirmative therapy is the only treatment option we should offer clients, just because this is currently the "politically correct" thing to do. I believe that Latter-day Saint (and other) therapists have a right to offer reparative therapy as a treatment option to those who request help in understanding, controlling, and/or overcoming their homosexual tendencies. In fact, if we do not inform such clients of this option, I believe we are letting them down.

Richards also believes that "homosexual people have a right to live their lives free from discrimination and violence," and should not have reparative therapy forced upon them.¹¹³

Private practitioners and LDS Social Services continue to work extensively with homosexual reparation. Private associations have also been formed to help LDS homosexuals who want to change.¹¹⁴ One of these

110. Byrd and Chamberlain, 72.

111. See Victor Brown, Jr., "Male Homosexuality: Identity Seeking A Role" *AMCAP Journal* 7 (Apr. 1981): 3-10; and Richard H. Anderson, "A Retreat From Hypersexuality: The De-Emphasis of Overt Sexuality in Homosexual Change Therapy," *AMCAP Journal* 8 (July 1982): 15-20, 28.

112. P. Scott Richards, "Editorial," *AMCAP Journal* 20 (1994): xiii.

113. P. Scott Richards, "The Treatment of Homosexuality: Some Historical, Contemporary, and Personal Perspectives," *AMCAP Journal* 19 (1993): 40. Gary M. Watts reviewed this issue of the *AMCAP Journal* and found the arguments of its articles unconvincing; see Gary M. Watts, "The Burden of Proof," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 307-13.

114. *Sunstone* occasionally publishes a guide to LDS organizations and periodicals. In a 1994 guide it listed fifteen such organizations or periodicals which focused on homosexuality. Most of them were support groups oriented toward gay rights, like Affirmation, and a few were like Evergreen International. See Bryan Waterman, comp., "A Guide to the Mormon Universe: Mormon Organizations & Periodicals," *Sunstone* 17 (Dec. 1994): 44-65.

organizations, Evergreen International, was founded in 1989 in Salt Lake City by twelve men.

Evergreen is a confidential, independent non-profit organization of homosexual men and women. Our purpose is to gather and disseminate relevant information and to refer men and women who desire to change to support groups and counselors. Each member of Evergreen stands personally as a statement that it is possible to overcome homosexuality.¹¹⁵

Four years later Evergreen consisted of multiple chapters which sponsored weekly "transition group meetings" to offer mutual support for homosexuals trying to change; sports groups to help "develop a sense of belonging and identification with other men in a new and non-sexual setting"; support meetings for "families and friends of homosexual individuals who need support and information to cope with their own and their loved one's issues"; and an annual conference.¹¹⁶ A testimonial from a member of Evergreen expressed his gratitude:

In early 1989, I was in serious trouble. I was married with children, active in church, and yet very involved in homosexual activity ... I couldn't deal with the tremendous conflict going on inside me. I had decided to either take my life or leave my family. Although I was not close to the Lord, and avoided prayer, He heard the cries of my heart, and literally lifted me out of the mire. I knew I could not succeed without some kind of support system. In addition to some good therapy, Evergreen came into my life. I was then able to experience the beautiful principle of repentance ... I could not have done it without the love and support of my wife, the Lord and His church, and Evergreen.¹¹⁷

The attitude of the LDS community towards homosexuality has not changed. It is still officially condemned as a sin, a view with which nine out of ten Latter-day Saints agree.¹¹⁸ Since homosexual feelings and acts are seen as pathological, the LDS psychotherapist community has tried to provide counseling and a cure. In the 1960s and 1970s, homosexuality was thought to be a learned behavior, which aversion therapy might help. The guiding philosophy was a belief in the inability of homosexuals to relate effectively with the opposite sex. The act of marriage was seen as

115. *You Don't Have to be Gay* (Salt Lake City: Evergreen Foundation, 1990). This one-page flyer is available at the LDS church Historical Department Library.

116. David Matheson, "The Transition from Homosexuality: The Role of Evergreen International," *AMCAP Journal* 19 (1993): 106, 107.

117. *Ibid.*, 108.

118. "Apostle Reaffirms Church's Position on Homosexuality," *Church News* [supplement to the *Deseret News*], 14 Feb. 1987, 10, 12; Stephen J. Bahr, "Social Characteristics," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1373.

proof of a cure. Carol Lynn Pearson's life demonstrates that this approach did not work well. Along with others, the Pritts and other psychotherapists have advanced a new model which teaches that homosexuals can relate to the opposite sex, they just cannot relate to their own sex in a non-sexual manner. This theory came from outside the LDS community in the work of Elizabeth R. Moberly and success with this approach is being asserted.¹¹⁹ While Moberly and the entire LDS approach are diametrically opposed to the conventional wisdom of mainstream psychology, their approach does offer the potential to create more tolerance within the LDS community towards homosexuals.

SEXUAL ABUSE

Numerous presentations at AMCAP conventions during the 1980s and early 1990s discussed the issue of sexual abuse.¹²⁰ The spring 1993 AMCAP convention focused exclusively on "Partners in Healing: Treating Victims of Abuse."¹²¹ This emphasis paralleled the increasing attention sexual abuse and other forms of abuse were receiving in mainstream American psychology and a rising awareness within popular American culture. The influence of the modern psychologies and of feminism, with its emphasis on women's issues, helped create an environment where sexual abuse could be talked about and treated.

The LDS church also responded to this issue. A 1985 booklet, *Child Abuse: Helps for Ecclesiastical Leaders*, contains considerable guidance for bishops and stake presidents on how to handle sexual abuse. If an abuser confesses his or her activities within the confidence of confession, the ecclesiastical leader is to urge that person to report the activities to the proper authorities. If that person refuses, the incident should be reported to the Area Presidency if "local law seems to require the Church official to report the information to public authorities."¹²² A booklet for the general membership followed in 1989, *Preventing and Responding to Child Abuse*. The different forms of abuse were defined, and some points of pre-

119. See Byrd and Chamberlain, and Matheson.

120. See Gerry Hanni, "Heritage of Nightmares: Therapy for the Adult Molested in Childhood," *AMCAP Journal* 11 (Mar. 1985): 78-83; Barbara Snow, "Mild to Wild: Assessment and Treatment of Sexually Abused Children," *AMCAP Journal* 11 (Mar. 1985): 84-88; "Over-reaction to Sexual Abuse? Alarmist Reaction Decried," *AMCAP News*, Summer 1985, 7; Trish Taylor and Dennis E. Nelson, "Reported Child Sexual Abuse: Subjective Realities," *AMCAP Journal* 11 (Nov. 1985): 74-80; Dennis E. Nelson, "Combating Child Sexual Abuse: A Cautionary Essay," *AMCAP Journal* 11 (Nov. 1985): 81-86; and "Spiritual Issues in Child Sexual Abuse," *AMCAP News*, Spring 1987, 4.

121. See "AMCAP Spring Convention," *AMCAP News*, Spring 1993, 13-15.

122. *Child Abuse: Helps for Ecclesiastical Leaders* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 6.

vention were given with the following admonition: "any person who has knowledge or cause to believe that a child has been or is currently a victim of abuse is responsible to immediately follow government procedures to obtain assistance for the child."¹²³

The authors of an autobiographical book on sexual abuse and repressed memories cautioned their LDS readers:

Child sexual abusers adapt to any culture like chameleons: they use protective coloring. Mormon neighborhoods provide peculiar access to children due to the trusting and communal nature of the ward structure. Unfortunately this same system can reinforce denial of anything "wrong" in a Mormon home or neighborhood. It is not surprising that good Mormons find it difficult to believe their fellow "saints" could be engaging in horrific behavior. All of us find it difficult to believe.¹²⁴

Cautions like this are illustrative of the climate of distrust that awareness of sexual abuse tends to foster. That is not to say that the distrust is unwarranted.

A book, *Confronting Abuse: An LDS Perspective on Understanding and Healing Emotional, Physical, Sexual, Psychological, and Spiritual Abuse*, was published in 1993 by the LDS church publishing company.¹²⁵ While being informative, this book also taught a message of hope that survivors of abuse could be healed. This type of optimistic message is typically LDS.

In 1985 LDS Social Services created a program to treat LDS sexual abuse offenders and their families. The program only treated incest offenders, not "fixated pedophiles," which were seen as much more difficult cases with "higher rates of recidivism." For "a year prior to the program's beginning," members of LDS Social Services examined what mainstream psychotherapy had to offer. They visited "other agencies," participated in "community meetings," attended "local and national workshops," and studied "the latest literature on the subject."¹²⁶

Members are only accepted into the program if they "allow their

123. *Preventing and Responding to Child Abuse* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 6.

124. April Daniels and Carol Scott (pseuds.), *Paperdolls: Healing From Sexual Abuse in Mormon Neighborhoods* (Salt Lake City: Palingenesia Press, 1992), x. For another autobiographical account of recovery from abuse, see Michele R. Sorenson, *Chainbreakers: A True Story of Healing from Abuse* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993).

125. Anne L. Horton, B. Kent Harrison, and Barry L. Johnson, eds., *Confronting Abuse: An LDS Perspective on Understanding and Healing Emotional, Physical, Sexual, Psychological, and Spiritual Abuse* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1993). See also Carri P. Jenkins, "Toward the Light of Hope: Understanding the Healing Process for Victims of Abuse," *Brigham Young Magazine* 37 (May 1993): 32-39.

126. Dorthea C. Murdock and S. Brent Scharman, "A Program for Treatment of Sexual Abuse: Essentials for Responsible Change," in Horton, Harrison, and Johnson, 297.

bishop to be involved in the treatment process," will "admit their guilt," and "are willing to be appropriately involved in the legal process." The treatment program is family-oriented, "both the spouse and the victim, as well as the offender, agree to participate in treatment." Other children are also "expected to participate as needed to make certain that the code of secrecy typically present in incest families is eliminated," as well as to ensure that further abuse does not occur. The LDS context provides several advantages for the LDS client and victim. For the victim, questions like the following can be discussed: "how their father could abuse them while holding a significant church calling, why their prayers for the abuse to stop were not answered as quickly as they wanted, why they were born into an abusive family, why inspired leaders could not perceive what was happening, or why God allowed the abuse to happen."¹²⁷ The resulting program is considered a success.

Repressed memories and ritual abuse are perhaps the most controversial aspects of the nationwide movement to increase awareness of sexual abuse. Some victims have come forward with stories of abuse that they remember years after the abuse, either as a result of therapy or prompted by a flashback. These repressed memories are often vague or ambiguous and the details usually increase with time. The issue of repressed memories is controversial because conventional memory research has not arrived at a mechanism for how repression could occur. Some zealous therapists have been accused of leading their patients to believe that abuse occurred when it really did not.¹²⁸

Ritual abuse is often associated with repressed memories. These fragmented memories, like snapshots taken by a strobe light, tell horrific stories of satanic-like cults where victims are forced to participate in evil rituals as children.¹²⁹ A confidential memo written by a member of the LDS church's Presiding Bishopric in July of 1990 was obtained by the press a year later. The memo detailed allegations of satanic sexual abuse by over fifty members.¹³⁰ The memo became yet another ingredient in the debate over whether or not ritual abuse really exists to a significant degree. Detractors find the stories too incredible and perverse in content, and verification too elusive.

127. Ibid., 297, 298, 301.

128. See Frederick Crews, "The Revenge of the Repressed," *New York Review of Books* 41 (17 Nov. 1994): 54-60; Frederick Crews, "Victims of Repressed Memory," *New York Review of Books* 41 (1 Dec. 1994): 49-58; and Theresa Reid and others, "'Victims of Memory': An Exchange," *New York Review of Books* 42 (12 Jan. 1995): 42-48.

129. See Noemi P. Mattis and Elouise M. Bell, "Ritual Abuse," in Horton, Harrison, and Johnson, 180-200.

130. See "Leaked Bishop's Memo Spotlights LDS Ritual Satanic Sexual Abuse," *Sunstone* 15 (Nov. 1991): 58. See also Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 185-88.

In 1992 an apostle addressed the issue of abuse from the pulpit during a general conference talk. Richard C. Scott told victims that "Unless healed by the Lord, mental, physical, or sexual abuse can cause you serious, enduring consequences. As a victim you have experienced some of them. They include fear, depression, guilt, self-hatred, destruction of self-esteem, and alienation from normal human relations."¹³¹ He said that victims "*are free to determine to overcome the harmful results of abuse.*"¹³² Stressing that victims should not remain passive, he urged them to withhold judgment of the abuser and strive to forgive. It would not be easy, "healing can take considerable time," but "bitterness and hatred are harmful." He also alluded to repressed memories when he warned against the fallibility of "adult memory of childhood experiences ... Remember, false accusation is also a sin." With the care of "a trusted priesthood leader and, where needed, the qualified professional" that the leader "recommends," the victim could "close an ugly chapter and open volumes of happiness."¹³³

The reaction to the issue of sexual abuse demonstrates that the LDS community is now much more responsive to national trends in psychotherapy. The institutional church and LDS psychotherapists both have dealt with the issue. While abuse in all its forms is a grotesque crime that spawns broken adults, it is consistent with the LDS predilection for optimism that a message of hope and healing, not anger and bitterness, is now being promoted by LDS psychotherapists and the general authorities.

Latter-day Saint psychotherapists have shepherded a subtle expansion in attitudes toward sexuality within the LDS community, driving the effort to create an LDS philosophy of sexuality, and contributing in the struggle to cope with the implications and consequences of homosexuality. Latter-day Saint psychotherapists have served as a bridge between their fellow Saints and that wisdom contained in the modern psychologies which is compatible with LDS community values.

131. Richard C. Scott, "Healing the Tragic Scars of Abuse," *Ensign* 22 (May 1992): 31.

132. *Ibid.*, emphasis in original.

133. *Ibid.*, 32, 33.

Luke 7:37

Kathryn Kimball

The alpha and omega sat at meat.
The woman could not speak. She only knelt
And wept. Translucent tears upon his feet
Flowed like river waters to the Delta.
Ashamed of herself, ashamed of the puddle of tears,
She swept her hair into her hands to dry
The glistening pool. Pharisaic sneers
Burned hot upon her back as she untied
The alabaster box around her waist,
A phial of costly nard to solace pain.
She poured it without stint and without haste,
And kissed his softened feet and wept again.
 The cost was not the oil or public jeers—
 But lay accrued in soundless woman's tears.

If I Hate My Mother, Can I Love the Heavenly Mother? Personal Identity, Parental Relationships, and Perceptions of God

Margaret Merrill Toscano

Mothers & daughters ...
something sharp
catches in my throat
as I watch my mother
nervous before flight,
do needlepoint—
blue irises & yellow daffodils
against a stippled woolen sky.

She pushes the needle
in & out
as she once pushed me:
sharp needle to the canvas of her life—
embroidering her faults
in prose & poetry,
writing the fiction
of my bitterness,
the poems of my need.

"You hate me," she accuses,
needle poised,
"why not admit it?"
I shake my head.

The air is thick
with love gone bad,
the odor of old blood.

If I were small enough
I would suck your breast ...
but I say nothing,
big mouth,
filled with poems.

.....

Mother, what I feel for you
is more
& less
than love.

—Erica Jong, from "Dear Marys, Dear Mother, Dear Daughter"

WHEN I HAVE MENTIONED THE TITLE OF MY ESSAY—"If I Hate My Mother, Can I Love the Heavenly Mother?"—to different women, they have usually answered with a startled, "Do you really hate your mother?" Their response has surprised me a little because I thought of my title as rhetorical not confessional. However, I think their question is still appropriate because feminism always sees theological questions arising out of personal experience. In this essay I mix personal narrative with theological analysis not only because I see this as effective methodology but also because my thesis assumes that all of our theological constructs are based on personal and cultural preference.

Although my essay explores my relationship with my own mother, I felt defensive when women asked me if I hated my mother because their question seemed to imply that, if I do, I may not be the good person they thought me to be. So perhaps I should begin by assuring you that I do not hate my mother. With Erica Jong, I think I can say that what I feel for her is "more and less than love." I am not close to her, but I feel deeply rooted to her. I seldom talk to her, but I think about her often. I sometimes feel angry at her passivity and denial, but I am also deeply sympathetic to her pain and struggles. There are many things I admire about her, but I am also afraid of becoming like her. At times when I catch a glimpse of myself in the mirror, when I have not thought to pose, I can see her in my face. And I shudder. While ambivalence is closer to what I feel about my mother than hate, in this essay I want to focus more on my negative images of the mother figure. In describing a painful encounter, I hope to show a process for healing. The importance of understanding my dark feelings became clear to me because of a dream I had several years ago.

In the dream I am sitting in an outdoor cafe with a group of women from the Mormon Women's Forum. We are worried about what the church is going to do to us. Some of the women keep saying that there is a man who is coming to destroy us and that we must be careful. I am sitting quietly, not knowing whether to believe this or not. As we sit there, we see a huge, imposing, and frightening figure approaching us. "Here he comes," scream the women. But as the figure comes nearer, I can see that it is not a man but a very large woman, at least three times the size of a normal person. She is dressed in black, like a witch out of a fairy tale, even down to the broom she is carrying. As she rushes toward us, the other women all begin to point at me and shout, "She's the one to blame. It's not us you want. Get her." The witch whirls around toward me and begins to beat me ferociously with her broom. It is excruciatingly painful. I try to protect myself against her blows with my hands, but it does no good. As I cower beneath her, I look up at her hooded face. To my great surprise, I see my mother's face.

When I awoke from this dream, I was sweating and shaking, too frightened to go back to sleep. It was like a childhood nightmare. In the days following the dream, I thought about it often. Since then it has become one of those archetypal dreams that can be mined for years for the richness of its symbols. I will not mention all of the possibilities here. (Some of them are a little embarrassing to confess—for example, my fear of rejection from other women.) What seemed the most significant about the dream, though, was the witch figure who was my mother. It absolutely astonished me. What could it mean? My own mother was never cruel. She was the absent mother, not the devouring one. Why did she appear like this in my dream? Why was she so violent?

As I meditated on the dream, I realized I had never dealt with my anger at my mother for the ways I had felt abandoned by her. I had always tried to understand her and excuse her. I had even taken over the mothering role. I could be strong, even if she was not. Because I did not feel mothered, protected, or nurtured by her, I gave up all desire for a mother. I wanted to nurture others, but I was uncomfortable with anyone nurturing me. I realized that even in my search for a female God, I was put off by the mother image. I wanted a Goddess—a strong female God—but not a Mother God. The dream made me realize that one reason I could not accept a mother figure, human or divine, was because I had not allowed myself to fully feel or admit all of my negative feelings about my own mother or the Heavenly Mother, who also appeared to have abandoned me and left me alone and unprotected. Like my real mother, she seemed to have withdrawn into the bedroom to sleep. She seemed invisible and powerless like her daughters.

A series of questions began to occur to me: If I hate my mother, can I

love the Heavenly Mother? If I hate my mother, can I love myself? If I hate God, can I love myself? If I hate myself, can I love my mother or the Heavenly Mother? I wanted to put these questions in the sharpest terms possible—love/hate. There was no room for ambivalence at this point. I had to let myself feel my strongest and darkest feelings, about my mother, about myself, and about God.

I began to see the various ways all of these relationships are intertwined. Of course, making these connections is not a new idea. Ever since the advent of depth psychology, it has been commonplace to see our relationships with our parents as crucial for working out our self-identity. We may completely disagree with Freud's theories about child-parent relationships, Oedipal and otherwise, but I think most of us would agree with his basic assumption that the parent-child relationship is fundamental both to personal development and self-understanding. We may dislike Jung's ideas about archetypes (certainly they are not very popular in current scholarship); but we may still find ourselves being controlled on some level by our unconscious mother and father images. Freud (and Jung too) also stressed the way our god figures are projections both of parental/father (and mother¹) figures and of our own desires for the transcendent. Jewish scholar Howard Eilberg-Schwartz has noted: "[I]f we agree with nothing else from Freud, he was certainly right about the ways in which divine and parental images are entangled. And the possibility of connecting to divine images, whether male or female, clearly is related to the relationships we have to our mothers and fathers."²

Since depth psychology has also been used to undercut belief in God by treating religion as merely a projection of and wish for an ideal, I find it intriguing that some contemporary theorists are taking god-images more seriously. They are not simply seeing belief as the product of naive minds but as a way people have of working through their notions of the ideal and the good in the process of constructing a self and a society.³ The truth may be that we cannot escape the notion of God. The philosopher Nietzsche, famous for his God-Is-Dead slogan, hinted at this when he expressed his fear that "we are not getting rid of God because we still believe in grammar."⁴ Grammar, like God, sets up an ideal and expectations

1. It is Jung, not Freud, who dealt with divine female images. For Freud's theories, see, among others, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), *Totem and Taboo* (New York: Norton, 1952), and *Moses and Monotheism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1957). For Jung, see his *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

2. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 239.

3. Eilberg-Schwartz, listed above; and Sallie McFague, in her *Models of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) and *Metaphorical Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), are examples of this. As I argue below, Luce Irigaray is also important.

4. Quoted in A. S. Byatt, *Possession* (New York: Random House, 1996), xi.

for norms and conformity of behavior. But can we ever escape grammar as long as we use language? Even if we acknowledge that grammar should be more of a description than a prescription, language functions on the basis of the patterns generally used by the majority of the speakers of any given language. Without patterns, generalizations, and abstractions, communication would be impossible. French theorist and psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan argues that individual identity and subjectivity begins with a person's entrance into language. The entrance of a person into culture and language happens with a loss because no one feels that any representation, image, or description in language can fully express who she is. Therefore, we rely on transcendental signifiers or universalizing symbols to cover this sense of lack by opening up fields of speech or subjectivity. (I am attempting here to give the core of a very complex theory.⁵) The thesis of this essay is that we need such transcendental signifiers in order to construct a self, and therefore self-understanding cannot come without an examination of our god-images, which we all have whether we consider ourselves believers or not. For the non-believer, such an examination forces the acknowledgment that disbelief, as well as belief, is formed as much by personal preference and metaphor as by evidence. For the believer, it forces the acknowledgment that even if God is real, this does not eliminate the possibility that projection and cultural metaphors are involved in creating our perceptions about God. And whether we believe or not, our feelings about God tell us something about our relationships with our parents and about ourselves—what we desire and what we fear. Whether God exists or not, "God" is intertwined with our concept of self.⁶

I happen to be a believer. I have tried very hard not to be, but I cannot help it. At several crucial points in my life, I have felt overwhelmed by the love of God. I am also drawn emotionally to the idea of Christian salvation. A God who puts aside his glory to take upon himself the sins of the world is a very powerful idea to me. It has been the only way out of some existential black holes I have found myself in. I have faith that God is real on some level. But even if I am right about this (and of course I have doubts), I still know that my pictures of God are incomplete and colored by my own desires, fears, and cultural baggage. Knowing God, like knowing ourselves, is a lifetime process, and more. Joseph Smith's

5. See, for example, Jacques Lacan, *Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) and *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Norton, 1978).

6. Perhaps I should say "selves." It can be argued that monotheism has contributed to the Western notion that the self is unitary. Some scholars are now arguing that this concept has problems. See "Polytheistic Selves," chapter 5 in Kathryn Allen Rabuzzi's *Motherself: A Mythic Analysis of Motherhood* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 43-47.

statement has always fascinated me: "If men do not comprehend the character of God, they do not comprehend themselves."⁷ And I think the opposite is true too: Knowing ourselves is the first step toward knowing God.

Do we want a personal God? Or do we want a God without a personality, one who is simply a loving, creative force, or power for good? Do we want a male God, a female God, or both? Or maybe we want an androgynous God. Do we want one God, two Gods, three, a pantheon? Do we reject the idea of God altogether because it feels like a foolish, unscientific projection? Or maybe we reject God because the last thing we want is another authority figure. Whatever seems superior to us, whatever belief or non-belief appeals to us, reveals something about what we perceive as the ideal. It shows us what our sense of "good" is. It shows us something about our deepest longings and perhaps our deepest conflicts. For example, one of the problems I have is deciding what kind of God I really want; I like all of the possibilities I have just listed. I want God to be both personal and impersonal as it suits my needs. I am not arguing that God can be anything we want him to be. More orthodox Mormons would argue that God is simply what he is in our canonized writings and that we need to accept that. My point is that those writings are incomplete and overlaid with human interpretations. Therefore, we cannot fully see what God is until we strip away our own prejudices and unveil our own desires. This is the thesis of C. S. Lewis's wonderful book *Till We Have Faces*: we cannot see the face of God until we have faces of our own, or in other words develop our own identity and character. Perhaps God withdraws from us in this life to give us the independence that makes that possible.

I love the following passage from Jane Smiley's satirical novel *Moo* because it deals subtly and humorously with the way our experiences shape our pictures of God and goodness. I also like the way Smiley plays against the Western preference for a personal God. The character Marly, who belongs to an evangelical Christian group and is a cafeteria worker at the local university, has decided to leave town and her fiancée, even though he is a wealthy and powerful man at the university and in her church community.

She had changed because she was tired of Jesus, the way He came to you and sat with you, the way He had to be a man in order to be human. Everybody in her church was always talking about how happy it made them that Jesus was right there, at your elbow, helping you along and keeping you on

7. Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), 344.

the right path. What could be better than a personal savior? But Marly resented the way Jesus counted on you needing Him like that. He never stepped back. He always wanted something from you. You always had to do something to please Him.

She came to the top of the hill. The road beside her continued up, over the bridge. The snowy drift at her feet spread away like a giant apron past the highway below and into the dark filigree of the woods beyond. The pattern of it was rather grand—the rounded shapes of the hills and the horizon carved by the precise parallels of the highway, the quiet blazing azure, white, and black of the natural world animated by the hurtling bright colors of cars and trucks, and Marly herself the only visible human. The grandeur of it was peaceful and soothing. She felt invited into the picture, perhaps noticed, but not focused on. Jesus, she thought, was back in town, nosing into everybody's concerns but God was here, large and beautiful and satisfyingly impersonal.⁸

As I have thought about the ways our experiences are intertwined with our pictures of God, I have realized that dealing with my negative images of the mother figure, human or divine, was important for me if I was going to understand some of the things I don't like about myself. It was important for me if I was going to figure out some of my own ambivalent feelings about being both a daughter and a mother. And it was crucial if I was going to understand the ways in which I have a hard time relating to God.

I have argued on many occasions that the Mother/Female God is crucial for the healing and empowerment of women. Jewish, Christian, and even secular women have said the same thing many times.⁹ We all recall the much-used phrase "when God is man, man is god." I still believe that a concept of a female God (or goddesses) is essential for the equality of women. However, I have also come to believe that a female God creates problems for women too. Like any good thing, there is always a shadow side. It is a mistake to oversimplify symbols or relationships, or to see them only in one way. The symbolic and relational systems of every culture are always complex and full of contradictions and gaps, leading to unexpected results and ambiguities.¹⁰ And it is in

8. Jane Smiley, *Moo* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 362.

9. I could list a hundred books. *Standing Again at Sinai*, by Judith Plaskow (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), and *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse*, by Elizabeth A. Johnson (New York: Crossroad, 1992), both give a good overview of the issues and the sources.

10. For a good discussion on the "polysemic" quality of religious symbols, see *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell, and Paula Richman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

those contradictions where we often find the creative space necessary for rethinking and restructuring old patterns of thought and behavior. The gaps are like a door into a new world.

Last year I discovered a book called *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism*, written by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz. In this book Eilberg-Schwartz says that he has been influenced by feminist theologians and agrees with them that "a male image of God validates male experience at the expense of women."¹¹ He says that for a time this made him reject a father god figure altogether until he began to sense his own need for a loving father God. In his search he also realized that a father God creates problems for male identity as well as validates male power. As he puts it: "images of male deities may authorize male domination while rendering masculinity an unstable representation."¹² He cites the following problems:

1. The male God provides an ideal of manhood, which human males will always fall short of. Eilberg-Schwartz says: "A masculine god, I suggest, is a kind of male beauty image, an image of male perfection against which men measure themselves and in terms of which they fall short."¹³

2. The Jewish male God also causes problems with masculine sexuality. Men are supposed to want to be like God, but God appears sexless. If he has a phallus, it is hidden. Men are supposed to have sex with their wives and procreate with their phalluses, but how are they supposed to feel about them if God, the perfect male, doesn't have one? And if God is simply beyond sex or gender, why is he represented in male terms in the Bible and other sacred writings?

3. God is also supposed to be the object of male desire. Jewish men are supposed to love God above all else, even their wives. But men loving a male God so intensely creates unspoken tensions about sexual identity and orientation. Homoeroticism is condemned, and heterosexual marriage is the cultural norm in Judaism. And yet God is pictured in scripture as lover as well as father. This encourages men to want to be the object of God's desire, since the lover image implies a sexed and desiring God.

4. A male God also becomes a competitor with human males. Just as human fathers and sons find themselves in competition, human males can find themselves in competition for the father God's power, love, and goodness. And God as heterosexual lover also becomes a competitor for

11. Eilberg-Schwartz, 238.

12. Ibid., 16.

13. Ibid., 17.

the affection of women.¹⁴

Although Eilberg-Schwartz feels that feminist theology needs to reflect more on how our relationships with both our parents influence our god images, he does not ramify the ways in which a female God can problematize womanhood in the same way a male God problematizes manhood. But I want to point out the parallels, and in doing so suggest some directions for developing a Mormon theology of God the Mother.¹⁵

1. A female God provides an ideal which women will always fall short of. This is more complicated for women than men because women do not have as many scriptural examples of what and who the female God is.¹⁶ This is certainly as true in Mormonism as it is in the rest of the Judeo-Christian tradition. In fact, it may be worse in Mormonism because we take literally the gender of God. And, in addition, we believe that women can become goddesses, like their Heavenly Mother. The fact that we know so little about her can therefore causes both an identity crisis and the fear of failing to meet some undefined goal. And of course if any of us express a desire to know more about her, we are punished by the church for our presumption.

2. Is the Heavenly Mother sexless? And is motherhood the only attribute of a female God and therefore our only ideal? Certainly in Catholicism the image of the Virgin Mary as the ideal woman and queen of heaven has made it very difficult for women to feel positive about their sexuality. They are supposed to be mothers without liking sex. In Mormonism we do much the same thing; we insist that God has an eternal body, but we are afraid of talking about it as a sexual body, either male or female. Is eroticism a part of divine perfection? Is procreation the only reason for having a sexed body? Is an eternal body an eternal, fixed destiny? And are women condemned to endless eternal procreation, like queen bees without an escape?

3. Is the female God to be thought of as lover as well as mother, like the Father God? Should she be the object of our desire? And should we want to be the object of her desire?¹⁷ Does this validate female-female relationships? And what does it say about men's relationship to a female

14. This certainly was true in Medieval Christianity where women often preferred to become the brides of Christ rather than the wives of earthly husbands.

15. It should be obvious by this point that I think such a theology should see the Heavenly Mother in metaphors that do not restrict her to the mothering role.

16. I do not want to say there are *no* examples because this would eliminate the few divine images and figures we have in the scriptures. For a further discussion of this, see Johnson; or Virginia Mollenkott, *The Divine Feminine* (New York: Crossroad, 1986); or my essay "Put on Your Strength," in *Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism*, ed. Maxine Hanks (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 411-37.

17. Mariolatry in the Middle Ages became an important way men connected to God as lover. Men like Bernard of Clairvaux pictured Mary as the Lady in a courtly love romance.

God?¹⁸ And of course there is the problem of how God can be mother, lover, and friend all at the same time. Even if these are taken strictly as metaphors, they can create tensions on a psychological level.

4. Does a Mother God create mother-daughter rivalry and tensions?

While it is empowering for women to see themselves reflected in a Mother God, women can also feel some negative emotions. Does this mean we are limited to being what she is and nothing else? What if we don't like the mothering role? What if we would rather be talking with the men? Are we always to be under her control and shaped by her image?

The problems I have listed are very real on a human, parent-child level; they may seem a little trivial when extended to a divine level. This is perhaps one reason many people opt for the ideal of an impersonal God. Ever since the advent of Greek philosophy, the transcendent, disembodied God has been seen as superior to the anthropomorphic God in Western thought. But why? An impersonal God does not solve all of our troubles with deity. It simply creates a different set of problems, the chief one being this: how do we value our human bodies and personhood if a personless, disembodied God is the ideal?¹⁹ And of course women have rarely benefitted from the idea of the transcendent, disembodied God since they have been seen historically as "guardians of the flesh."²⁰ I think that one of the greatest contributions of Mormonism to Western

18. In this essay I focus on mother-daughter relationships, but the questions I raise should obviously apply to father-daughter relationships as well, and to men's relationships with their earthly and heavenly fathers and mothers. Most men would admit that their self-identity comes at least in part from their relationships with both their parents, so why isn't this also the case with their heavenly parents? Why is the Heavenly Mother seen as only a women's issue? Where are all the men when we talk about her? I have sometimes felt that women have at least one advantage over men: we learn to speak two languages—the language of the dominant male culture and the language women speak among themselves. Women are bilingual; most men only speak one language. We women who are religious learn to relate to a male God; we learn to model ourselves after him, identify with him, and love him; we learn to see the complexity of gender and how easily it can be bent and crossed. This may be harder for men.

19. Eilberg-Schwartz has an excellent discussion on this issue. He challenges the assumptions that monotheism is an advanced theological concept and that anthropomorphism is primitive. This is not to say that he believes in God literally. But, as he says, "There is no idea that is not embodied in metaphors ..." (7). To dismiss the idea of God's body is a mistake in his opinion because "all sorts of questions fail to be imagined because a whole avenue of research has been closed off by thinking that the Jews did not imagine their God in human form" (22).

20. This is Luce Irigaray's phrase (*The Irigaray Reader*, ed. Margaret Whitford [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991], 43). She argues eloquently for the importance of sexual difference while refusing to allow women to be reduced to their bodies. See also Rosemary Radford Ruether in *Sexism and God Talk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983). She agrees with Irigaray that the transcendent God hurts women, but disagrees with the importance of sexual difference.

theology is the way it puts the material realm on an equal footing with the spiritual realm. Unfortunately, this concept has been as neglected in practice as has the Mormon concept of a Mother in Heaven.

The fact that a Mother God can create some of the same identity conflicts we have with our human mothers may be one of the reasons some of us have had a problem feeling any connection to her or even wanting her to exist. I think this is one of those unspoken tensions in Mormon feminism and elsewhere too. Because the Mother God often has been held up as a theological solution to all of our problems as women, some women have found it difficult to admit that they never really wanted another mother.²¹ One is quite enough, thank you.

To admit you don't like the Heavenly Mother seems to be tantamount to rejecting female gender or womanhood. And if not that, it seems to be a confession that you don't like your own mother or being a mother or a woman. And if we don't like our mothers, how can we expect our daughters to like us, unless we are perfect in every way like Mary Poppins? And saying you don't like Mary Poppins is like saying you don't like the Mother God. But not liking our mothers may not be the main reason women reject the Heavenly Mother. What if it is a more complex matter than that? Perhaps the problem centers more on the ways motherhood and the Heavenly Mother are represented. Perhaps it is because our images of the Heavenly Mother are too flat, sentimental, and confined. In our attempt to find a positive female deity, we may have participated with men in creating a Heavenly Mother who is no more than a Hallmark card cliché.

We may not recognize that glowing, overly positive statements about the Mother God can indicate an attempt to escape all of the problems we have with our earthly mothers by creating a static, one-dimensional ideal where we do not have to deal with the complexity or paradoxes of real relationships and real life. The Heavenly Mother can represent a kind of fantasyland where everything is nurturing and whole and good. But why do we want God to be this kind of one-dimensional escape from the world? Will it really bring happiness? As Job asks, "Can we expect good from God and not evil?" Can we always tell the difference?

Just try to create a fictional version of a perfect person, and you will quickly discover how hard it is to imagine goodness without creating a character who is dull, vacuous, and self-righteous.²² Utopian literature reveals the difficulty of imagining an ideal world that is not either totali-

21. The same holds true for men. And both men and women may have problems with accepting a Father God. And then there is the conflict people may feel about their split loyalty and unequal love toward the two parents. They may dislike one and identify with the other.

22. Literary critics have long noted that John Milton's Satan is a much more interesting and sympathetic character than God in *Paradise Lost*. Why is "goodness" so hard to create?

tarian or uninteresting. I find some of the matriarchal utopias described in feminist literature, such as the *Chalice and the Blade*, to be no better than their male counterparts.²³ Quite frankly, the kind of world they portray appears to me to be boring and oppressive at the same time: boring because everything is flat and non-paradoxical; oppressive because everything has to be up-beat, nurturing, and co-operative. Feminine power is seen only as positive. Witch figures are seen only as the creation of an evil patriarchy which fears female power. Evil mothers and evil women do not really exist. But we all know they do, don't we?

Aren't nurturing, all-positive mother figures just the same old sentimentalized Victorian ideal of womanhood and motherhood that we have always complained about? Is it really in our interest to see all feminine images as positive? If so, why do we complain about them so much? Why do some of us have such negative reactions to Mother's Day? I think it is more than the fact that we women are reduced to the mothering role; and it is not simply the fact that motherhood is idealized and raised up as a standard from which we all fall short and about which we all feel guilty. It is also because motherhood is presented in such a narrow way that it appears that there is only one way to be a good mother. Motherhood is represented as the sacrifice of self. Good mothers are always kind, loving, and giving. Being a good mother is seen as the absence of passion or having negative feelings. And to criticize the ideal as a false representation of perfection or even reality is nearly impossible. Adrienne Rich puts it this way:

When we think of motherhood, we are supposed to think of Renoir's blooming women with rosy children at their knees, Raphael's ecstatic madonnas, some Jewish mother lighting the candles in a scrubbed kitchen on Shabbos, her braided loaf lying beneath a freshly ironed napkin. We are not supposed to think of a woman lying in a Brooklyn hospital with ice packs on her aching breasts because she has been convinced she could not nurse her child; of a woman in Africa equally convinced by the producers of U.S. commercial infant formula that her ample breast-milk is inadequate nourishment; of a girl in her teens, pregnant by her father; of a Vietnamese mother gang-raped while working in the fields with her baby at her side; ... We are not supposed to think of a woman trying to conceal her pregnancy so she can go on working as long as possible, because when her condition is discovered she will be fired without disability insurance; ... We are not supposed to think of what infanticide feels like, or fantasies of infanticide, or day after wintry day spent alone in the house with ailing children, or of months spent in sweatshop,

23. See chapters 11 and 12 in Elaine Hoffman Baruch's *Women, Love, and Power: Literary and Psychoanalytic Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 1991) for an interesting discussion of the contrast between men's and women's utopian literature.

prison, or someone else's kitchen, in anxiety for children left at home with an older child, or alone.²⁴

I don't like my mother if I am thinking of some ideal role from which she has fallen short. I do like her when I am thinking about her history and her struggles. I like her when I am not thinking about her as my mother and the pain I feel in my relationship with her. I like her when I realize I don't have to feel guilty because I have some negative feelings about her.

In most of the pictures of my mother, she has a very serious expression. It is because she is self-conscious about her smile, which is slightly crooked since half of her face is paralyzed and has been since her wedding day. She woke up that morning with a numb face and a red eye because her eyelid had not been doing its involuntary shutting during the night. My mother went ahead with the wedding but missed out on her honeymoon to Mexico. Everyone advised against it; and who were my parents to go against the advice of their families? In her wedding picture my mother is not smiling and she looks a little sad. But even before her paralysis, my mother's pictures were mostly serious. There is a picture of her as a toddler where she is looking into the camera intently, with some pain. I have always wondered what a child so young is thinking about. What disappointment is she feeling?

If I had to use one word to describe my mother's life, I would say "thwarted." Lenna Petersen was the oldest of ten children and grew up in a small farming community in Emery County, Utah, in a town called Ferron. Her mother was sick a lot, so she had to take a lot of responsibility around the house, including the mothering of the younger children. But Lenna had a lot of happiness in her childhood too. She liked her close-knit, large family and community. Her father was the bishop for a number of years, so general authorities frequently stayed in their home. My mother tells how she would sit silently in an inconspicuous spot so that she could listen to the conversations of the men unobserved. She loved to hear them talk about the scriptures and the gospel, and she learned faith at a very early age. She was also a good student and liked school. In high school she even won a scholarship to go to college. However, because she was a girl the principal thought he ought to ask her father before giving it to her. Her father told the principal that they should give the scholarship to someone else because Lenna would not be able to go. And they did.

But my mother went anyway. She attended BYU for a year and a half

24. Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*, 10th Anniversary Edition (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1986), 275-76.

where she worked one job to pay for her room and board and another to pay for her art and piano lessons. In her second year, Lenna's parents asked her to quit school so she could help support the family. It was the Great Depression, and everyone was having a hard time paying their bills. Mama reluctantly but dutifully left Provo and moved to Salt Lake City where she got a job as a maid for the wealthy Collins family, who were the Collins in the Tracy-Collins Bank. Lenna was treated like a servant and was made to feel the inferiority of her social standing. Even now she is still very sensitive to anything that feels like condescension. Her family lost the farm anyway and were forced to leave their land. The Petersens (with an *e*—my grandfather's family was converted to Mormonism in Denmark) decided to move to Mesa, Arizona. There is an old family photo with the large family and all their possessions piled up on their old black Ford. They look like the Joad family, dispossessed of their land and ready to start a new life.

Mama was twenty-nine when she married Daddy. She had not been able to return to college, but had had a series of jobs, usually working as a cook or a secretary. She had her first baby at age thirty, and then seven more, making a total of eight in eleven years. I think she was truly happy to have all of these children, even if she was not satisfied with being stuck in the house. She was a good mother of young children, and she's still very good with her young grandchildren because she's patient and understanding of their needs. But she has always been very depressed. My strongest image of my mother is of her lying in her bed, too tired and sick to do anything. By the time I entered school, I began to sense on some level that I could not ask my mother for help. I had to take care of myself and my younger brothers and sister too. The house was always very messy, so I needed to help with that as well. In fact, the house was the family shame. It became a symbol of my mother's failure and of the family's inability to be what we were supposed to be.

I do not want to give you just a negative picture of my family, because that would not be true to life. I think all of my siblings would agree that we had a happy childhood. Our home was chaotic and messy, but there was incredible creativity and freedom as well. It was not a judgmental place, and we were loved, as a group at least. I have to admit that I never felt seen as an individual, but that might have been because I was a third child. Reading was encouraged, and there were always lots of family discussions on various topics. All of us children were smart, did well in school, and have become effective and productive adults. So there was obviously a lot of good things that happened in our home. It was full of freedom and grace.

My father was a quiet, gentle man, who was very responsible and hard-working. He was not particularly successful and usually worked

two jobs to support the family. But, like most men of his generation, he never helped my mother with the house. It was her failure (which we girls also shared). The unspoken dynamic in our home was that my mother was the source of a lot of problems, and my father was the reliable one. My mother was embarrassing; my father was someone to be proud of.

I told you that I have always been very sympathetic to my mother's pain. From a very early age I tried to understand her. I saw the way her mother treated her. My mother's mother lived only a couple of blocks away from us. Unlike my mother, my grandmother was a meticulous housekeeper and very energetic. She was always busy with some project: doing genealogy, making drapes, recovering furniture, writing poetry and family histories. And she always had something she needed my mother to do: take her here, get this for her, and so forth. Yet she gave little thanks to my mother for her help, and always seemed to have some criticism of her, especially of her house. According to my mother, this had pretty much been the pattern of her life. A lot was demanded of her. And then instead of receiving praise or thanks, she was criticized for not doing the job right. The boys in the family, on the other hand, were encouraged and praised a lot.

No wonder my mother had such an inferiority complex. No wonder she seemed so overwhelmed all the time. No wonder she had a hard time finishing a task. I remember that by the time I was in high school, Mama would periodically sign up for some type of project. Sometimes it was a class at the local community college, sometimes it was a correspondence course of some type or a sales program. Initially she would be excited about the possibility of doing something creative or of accomplishing something she could be proud of. But usually after a couple of weeks of classes, she would quit and withdraw to her bed. She got no support from my father in these endeavors. In fact, he was always relieved when she quit because it meant less stress for him.

As I look at my mother's life now from a feminist perspective, I see how much she was a victim of a patriarchal culture which makes it difficult for women to feel valued or find a way to feel successful. She desperately needed something outside of the home where she could be acknowledged as worthwhile. She never found it and was never encouraged to find it. She was never encouraged to find her desire. Growing up in a generation where depression was not acknowledged as an authentic illness, she was always seen as weak and lazy. Her real gifts were ignored and overlooked because they were not the ones she was expected to have as a Mormon homemaker. This was especially true at church. She never fit into Relief Society and has had few female friends. Although she is a

woman with strong spirituality, this has always been overlooked because it is not the quality valued in women. Women in the church are only valued if they can do Relief Society service. And my mother could not.

Although I have always felt deep compassion for my mother, I have not been close to her. It is partly because of her and partly because of me. Because of her own lack of self-worth, she has a hard time validating anyone else. She is always very focused on herself and her own problems. She is not a complainer, but she is self-absorbed. She is always so worried about being perceived positively and being acceptable that she will often strike a pose that is not true to what she feels and is. I have a hard time dealing with this, and I have a difficult time talking to her because it is such a struggle to get her into a real conversation.

I also have a hard time being close to her because I have terrible fears of falling into her patterns. I too have fought depression all my life and have a lot of anxiety over my performance. I have fears about being overwhelmed with daily tasks and not fulfilling my duties. I worry both about being invisible and also about being too self-centered. Unlike my mother, my depression has driven me toward accomplishment. But I have noticed that none of my accomplishments seems to make me feel worthwhile or that I have really done a good enough job. I have a tendency to feel like a failure no matter how much I do. I have struggled a lot with self-hatred, which does not mean that I do not also have self-love and self-esteem. Our relationships with ourselves are no more simple than any other relationship.

The search that this essay represents is a search to reclaim the value of the feminine—my feminine.²⁵ The process has taught me that I cannot fully love myself until I have dealt with all the anger I have toward my mother, mostly an unacknowledged anger at her for giving me a heritage of defeat. Before my dream I did not think I was angry because I had worked hard to understand and forgive. The dream showed me I had merely repressed the anger and transferred it to myself. To reclaim myself, I must also reclaim my mother and my Heavenly Mother. According to Marion Woodman, a Jungian psychologist, “Release from repression ... is less a slaying of the evil witch than a transformation of her negative energy through creative assimilation.”²⁶ As part of this process, it may be

25. I am trying not to use the term “feminine” in some reified way. The feminine is always defined in a context, here the context of my personal experience. The fact that goddess images can convey generalized information about people’s views of the feminine does not mean that these images are not also part of a context.

26. Marion Woodman, “Mother as Patriarch: Redeeming the Parents as the Healing of Oneself,” *Fathers and Mothers*, ed. Patricia Berry, 2d rev. ed. (Dallas: Spring Publications, Inc., 1990), 81.

necessary to express hatred, which does not exclude love.²⁷

My question (if I hate my mother, can I love the Heavenly Mother?) plays on the scriptural question: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (1 John 4:20). If I hate myself for being feminine, weak, and defeated, can I love the Female God?

I have often contemplated God's command that we should love him. How can you command love? Either you feel it or you don't. You cannot force yourself to feel it, can you? Commanding people who want to obey all of the commandments to love only seems to encourage lies and self-deception. People will say they love God because they think they are supposed to. But will they really? How can we possibly love God whom we have not seen? I see irony in God's command to love him. The command should make us think about its contradictions and difficulties. It should make us ask, "How can I love God whom I haven't seen?" and "How can I love God without knowing him?" I see God's command to love him as an invitation to know him and find his love. And this is both the love God has for us as well as the love we want to have for God. God's command to love is an expression of his, and I think of her, ardent desire for us to enter into a relationship with them. It is their way of extending their love to us without force.

I do not think we can love either of our Heavenly Parents without also dealing with our anger against them. If you have not been angry at God, then you have never taken him or her seriously; you have not really entered into a relationship. Love always involves a broad range of emotions, which is why it seems easier to love in the abstract. It seems more like our ideal of love if it is not tainted with a complexity of emotions and a history of disappointments. But intense relationships have negative as well as positive interactions. We all hurt each other, even when we do not intend to. Even God, our Heavenly Parents, who are perfect, cannot help but cause us pain because they have put us in an imperfect world.²⁸ I do not think we women can love the Mother God unless we have also been angry with her. Angry at her absence. Angry at all of our handicaps. Angry at all of our losses. Angry at all the injustices. Angry at our feelings of helplessness.

27. For information on hatred of mother toward child, see Elasa First's "Mothering, Hate, and Winnicott," in *Representations of Motherhood*, ed. Donna Bassin, Margaret Honey, and Meryle Mahrer Kaplan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 147-61. For daughters hating mothers, see Linda Schierse Leonard, *Meeting the Madwoman: An Inner Challenge for Feminine Spirit* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), and Woodman, "Mother as Patriarch."

28. I realize that this raises some questions about God and sin which are beyond the scope of this essay. For a further discussion of my views on this, see *Strangers in Paradox* by Margaret and Paul Toscano (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 107-15.

One of my strongest desires is not to leave my daughters helpless. I do not want to give them a heritage of defeat. But avoiding defeat is not the same as avoiding pain. My own suffering has taught me that growth does not come without conflict. I want to quote another section from Erica Jong's poem about mothers and daughters because it acknowledges the fact that daughters construct their self-image not only by identifying with their mothers but by opposing them too.

My poems will have daughters
everywhere,
but my own daughter
will have to grow
into her energy.

I will not call her Mary
or Erica.
She will shape
a wholly separate name.

& if her finger falters
on the needle,
& if she ever needs to say
she hates me,
& if she loathes poetry
& loves to whistle,
& if she never
calls me Mother,
She will always be my daughter—
—From "Dear Marys, Dear Mother, Dear Daughter"

And in some ways our daughters will always be our mothers and sisters too. Much of our anger against our mothers comes when we feel they will only allow us to relate to them as daughters, that they will only accept us if we mirror them and fulfill their desires and wishes.²⁹ This is the other side of the negative mother image; this is the devouring mother

29. This describes a major conflict between my mother and her mother. To get the last word in an argument they were having when my mother was in her sixties and my grandmother was in her eighties, my grandmother said, "Lenna, you are sealed to me as my daughter. That means that you will always have to obey me throughout the eternities." Her statement certainly adds a dark side to the concept of eternal families and sealings. I want to note here too that while I have represented my grandmother as somewhat of a Dragon Lady in this essay, she too has a history of being wounded that makes me sympathetic to her. At age ten, she was sent to work as a live-in helper for a rich woman in town because her family was too poor to keep her. But this is another story for another time.

who gives life to you only so that you will give it back to her. Motherhood is often seen in this way as the impossible demand, as unsatisfied female desire. It is the lack that can never be filled—the gaping hole of womanhood.

But the devouring mother and the absent mother are really two sides of the same coin.³⁰ The absent mother is the self-sacrificing woman who has no identity and is only there to give her life to the next generation. The devouring mother sacrifices her children to keep herself alive. But in the process she too loses her identity and becomes the witch stereotype, who in turn is sacrificed in the name of the Father to keep patriarchy alive. Both of these mothers have been used to subordinate and control women.

It is these twin mother images that many of us react against with such violence and fear. They are the two extremes in the spectrum of motherhood. All of us have some of them in us, which may be one reason these images are so fearful. I believe we must redeem them by assimilating and transforming them.³¹ We cannot like the idea of motherhood, we cannot like our own mothers, and we cannot like being mothers until we reclaim and redefine what being a mother is. French feminist Luce Irigaray defines motherhood as the process of creation.

... we are always mothers once we are women. We bring something other than children into the world, we engender something other than children: love, desire, language, art, the social, the political, the religious, for example. But this creation has been forbidden us for centuries, and we must reappropriate this maternal dimension that belongs to us as women.

If it is not to become traumatizing or pathological, the question of whether or not to have children must be asked against the background of an other generating, of a creation of images and symbols. Women and their children would be infinitely better off as a result.

We have to be careful about one other thing: we must not once more kill the mother who was sacrificed to the origins of our culture. We must give her new life, new life to that mother, to our mother within us and between us. We must refuse to let her desire be annihilated by the law of the father. We must give her the right to pleasure, to *jouissance*, to passion, restore her right to speech, and sometimes to cries and anger.³²

30. Of course these types can be described in other ways too. For example, Linda Schierse Leonard calls both of these mothers the Mad Mother, which she then further classifies as the Ice Queen, the Dragon Lady, the Sick Mother (who is also the Caged Bird), and the Saint Mother (the Martyr).

31. I am purposely using an eating metaphor here. It is sacramental. We take the God or Goddess into us, and in the process both of us are transformed and expanded.

32. In *The Irigaray Reader*, 43.

While not allowing women to be reduced to the mothering role, Irigaray at the same time asserts the absolute importance of mothering for women. She does this by expanding the meaning of being a mother and by emphasizing the importance of symbols and language in the creation of women's subjectivity and selfhood. Irigaray's writings support my view that god-images are crucial for believer and non-believer alike. For her, the idea of God is an essential part of the creation of meaning and personhood.³³ As she puts it:

"God is the mirror of man" (Feuerbach, p. 63). Woman has no mirror where-with to become woman. Having a God and becoming one's gender go hand in hand. God is the other that we absolutely cannot be without. In order to *become*, we need some shadowy perception of achievement; not a fixed objective ... but rather a cohesion and a horizon that assures us the passage between past and future. ...³⁴

Women need a female God to insure a coalescence of self in the "path of becoming,"³⁵ according to Irigaray. Although that female deity must be more than mother, she must also be the Mother God who bequeaths to her daughters their own genealogy, history, citizenship, and the ownership of their own property, bodies, and symbols. This is the mythic Mother who was killed to create patriarchal culture.

"We must not once more kill the mother who was sacrificed to the origins of our culture," says Irigaray. How do we kill her? We kill God the Mother by confining her to sentimental stereotypes. We kill her by seeing her as less than the Father God. We kill her by not allowing her to speak. We kill her by simply projecting onto her our fantasies of fulfillment without loss. We kill her by not allowing her to have pleasure, passion, and anger. The violent witch in my dream represents not just my need to acknowledge my own anger; it also represents my need to allow my mother and the Heavenly Mother their anger.³⁶ And what is this anger? What does it represent? For me right now, it symbolizes the parts of my-

33. For Irigaray, religion is all about creating meaning in the process of the development of self and culture. She relies on Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957) in formulating her views about the function of religion: "To have a goal is essentially a religious move (according to Feuerbach's analysis). Only the religious, within and without us, is fundamental enough to allow us to discover, affirm, achieve certain *ends* (without being locked up in the prison of effect—or effects)" (*Sexes and Genealogies*, trans. Gillian C. Gill [New York: Columbia University Press, 1993], 67).

34. *Sexes and Genealogies*, 67. She also says: "Man is able to exist because God helps him to define his gender (genre), helps him orient his finiteness by reference to infinity."

35. *Ibid.*

36. In speaking of the negative mother image, Marion Woodman says: "It is thus her mother's rage she [the daughter] must redeem by recognizing that rage in herself" (in "Mother as Patriarch," *Fathers and Mothers*, 80).

self I hate; it symbolizes what I dislike about the Mother figure and why I am afraid of becoming like her.

"It is a fearful thing to come into the hands of a living God," says Job. It is frightening to let God be more than a flat picture of a lifeless ideal. It is frightening because it may mean I have to expand my view of goodness and experience things I wanted to avoid. It may mean I have to accept a God who is more than I ever imagined. The angry mother-witch-god makes me re-examine all my notions about good and evil; she breaks open my categories. Her violent beating warns me not to kill the mother in me. It warns me against making hasty judgments about myself or about the Mother God. It makes me realize that we kill God (and the god in us) not simply by disbelieving. We also kill God by setting up barriers about what God can and can't be based on our unexamined fears and desires. And yet we cannot be everything we can be until we let God be everything she can be. In myth the Goddess often appears first in a hideous and terrible form. Only when she is accepted in all her ugliness does she then transform into a beautiful, gracious, woman-like deity. Paradoxically, we may not be able to get beyond the dualistic thinking involved in the good mother/bad mother image until we accept the idea that "the Mother Goddess simultaneously includes both good and evil, beauty and ugliness, nurture and destructiveness."³⁷ It is my prayer that we can accept ourselves and the Goddess in all our forms. Let us give life to the Mother and live.³⁸

37. Rabuzzi, 184.

38. For additional reading, see Kathie Carlson, *In Her Image: The Unhealed Daughter's Search for Her Mother* (Boston: Shambala Publications, Inc., 1989); Elaine K. McEwan, *My Mother, My Daughter: Women Speak about Relating across the Generations* (Wheaton, IL: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1992); Janneke van Mens-Verhulst, Karlein Schreurs, and Liesbeth Woertman, eds., *Daughtering and Mothering: Female Subjectivity Reanalysed* (London: Routledge, 1993); Rozsika Parker, *Mother Love/Mother Hate: The Power of Maternal Ambivalence* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); and Ann and Barry Ulanov, *The Witch and the Clown: Two Archetypes of Human Sexuality* (Wilmette, IL: Chiron Publications, 1987).



Reflections on Mormon History: Zion and the Anti-Legal Tradition

Edwin B. Firmage

I. ZION

I have Zion in my view constantly. We are not going to wait for angels, or for Enoch and his company to come and build Zion, but we are going to build it.
—Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* 9:284¹

SIR HENRY MAINE, OUR FIRST GREAT MODERN legal historian of the English language and law, in describing the paradigmatic shift from early feudal European society to a world of secular, territorial nation-states and market economy, observed that we had moved “from status to contract.” “Status” assumes an immutable condition not changeable by individual choice and action. “Contract” assumes that one can change existing conditions by choice and action. No statement describes with more insight the nineteenth-century Mormon concept of Zion.

Zion was the society where brothers and sisters could live in harmony with each other in the presence of the spirit of God, in anticipation of a personal presence, a union of heaven and earth. The idea that religious life at the most profound level must be lived in community has existed from the beginning of the human quest for God. Many Christian

1. Much of the research for this essay is based on the first legal history of the Mormon experience in the nineteenth century, Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). See also Firmage, “Religion and the Law: The Mormon Experience in the Nineteenth Century,” *Cardozo Law Review* 12 (1990); Firmage, “Free Exercise of Religion in Nineteenth Century America: The Mormon Cases,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 7 (1989).

religious communities have formed primarily in anticipation of an immediate second advent. Mormons of the nineteenth century shared this anticipation. Other communities simply sought refuge, a separation from the world in order to live more completely in accordance with God's word. Mormons also followed this pattern.

But Mormons of the first decades of their own revelations shared an enthusiasm, like the first generations of most religious groups, that seemed to allow for the complete fulfillment of those revelations in the Saints' own time, by their own actions. While Jesus indicated that no one knew the time or the manner of God's fulfillment of things and the end-time, the powerful literalism of Mormon working-class converts, people who knew their own capacity to work with their own hands and affect directly their own world, propelled them to make Zion here and now. Interpreting the Hebrew Bible and the Christian commentary in such a way that they were heirs of the patriarchal practices and prophecies, as had been the converts of the first century of Christianity, Mormons of the nineteenth century felt empowered to create a society where they could live and grow in pure Christian fellowship without the obstructions of a secular and perverse world. Reading scripture, mediated neither by Christian tradition nor professional clergy, their interpretation was powerful, palpable, literal, and peculiar. Their vision was not attainable if they were absorbed and assimilated by the dominant culture, nor did they feel impotent from creating their own society now. They need not accept a fated status quo or rely on God simply to make it so. They need not wait for angels. Jedediah M. Grant said this with characteristic color and power: "If you want a heaven, go to and make it" (*Journal of Discourses* 3:66). Brigham Young was possessed by this same vision. "I have Zion in my view constantly. We are not going to wait for angels, or for Enoch and his company to come and build Zion, but we are going to build it" (*Journal of Discourses* 9:284).

II. THE ANTI-LEGAL TRADITION: WHY THE HEARSE HORSE SNICKERED

Do not go to law at all; it does you no good and only wastes your substance. It causes idleness, waste, wickedness, vice and immorality. Do not go to law. You cannot find a courtroom without a great number of spectators in it; what are they doing? Idling away their time to no profit whatever. As for lawyers, if they will put their brains to work and learn how to raise potatoes, wheat, cattle, build factories, be merchants or tradesmen, it will be a great deal better for them than trying to take the property of others from them through litigation.

—Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* 14:82

This notion of a gathered community with its own social and political institutions resulted in part from the Saints' original vision and in part from their early experience. Mormons had been driven from Kirtland, Ohio, to Jackson County, Missouri, to Nauvoo, Illinois. The law had never been their protector but was often used against them. Mormons, like minority groups throughout history, found that often those who led the mobs by night were officers of the law and the government by day.

When Mormons fought to defend themselves, the full weight of the state could be mobilized against them. Governor Lilburn Boggs of Missouri directed that the state militia treat the Mormons as enemies who "must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary for the public good" (in *Zion in the Courts*, 74). Three days after this order, between eighteen and thirty-one Mormons were massacred at Haun's Mill. These victims included a number of women and children.

Mormons sought relief through state and federal courts and through petitions to Congress and the president. They even tried a novel idea of impeaching the entire state of Missouri for failure to provide a republican form of government. Meeting defeat at every level of law and government, Mormons attempted to establish their own community at Nauvoo. They fashioned a charter with a degree of autonomy that would render their community nearly sovereign from the rest of the state. In fact, the charter appears to us today more like a sovereign constitution. If the institutions of law and government could not meet the needs of the Mormons, they would fashion their own system of government. In retrospect, from this point the Mormons were on a collision course with the dominant community, unless they could sufficiently distance themselves from the nation and be left alone.

It is evident that the early Mormon experience with the law would be reason enough to reject traditional legal structure for governance or dispute resolution. But the reasons for the full flowering of anti-legalism are far broader.

First, it is consistent with the early decades of a new religious movement to reject use of legal institutions of the surrounding culture, now seen as at best irrelevant and at worst hostile. Jesus advised his disciples to settle disputes on the way to court; to turn the other cheek or offer one's cloak rather than dispute with a brother. His strongest invective was saved for the lawyer, so much so that "lawyers and hypocrites" seemed to be a hyphenated term (see Matt. 5-6, 23). St. Paul in his first letter to the saints at Corinth reflects his being scandalized that newly minted Christians were suing or being sued in Caesar's courts. If they are to judge angels, he says, can they not resolve their own disagreements among themselves and, by implication, by application of the teachings of Jesus? (1 Cor. 6:1-8).

Second, and related to the above, any group which sees a radically new vision possesses a new paradigm by which one determines the good, the true, and the beautiful. With this new paradigm, the group has little regard for the law, particularly the law of process—having to do with means rather than ends—supporting and defining the old order. People in general have to be educated over time to appreciate any self-interest in procedural means: exactly *why* evidence of a certain nature may not be admissible in a particular case when that very evidence might be highly relevant to determining guilt or innocence, legal right, and obligation. In a pluralistic society, a jurisprudence of means develops from necessity, since there exists a multiplicity of values, a pluralistic jurisprudence of ends. With such diversity, the common denominator for community consensus is a jurisprudence of means: *where* we are going will be variously determined, but *how* we get there, what rules of the road are permissible in this pluralistic community of competing values existing and protected together, must be agreed upon by all. This toleration of competing values, with a consequent sophisticated appreciation of “due process,” is seen as unnecessary baggage within the community of newly shared values agreed upon by a people who have accepted the new vision of the new community. The shared vision of the new community enjoys the total acceptance of recent converts. Enthusiasm for the new vision is at a peak. At a later point in the evolution of community, alternative routes, different voices, may emerge; but that is for a later time.

Third, often the new vision really is new. That is, the new realization may make such radical demands upon the larger community that its institutions simply cannot bend enough to accommodate the new sub-culture. Nineteenth-century Mormonism certainly presented this challenge to American society. Traditional American notions of pluralistic democracy, biblical Protestant religiosity, monogamous marriage, and individualist capitalistic economics were confronted by a communal theology of Zion, theocratic government, a new book of scripture, polygamy, and a form of Christian socialism and communal life.

While all this does not insure an anti-legal tradition, at the least it leads to new approaches to self-governance and the birth of new institutions of law congruent with the new community—Zion. Two radically different societies were in direct conflict. Collision with the old order was assured.

III. FULFILLMENT

The American Puritans’ “City upon a Hill” prospered because it was a City on the Sea. How different the story of New England, or of America, might have been if they had built their Zion in a sequestered inland place, some

American Switzerland, some mountain-encircled valley! The sea was the great opener of their markets and their minds.

—Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience*

There are advantages and costs, to some degree mutually exclusive, for a community to live and grow in its first decades in isolation, or in geographically enforced dialogue with neighbors with different visions. For reasons to some degree both within and without their own power to have had it otherwise, Mormons fared poorly with their neighbors during their brief communal residence in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. In their Great Basin kingdom, they were denied the sort of interaction with other religious or secular communities which might have influenced Mormon history dramatically. For better and worse, Mormons had several decades of insular history—protected, as they were for a time, by their own mountain-encircled valley, their sequestered inland place. Powerful additional elements contributed during this period to a growing ethnicity: a history that included decades of persecution, and colonial and imperial experience in pioneering a major portion of the American West. These elements combined with the geographic isolation and the overwhelming predominance and sheer numbers of Mormons in the territory, and consequent control over most institutions of governance and society, to produce a people. Within this time, unique institutions came to fruition: theocratic government, communal economics and society, a system of lay dispute resolution through mediation, arbitration, and, finally, ecclesiastical court sanction, if necessary. A peculiar vision of Zion was the overarching idea within which these historical elements came into harmony.

National preparation by law to wage war against Mormon society was begun shortly after the Saints reached Utah territory. While Brigham Young attempted to extend the stakes of Zion's tent throughout much of the West to California and Mexico, statutes were passed by Congress, or by the state and territorial governments, criminalizing polygamy and denying fundamental human rights, including the right to vote, serve on juries, hold public office, emigrate, and the right to refuse to testify against one's spouse. Children of polygamous marriages were denied inheritance rights, and foreign-born Mormons were denied citizenship. By the end of this period of intense conflict, the federal government passed legislation providing for the disestablishment of the LDS church and confiscation of its property. The federal government and the Mormon people were locked in combat that swept beyond the issue of polygamy, to threaten the continuation of Mormon society.

Mormon leaders responded in various ways that included formation

of their own political party and a refusal to participate in many of the legal institutions of the federal and territorial governments.

First, the Mormon-controlled territorial legislature extended the jurisdiction of the probate courts, also staffed largely by Mormons, beyond matters traditional to such courts (wills, guardianship, and divorce) to include general jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases. Since the governor and the territorial supreme court were appointed by the federal government, Mormons attempted to deal with the increasing convictions for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation by asserting probate court jurisdiction over such cases. The drawing of jury lists was also placed under probate court jurisdiction.

But this line of defense was breached by a decision of the Utah territorial supreme court, later upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, holding that such jurisdiction of the probate courts extended beyond the intent of Congress in passing the 1850 Organic Act by which Utah became a territory.

Mormons were left yet with one powerful institution—the church courts. While this could not protect members from prosecution for unlawful cohabitation or polygamy, Mormon society, nevertheless, could exist and prosper. Polygamous marriages, together with the inevitable disputes relating to marriage of any sort, might continue. Issues of child custody, divorce, and property settlements could be resolved without recourse to federal or territorial courts.

But motivation for the resolution of disputes by means other than judicial settlement went beyond and existed before the conflicts over polygamy. Before the Utah period, elders' courts had helped define Mormonism in disciplinary proceedings involving Mormon leadership. Succeeding bishops' courts, appellate high council courts, and courts of the Quorum of the Twelve and First Presidency possessed jurisdiction over all civil matters. These courts went beyond questions of morality or ecclesiastical governance to include essentially all civil jurisdiction. Only crimes were beyond the competence of those courts.

This truly remarkable and unique system contained several essential components. First, the church asserted such sweeping jurisdiction over all matters of civil disputes under the exclusive jurisdiction rule. That is, Mormons were forbidden, under threat of disfellowshipment or excommunication from their church, from suing other Mormons at law. While no other sanctions or enforcement existed, that is, no penalty involving loss of property or imprisonment, the threat of loss of membership was deterrent enough for believers in Mormon society in the nineteenth century. The excommunicable offense for suing before territorial courts was either "suing before the ungodly" or "unchristian-like conduct."

Brigham Young advised, "[W]henever a man would attempt to 'pop'

you through the courts of law of the land, you should 'pop' him through the courts of our church; you should bring him up for violating the laws of the church, for going to law before the ungodly, instead of using the means that God has appointed" (*Journal of Discourses* 20:104-105). In fact, pursuing the profession of law was similarly categorized as unchristian-like conduct in a number of sermons.

Let me state again the extraordinary scope of jurisdiction possessed by the Mormon system of dispute resolution. All matters of civil jurisdiction were handled before church mediators, arbitrators, or bishops' courts, high council courts, or courts of the Twelve or the First Presidency; this included, but was not limited to, torts, contracts, water law, natural resources, family law, property law, inheritance, and so on. Only crimes were excluded, and even that line was very porous at the lower levels of mediation where, after all, most disputes were resolved. It was not unusual, in fact, for various of these church courts to modify a decision and judgment handed down by one of the territorial courts. Litigants accepted such church court action or they faced church discipline.

Dispute resolution began with the teachers. The home teachers of today, often the butt of a cartoon by Pat Bagley or Calvin Grondahl, are a pale remnant of a powerful system of mediation throughout Mormon communities through the nineteenth century. The teachers, two adult males assigned to every Mormon family, were to mediate all disputes within the wards and stakes of the church. Only if resolution could not be accomplished would a dispute proceed to a bishop's court. Considerable influence existed to encourage settlement by mediation.

In turn, before the bishop's court was formally convened, the bishop might assign an arbitrator to resolve the dispute, if successful mediation by the teachers was not possible. If members of different wards were the disputants, the bishops would agree upon an arbitrator, presumably with the acquiescence of the aggrieved parties.

On 24 February 1865 Brigham delivered a scathing attack on those practicing law or considering such a profession:

I am ashamed of many of you; it is a disgrace for men of dignity and character to condescend to the mean, low-lived pettifogger and miserable tools at that. ... [T]o observe such conduct as many lawyers are guilty of, stirring up strife among peaceable men, is an outrage upon the feelings of every law abiding man ... and to sit among them is like sitting in the depths of hell, for they are as corrupt as the bowels of hell, and their hearts are as black as the ace of spades. ... God Almighty curse them from this time henceforth, and let all the Saints in this house say, Amen. For they are a stink in the nostrils of God and angels, and in the nostrils of every Latter-day Saint in this Territory (*Journal of Discourses* 3:240).

Brigham believed profoundly that any community based upon the ideals of Zion would have no disputes that could not be resolved by mediation or arbitration. He counseled, "[W]hat is the advice of an honorable gentleman in the profession of law? 'Do not go to the law with your neighbor, do not be coaxed into a lawsuit, for you will not be benefited by it. If you do go to the law, you will hate your neighbor;' ... why not ... say 'we will arbitrate this case, and we will have no lawsuit, and no difficulty with our neighbor, to alienate feelings one from another?' This is the way we should do as a community" (*Journal of Discourses* 15:224-25). If this was not successful, the dispute would be tried before the bishop's court, composed of the bishop and his two counselors. Counselors advised the bishop, but the bishop made the decision.

Parties were obliged to accept this decision on pain of disfellowship or excommunication. A right of appeal existed to the high council, composed of the stake president, his two counselors, and twelve members of the council. As Brigham Young exhorted 24 February 1865:

There is not a righteous person in this community who will have difficulties that cannot be settled by arbitrators, the Bishop's Court, the High Council, or by the 12 Referees. ... far better and more satisfactorily than to contend with each other in law courts, which directly tends to destroy the best interests of the community, and to lead scores of men away from their duties, as good and industrious citizens (*Journal of Discourses* 3:238).

Appeals from the high council could be had either to the court of the First Presidency or the Council of the Twelve.

Lawyers were not allowed in these proceedings, with rare exceptions. The common law was not formally recognized and no formal methods of pleading or due process were followed. No formal system of *stare decisis*—whereby present disputes could be governed by previous legal precedent with similar facts—existed.

Nevertheless, our reading of all cases in the church courts from 1830 until well into this century revealed a system of fundamental fairness, compassion, an innate sense of like cases being treated alike, and a powerful ethic of Christian reconciling love, throughout the period of this extraordinary system of lay justice.

Mediation through the teachers disposed of most disputes. Most remaining cases were resolved in the bishop's court where, again, a mediated decision was often accomplished.

While Brigham lived, he took an active part in this system, and for all his talk of the evils of "court-watching," he seemed drawn to the proceedings of the Salt Lake City High Council where he was a frequent observer. Justice was fast and inexpensive. While no jurisdictional claim was made over non-members of the Mormon church, sometimes non-

members asked to have a dispute with a Mormon handled through the church courts. In one case, for example, a non-member sued ZCMI in bishop's court and won.

The life of the devout Mormon lawyer (surprisingly, this is not necessarily an oxymoron) was not easy. Not only did he face interminable sermons at general conference suggesting that he find honest work. When he was lucky enough to get a client, perhaps before the Mormon-controlled probate courts, he found it difficult and often impossible to collect his fee. Zerubbabel Snow was a prominent Mormon attorney, at different times one of the first federal associate justices in Utah, serving in all districts until a full bench of the Utah Supreme Court could be appointed; he defended Brigham Young against polygamy charges (a tough case to win), and later in private practice when the Poland Act of 1874 abolished all territorial officers. Snow was accused before a bishop's court for unchristian-like conduct for suing a Mormon constable before the U.S. Third District Court of Utah. Snow won the case against the constable in the district court, but the constable prevailed in part, in the church court, even though Snow was actually suing on behalf of his non-Mormon son. Snow was ordered, in effect, to return half of the judgment won in district court for his lack of Christian compassion toward his brother, the constable. Snow appealed to the high council, which body again reiterated Snow's obligation of brotherly Christian love toward the constable who had wronged Snow's son. Snow also suffered the fate of other Mormon attorneys in being charged, successfully, before church courts, when they sued at law to collect legal fees.

All was not dour, stern, and serious, however, in the life of the Mormon community. Frontier humor lightened even the most weighty matter of church discipline. An obvious parody of more serious cases was the mock charge to Orrin Porter Rockwell at Pioneer Camp on 26 May 1847:

Sir you are hereby commanded to bring wherever found, the body of Col. [GM] before the Right Reverend Bishop Whipple at his quarters, there to answer the following charge, viz: — that of emitting a sound (in meeting on Sunday last) a posteriorari (from the seat of honor) somewhat resembling the rumble of distant thunder, or the heavy discharge of artillery, thereby endangering the ... nerves of those present, as well as disturbing the minds from the discourse of the speaker (in *Zion in the Courts*, 365).

The church court system continued to hear cases in all areas of the civil law at least until 1900. By 1908 the movement away from this practice was noted when a committee of apostles recommended that the bishops' courts no longer be used for the collection of ordinary debts.

Church courts influenced to some extent later substantive civil law in the areas of contracts, torts, family law, property law, and, particularly, water and other natural resources law throughout the West.

IV. ACCOMMODATION

But now they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city.

—Hebrews 11:16

If this people neglect their duty, turn away from the holy commandments which God has given us, seek for their own individual wealth, and neglect the interests of the Kingdom of God, we may expect to be here quite a while—perhaps a period that will be far longer than we anticipated.

—Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* 11:102

The remarkable, even heroic, effort to establish Zion and to provide institutions congruent with such an endeavor lasted well beyond any time that would be explainable purely upon a theory of economic interpretation of history. Long after continental railroads opened Utah as a "market," the institutions of Zion continued to function. But when the full weight of the federal government was brought to bear upon Mormon society, unique aspects of Mormon culture were discontinued. After *Reynolds* and then the 1890 Woodruff Manifesto, church leaders by conscious decision moved toward accommodation and, eventually, integration within the larger society. The church's Peoples Party was disbanded and Mormons joined both political parties (though clearly a few more might have remained Democrats). Church courts gradually receded in jurisdictional competence until all civil offenses came to be tried in the courts of the country. Mediation and arbitration disappeared from Mormon ecclesiastical competence, indeed from memory.

One stands in awe and humility, however, of those in that generation who did not wait for angels but tried with all their might to make heaven here. Perhaps we must wait for angels, after all. But if Mormons and many others are right—that the fullness of the religious experience is reached only in community—then with Moses and Isaiah, St. Paul and St. Augustine, and Joseph and Brigham—we continue the quest for the City of God.

A Name and a Blessing

Carol Clark Ottesen

I raise you my just born daughter
to the Father of All Lights.
He has set a flame in you;
this fire connects you to the trees
the earth and creeping things.

I have no witness;
The men have not yet blessed you.
I only hold you to my breast
and feel the pulse of something
stronger than milk,
liquid like a surge of power;
warm like the nape of your neck.

Love this your body;
it will hold another body
and that body, another, like nesting dolls
held together with one strong cord.
Love female; it is fire, warmth, food,
the power to destroy or the power to make pure.

Live close to the moon that rules your tides
Close to the burning stars,
Close to the Son who knows
your flame is brighter against the night.
Listen. He will call you by your name.
He will sanctify this legacy of fire,
Sealed with the authority of blood.

Women Are the Keepers of Secrets

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

Women keep the secrets of men
by candlelight and telephone,
growing in their wombs.

Women keep the secrets of children
who dream of secret wars
and giants at the window.

Women keep the secrets of other women
planted in window gardens
and tended past blooming.

Women keep secrets in their bones
until the bones are buried,
and secrets fertilize the land.

Sex and Prophetic Power: A Comparison of John Humphrey Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community, with Joseph Smith, Jr., the Mormon Prophet

Lawrence Foster

THE EXTRAORDINARILY CLOSE yet often highly conflicted connection between religious and sexual impulses and expression has long been noted by scholars.¹ Dynamically expansive new religious movements, in particular, often experience sharp polarities between efforts to control, curtail, or redirect sexual energies, on the one hand, and impulses to open up, broaden, and extend sexual expression in new directions, on the other. Such tensions can be intense within a single individual, as is vividly sug-

1. Although this relationship has frequently been noted, it has far less frequently been analyzed systematically. Geoffrey Parrinder, *Sexual Morality in the World's Religions* (Oxford: One World, 1996), provides an overview of the role of sexuality in the major religions of the world. Revealing analyses of such impulses in new and charismatic religious movements include I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971); William Sargant, *The Mind Possessed: A Physiology of Possession, Mysticism and Faith Healing* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1973); and Susan Jean Palmer, *Moon Sisters, Krishna Mothers, Rajneesh Lovers: Women's Roles in New Religions* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994). My own study *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), which serves as the basis for much of the following discussion, was very concerned with such issues, as the title indicates.

gested in Somerset Maugham's short story "Rain," in which a sexually rigid missionary ultimately succumbs to the temptations of the flesh.² Charismatic religious prophets, in particular, often embody within themselves conflicting tendencies toward extremes of sexual control or license.

The complexities and ambiguities of such tendencies first became apparent to me nearly thirty years ago when I began studying the Shakers, who introduced and required strict celibacy in their semi-monastic communities in antebellum America, and the Oneida Perfectionists, who introduced within their communities a form of group marriage or "free love" that the journalist Charles Nordhoff once colorfully characterized as a "seemingly unprecedented combination of polygamy and polyandry, with certain religious and social restraints."³

On the surface, it might seem hard to imagine two more diametrically opposed groups. Yet, in a whole host of ways, the two groups were strikingly similar. John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the free-love Oneida Community, developed a theological system that was essentially a mirror image of that of the celibate Shakers and admired them as the only group other than his own which even approached a correct understanding of the heavenly model of religious and social order.⁴

Elsewhere the extraordinary and ambiguous kinship between the two seemingly polar opposite movements of the Shakers and Oneida Community is developed more fully.⁵ This essay, instead, will compare the efforts of John Humphrey Noyes and his followers at Oneida in the late 1840s to develop a system of complex marriage and the efforts of the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., earlier that same decade to introduce a form of plural marriage among his closest followers in Nauvoo, Illinois. The essay will begin with some reflections on the relationship between religious and sexual impulses in such new religious movements. Then it will explore the religious and sexual dynamics at Oneida, presenting some important new material that suggests the extraordinary importance of Oneida's sexual system in maintaining loyalty to the religious community there. Finally, the essay will suggest how this new understanding of the religious and sexual dynamics at Oneida may help in understanding puzzling aspects of why and how Joseph Smith may have felt compelled, as by "an angel with a drawn sword," to institute plural marriage or lose his prophetic powers.

2. W. Somerset Maugham, "Rain," in *The Complete Short Stories of W. Somerset Maugham*, Vol. 1 (London: Heinemann), 1-38.

3. Charles Nordhoff, *The Communist Societies of the United States* (New York: Harper, 1875), 271.

4. *Handbook of the Oneida Community* (Wallingford, CT: Office of the Circular, 1867), 60.

5. Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 88-90. Also see Stow Persons, "Christian Communitarianism in America," in Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., *Socialism and American Life*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 1:125-51.

I

As a starting point for these reflections, let us turn to a powerful statement by a Viennese doctor whose work remains influential and controversial, Sigmund Freud. His great study *Civilization and Its Discontents* begins with this electrifying statement: "The impression forces itself upon one that men measure by false standards, that everyone seeks power, success, riches for himself and admires others who attain them, while undervaluing the truly precious things in life."⁶ Freud goes on, in a rare instance of willingness to admit his own fallibility, to discuss how his dear friend Romaine Rolland had taken issue with Freud's argument in *The Future of an Illusion* that religion was nothing more than a projection of childish recollections of an all-powerful father figure. Rolland, while admitting that this could well be the primary basis for popular religious belief, argued that a deeper source of religion was an emotion that he called "a sensation of 'eternity,' a feeling of something limitless, unbounded, something 'oceanic'"—"a feeling of indissoluble connection, of belonging inseparably to the external world as a whole."⁷

Freud, while admitting that he had never himself experienced such a feeling, speculated that it might well be related to the emotions experienced in sexual union. As he put it: "At its height the state of being in love threatens to obliterate the boundaries between ego and object. Against all the evidence of his senses the man in love declares that he and his beloved are one, and is prepared to behave as if it were a fact."⁸ While one need not accept Freud's speculations as to the sources of the sense of oceanic boundlessness in sexual—or religious—experiences, the apparent similarities between the accounts of many mystics describing their sense of oneness with God and of lovers describing their sense of union with each other is nevertheless striking. As only one case in point, many of St. Teresa of Avila's ecstatic effusions could easily be read as descriptive of the emotions associated with sexual union.⁹

Further insights into this complex relationship is suggested in a brilliant recent book which may well do for our understanding of the psychology of charismatic religious personalities what William James's study *The Varieties of Religious Experience* did a century ago for the

6. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Joan Riviere, trans. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, n.d.; originally published, 1930), 1.

7. *Ibid.*, 2.

8. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

9. For instance, she describes her vision of an angel as follows: "In his hand I saw a great golden spear, and at the iron tip there appeared to be a point of fire. This he plunged into my heart several times so that it penetrated to my entrails. When he pulled it out, I felt that he took them with it, and left me utterly consumed by the great love of God." Quoted in Parinder, *Sexual Morality*, 218.

broader topic of religious experience as a whole. Written by Len Oakes, for eleven years the participant-observer historian of a New Zealand religious commune that could be viewed as a cross between the Esalen Institute, the Rajneeshees, and the Oneida Community, *Prophetic Charisma: The Psychology of Revolutionary Religious Personalities* presents a solid qualitative and quantitative analysis of the characteristics and process of psychological development of prophetic leaders in eighteen contemporary New Zealand communal groups.¹⁰

Most relevant for this analysis is Oakes's chapter on "The Charismatic Moment," which focuses on what Charles Lindholm has described as an "ecstatic transcendent experience opposed to the alienation and isolation of the mundane world."¹¹ This emotionally transformative "ritual process" is described by anthropologist Victor Turner and others in terms of an "electrifying blurring of boundaries."¹² In this context, Oakes reflects on the "blurred line between sexuality and mysticism" and the "amoral nature of the charismatic experience" that sometimes provides individuals with "the sense of a truth so great, some ecstasy so powerful, that it takes the group beyond normal morality and into the supra-divine realm."¹³ "Such total dissolution of the personality produces an eternal 'moment' wherein but One Thing is needful: to dissolve one's being into the Being of God as mediated by the prophet—the master of the techniques of ecstasy."¹⁴

But perhaps the most incisive analytical approach to such phenomena and their interrelation is provided by John Humphrey Noyes himself, who was not only an astute community organizer but a brilliant, if highly idiosyncratic, social theorist.¹⁵ Noyes summarized the relationship between religious and sexual impulses in antebellum revivalism as follows:

Revivals are in their nature theocratic; and a theocracy has an inexpugnable tendency to enter the domain of society and revolutionize the relations of man and wife. The resulting new forms of society will differ as the civilization and inspiration of the revolutionists differ.¹⁶

10. Len Oakes, *Prophetic Charisma: The Psychology of Revolutionary Religious Personalities* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997). Oakes's key argument is that certain childhood experiences may influence prophetic figures to view the world in narcissistic terms, convinced that their own personal experience provides a universally valid paradigm for the world. Oakes's typology of the stages of development of prophetic leadership throughout an individual's life is as suggestive for such figures as Erik Erikson's theory of the developmental stages is for normal personalities.

11. *Ibid.*, 144.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 149.

14. *Ibid.*, 150.

15. Excerpts from the letter are printed in William Hepworth Dixon's *Spiritual Wives* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1968), 347-53.

16. *Ibid.*, 350.

The course of things may be re-stated thus: Revivals lead to religious love; religious love excites the passions; the converts, finding themselves in theocratic liberty, begin to look about for their mates and their paradise. Here begins divergence. If women have the lead, the feminine idea that ordinary wedded love is carnal and unholy rises and becomes a ruling principle. Matting on the Spiritual plan, with all the heights and depths of sentimental love, becomes the order of the day. Then, if a prudent Mother Ann is at the head of affairs, the sexes are fenced off from each other, and carry on their Platonic intercourse through the grating. ... On the other hand, if the leaders are men, the theocratic impulse takes the opposite direction, and polygamy in some form is the result. Thus Mormonism is the masculine form, as Shakerism is the feminine form, of the more morbid products of Revivals.

Our Oneida Socialism, too, is a masculine product of the great Revival.¹⁷

It is notable that all the socialisms that have sprung from revivals have prospered. They are all utterly opposed to each other; some of them must be false and bad; yet they all make the wilderness blossom around them like the rose. ... however false and mutually repugnant the religious socialisms may be in their details, they are all based on the *theocratic* principle—they all recognize the right of religious inspiration to shape society and dictate the form of family life.¹⁸

II

With the foregoing perspectives in mind, how might the relationship between religious and sexual impulses in the life and prophetic leadership of John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community he founded best be understood? Noyes, despite his great interest in sexuality and proper forms of sexual expression, always emphasized the primacy of *religious* over sexual issues. As he put it in his 1848 "Bible Argument" manifesto,¹⁹ the first necessity was a restoration of "right relations with God." Only then could "right relations between the sexes" be reestablished. As he put it: "any attempt to revolutionize sexual morality before settlement with God, is out of order."²⁰

Since Noyes had already securely established the religious foundations for himself and his followers by 1848, the "Bible Argument" primarily addresses the second issue that would be the key to the Oneida

17. *Ibid.*, 351.

18. *Ibid.*, 352-53.

19. For the full text of the "Bible Argument Defining the Relations of the Sexes in the Kingdom of Heaven," see *The First Annual Report of the Oneida Association* (Oneida Reserve, NY: Leonard, 1849), 18-42, reprinted in *Bible Communism: A Compilation of the Annual Reports and Other Publications of the Oneida Association and Its Branches* (Brooklyn, NY: Office of the Circular, 1853), 24-64.

20. "Bible Argument," 28.

Community he was founding—how right relations between the sexes should be restored within a holy community. These ideas went back to Noyes's own background as an extremely shy and compulsive young adult who had struggled to understand his own impulses and to determine why so many of the Perfectionists with whom he associated were engaged in such erratic and often self-destructive sexual experimentation. He concluded that the existing marriage system was unsatisfactory: "The law of marriage worketh wrath."²¹ Unrealistic and unnatural restrictions were being placed on relations between the sexes. In marriage, women were held in a form of slave-like bondage, while their husbands toiled away in an uncertain and highly competitive external world. Romantic love and the monogamous family merely accentuated the disruptive individualism present in other areas of society.

How were such problems to be overcome? Further individualistic fragmentation—for instance, free love outside a community context—was no solution. Instead of causing community disruption, powerful sexual forces should be given natural channels and harnessed to provide a vital bond within society. Noyes wanted all believers to be unified and to share a perfect community of interests, to replace the "I-spirit" with the "we-spirit." If believers were to love each other fully while living in close communal association, they must be allowed to love each other fervently and physically, "not by pairs, as in the world, but *en masse*." The necessary restrictions of the earthly period, governed by arbitrary human law, would eventually have to give way to the final heavenly free state, governed by the spirit in which "hostile surroundings and powers of bondage cease" and "all restrictions also will cease." A perfect unity in all respects would result. Each should be married to all—heart, mind, and body—in a complex marriage.²²

This would be achieved by enlarging the home. Loyalty to the selfish nuclear family unit would be replaced by loyalty to the entire community. The fascinating ways in which this was achieved at Oneida and sustained for more than thirty years of close-knit communal living have been discussed extensively elsewhere and will be only briefly summarized here before focusing on the charismatic/sexual issues raised by this experiment.²³ As the group of more than two hundred adults eventually

21. *Ibid.*, 25.

22. *Ibid.*, 21-22.

23. For major studies that discuss the theory and practice of the Oneida Community, see Robert Allerton Parker, *A Yankee Saint: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935); Maren Lockwood Carden, *Oneida: Utopian Community to Modern Corporation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969); Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*; and Spencer Klaw, *Without Sin: The Life and Death of the Oneida Community* (New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1993).

developed, individuals considered themselves married to each other and exchanged heterosexual partners frequently within the community, while breaking up all exclusive romantic attachments, which were described as "special love," antisocial behavior threatening communal order. All members lived together in one large communal Mansion House, ate together, worked together, had a system of communal child rearing, and shared all but the most basic property in common. Community government was achieved by having daily religious-and-business meetings which all adults attended, by using an informal method of group feedback and control known as "mutual criticism," and by developing an informal status hierarchy known as "ascending and descending fellowship." A difficult system of birth control based on self-restraint known as "male continence" was used exclusively until the final decade of the community's life, when a "stirpiculture" or eugenics experiment was introduced for some members.

How was Noyes's prophetic leadership and sexual charisma associated with the development of this system? Absolutely core to Oneida was the complete acceptance by Noyes's followers of his special religious commission and his ultimate authority over all areas of their lives, including sexual expression. Once that God-like authority was firmly established, Noyes acted as a quintessential patriarchal figure toward both his male and female followers, benevolently allowing them great flexibility in implementing his ideals in practice.²⁴

In this system, there was candid and open discussion of a variety of sexual issues. As one vivid example, Noyes once made the following reflections toward the end of one of his published theological articles:

Most of the difficulties which have arisen in respects to our social [i.e., sexual] theory, have been based on the idea that woman is a perishable article—that after her first experience in love, she is like an old newspaper, good for nothing. A virgin is considered better than a married woman who has had experience. But the reverse of this should be the case, and when things come to their right hearing, it will be seen that the reverse of the common idea is the truth. It is a scandal to God, and man, and woman, that in the estimation of men, a virgin is better than a married woman. It is true they are so universally preferred, but why? It is because woman has yielded to the worldly idea, and lost her self-respect. She supposes the enigma is solved, and does not carry about with her that fresh consciousness of mystery and worth, that a virgin does. The married settle into the feeling that the enigma is solved,

24. George Wallingford Noyes, *John Humphrey Noyes: The Putney Community* (Oneida, NY: by the author, 1931), 33, notes: "The dogma of Noyes's divine commission became a touchstone in the Putney and Oneida Communities. Those who rejected it were turned away; those who accepted it were bound together in a brotherhood of self-sacrificing quest for the Kingdom of God."

and that makes them less attractive. The principle operates, in the same way, in both sexes.²⁵

While many have commented on the important role that sexual concerns and issues played in the life and development of the Oneida Community, the key to understanding the way Noyes's prophetic leadership and sexual charisma allowed the system there to work so long may well be found in fascinating correspondence from the 1890s, about a decade after the breakup of the community, between Noyes's son Theodore, who had been groomed unsuccessfully by his father to succeed him as head of Oneida, and a perceptive young medical student, Anita Newcomb McGee.

After receiving an unusually detailed thirteen-page letter from Theodore Noyes responding to her questions, McGee responded with her own four-page follow-up in which she continued to press for more clarity on the breakup of the community.²⁶ Essentially, her explanation for the community's dissolution was the same as Constance Noyes Robertson would later develop in her study *Oneida Community: The Breakup*, namely: the tensions associated with John Humphrey Noyes's age and declining ability to lead, the increased community prosperity and associated lessened tendencies toward cohesion, the admission of new and disruptive individuals, and jealousies associated with the stirpiculture or eugenics experiment.²⁷

In his remarkable response to that analysis, which he never sent her, Theodore Noyes praised McGee's "very shrewd summary" of the causes of the breakup but said that all of them were secondary to the most important underlying cause. The power to regulate or withdraw sexual privileges, "inherent in the community at large and by common consent delegated to father [John Humphrey Noyes] and his subordinates, constituted by far the most effectual means of government. Father possessed in a remarkable degree the faculty of convincing people that the use of this arbitrary power was exercised for their own good, and for many years there was very little dissatisfaction and no envy of his prerogative. ..."

But now to come closer, and take the bull fairly by the horns. In a society like the Community, the young and attractive women form the focus toward which all the social rays converge; and the arbiter to be truly one, must possess the confidence and to a certain extent the obedience of this circle of at-

25. *Circular* 1 (30 Nov. 1851): 16.

26. Theodore E. Noyes to Anita Newcomb McGee, 13 Sept. 1891; Anita Newcomb McGee to Theodore E. Noyes, 12 Nov. 1892. Copies of letters in my possession, provided courtesy of Geoffrey Noyes.

27. Constance Noyes Robertson, *Oneida Community: The Breakup* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1972).

tractions and moreover, he must exercise his power by genuine sexual attraction to a large extent. To quite a late period father filled this situation perfectly. He was a man of quite extraordinary attractiveness to women, and he dominated them by his intellectual power and social "magnetism" super-added to intense religious convictions to which young women are very susceptible. The circle of young women whom he trained when he was between 40 and 50 years of age, were by a large majority his devoted friends throughout the trouble which led to the dissolution.

... I must suppose that as he grew older he lost some of his attractiveness, and I know that he delegated the function [of initiating young women into sexual intercourse] to younger men in several cases, but you can see that this matter was of prime importance in the question of successorship and that the lack of a suitable successor obliged him to continue as the social center longer than would have otherwise been the case and so gave more occasion for dissatisfaction.²⁸

In short, Oneida throughout its existence was not only the lengthened shadow of John Humphrey Noyes in its intellectual and organizational aspects, but also in the way it integrated sexual relations as a means of tightly linking the community together in the pursuit of a comprehensive set of religious and social goals.

III

How may this Oneida perspective be relevant to understanding the controversial dynamics of that other great and ultimately far more influential "masculine product of the great Revivals," the Mormons, who, under their remarkable prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., moved during the early 1840s to introduce a form of plural marriage as an integral part of their larger religious and social effort to prepare for the Millennium? As in the case of John Humphrey Noyes, Joseph Smith's first goal was to set up a new religious world view and commitment. Yet he also struggled to understand and cope with what the proper role should be for the expression of human sexuality within that new order.

Like Noyes, who was attempting to "enlarge the family" in order to overcome the disruptive individualism of his day in favor of a larger communal order, Joseph Smith was distressed by the social disruption within the "burned-over district" of western New York State and sought with an acute millenarian sense to "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children" in the religious and communal order he was setting up. Such efforts came to a head, both theologically and in practice, during the five years Smith spent in Nauvoo, Illinois, between 1839 and his murder in

28. Copy of letter from Theodore E. Noyes to Anita Newcomb McGee, 15 Apr. 1892, which was never sent, in my possession, provided courtesy of Geoffrey Noyes.

1844. Theologically, such concerns were reflected in the new sealing ceremonies that Smith introduced to link indissolubly the living and the dead, not only in this life but throughout eternity. Practically, they were reflected in various efforts to achieve closer social ties on earth, most controversially by enlarging conventional monogamous marriage to include a form of patriarchal polygamy based on Old Testament Hebrew models.²⁹

As with Noyes, sexual impulses and drives certainly played an important part in Smith's efforts to introduce polygamous practice for himself and for about thirty of his closest associates in Nauvoo whom George D. Smith has identified.³⁰ Joseph Smith was a handsome, dynamic, and intellectually compelling figure who clearly saw sexuality in a positive light, even while recognizing that its expression had to be kept under appropriate controls. He also faced a host of problems acting as leader of his church, mayor of his city, chief economic planner for a community that within five years surpassed Chicago in size and appeared to hold the balance of political power in Illinois. And with large numbers of his closest and most trusted associates on lengthy missionary ventures, leaving wives and children behind, he had to struggle with efforts to deal with the many complex human problems that emerged. It is within this context, rather than as just an expression of or rationalization for personal impulses, that his introduction of plural marriage may best be understood, both for himself and his close followers.

A vivid expression of these attitudes and concerns is found in the remarkable letter Joseph Smith wrote as part of his attempt to secure as a plural wife Nancy Rigdon, daughter of one of his closest associates, after his initial effort to get her to marry him had been rebuffed. The letter asserts that: "Happiness is the object and design of our existence," but this can only be achieved through "virtue, uprightness, faithfulness, holiness and keeping all the commandments of God."

But we cannot keep all the commandments without first knowing them. That which is wrong under one circumstance, may be, and often is, right under another. A parent may whip a child, and justly too, because he stole an apple; whereas if the child had asked for the apple, and the parent had given it, the child would have eaten it with a better appetite; there would have been no stripes; all the pleasure of the apple would have been secured, all the misery of stealing lost.

This principle will justly apply to all of God's dealings with his children.

29. For the full analysis of these developments, upon which the following summary is based, see Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 123-80.

30. George D. Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy, 1841-46: A Preliminary Demographic Report," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 1-72.

Everything that God gives us is lawful and right; and it is proper that we should enjoy his gifts and blessings whenever and wherever he is disposed to bestow; but if we should seize upon those same blessings and enjoyments without law, without revelation, without commandment, those blessings and enjoyments would prove cursings in the end. ...

Our heavenly Father is more liberal in His views, and boundless in His mercies and blessings, than we are ready to believe or receive ... He says, "Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find;" ... no good thing will I withhold from them who walk uprightly before me, and do my will in all things—who will listen to my voice and to the voice of the servant whom I have sent; ... for all things shall be made known to them in mine own due time, and in the end they shall have joy.³¹

This letter suggests important perspectives for understanding Joseph Smith's sexual attitudes and motivations for introducing plural marriage in Nauvoo, and it also provides a basis for comparison with Theodore Noyes's assessment of the way control over sexual expression provided the chief cohesive force holding the Oneida Community together. Although numerous head counts of Smith's possible or probable plural wives have been made—both by pioneering scholars in Mormon history such as Stanley Snow Ivins, Vesta Crawford, and Fawn Brodie, and by incredibly thorough recent Mormon scholars such as Danel Bachman, D. Michael Quinn, George D. Smith, and Todd Compton³²—those lists typically have not addressed sufficiently the *qualitative* questions about those relationships and the larger *social* functions that such relationships may have served or been intended to serve.³³

31. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period 1*, ed. Brigham H. Roberts, 6 vols., 2d ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948), 5:136.

32. For some of the most important of the lists of possible plural wives of Joseph Smith, see Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 219-34; Stanley Snow Ivins's compendium, printed in Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith and Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, n.d.), 41-47; Vesta P. Crawford Papers, University of Utah Special Collections; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Knopf, 1971), 335-36, 457-88; Danel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975; D. Michael Quinn, "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: A Prosopographical Study," M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1973; Smith, "Nauvoo Roots of Mormon Polygamy"; Todd Compton, "A Trajectory of Plurality: An Overview of Joseph Smith's Thirty-three Plural Wives," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Summer 1996): 1-38; and Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997).

33. Compton's *In Sacred Loneliness* is the first major study to focus broadly on the full range of Joseph Smith's likely plural wives as individuals in their own right, though he tends to assume that any apparent sexual relationship with Joseph Smith was a "marriage." For this approach to Fanny Alger, see his "Fanny Alger Smith Custer: Mormonism's First Plural Wife?" *Journal of Mormon History* 22 (Spring 1996): 174-207; the critical letter by Janet Ellington in *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Spring 1997): vi-vii; and Compton's response in *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Fall 1997): xvii-xix.

Joseph Smith's marriage proposal to Nancy Rigdon highlights both the positive valuation he placed on human sexuality and the necessity he felt for placing it under proper controls. Marriage and sexual expression were described as a "gift and a blessing" that could be compared to a desired apple, but they should only be experienced under proper authority. When proper authority was established, "no good thing will I withhold from those who walk uprightly before me, and do my will in all things."³⁴ It appears that during the turbulent last three years of his life, Smith applied this approach both to his own relationships and to the relationships of the core group of about thirty of his closest male followers who began to practice a form of sanctioned polygamy during that period in Nauvoo. One of the most common code ways of referring to plural marriage in Nauvoo was to talk about men receiving their "privileges," and in his conversation introducing his scribe William Clayton to the idea of polygamy and authorizing him to take as a plural wife a young convert to whom he had become attracted in England, Smith also added: "It is your privilege to have all the wives you want."³⁵

A major reason Joseph Smith sanctioned such an expansion of marriage relationships for himself and his closest male and female followers appears to have been to bind the core Mormon group more closely together. Smith saw himself as trying to create a "new Israel," an almost tribal group indissolubly linked both by blood and by various forms of adoption and sealing of both men and women. Women who were approached by Smith or his closest associates to become plural wives were usually of proven personal and family loyalty to the church. Many of them, especially the daughters of Joseph Smith's close followers whom he took as wives, reported being told that such relationships would insure their salvation and link their families indissolubly to Smith and the faith to which they were so committed. And once such relationships had been established, neither the men nor the women so involved could readily break with their faith. Not only their own emotional commitments but also their reputations would be at stake if they were not to retain total commitment to the Mormon cause.³⁶

Perhaps the most puzzling and difficult-to-interpret behavior of Joseph Smith during this period is the evidence that he asked some of his closest associates to give their wives to him and that he may well have sustained full sexual relations with some women who were at the same

34. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:136.

35. Jenson, "Plural Marriage," 225.

36. Especially striking in this respect is the handwritten statement by Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, dated 30 Mar. 1881, in archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS archives), reproduced in Lawrence Foster, *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 137-38.

time legally the wives of other men.³⁷ This phenomenon has been misleadingly labeled “polyandry” by a number of Mormon scholars, including Danel Bachman, Richard S. Van Wagoner, and Todd Compton.³⁸ Compton, for example, in his massive and thoughtful apologetic study *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* asserts that

fully one-third of his plural wives, eleven of them, were married civilly to other men when he married them. ...

Polyandry might be easier to understand if one viewed these marriages to Smith as a sort of *de facto* divorce with the first husband. However, none of these women divorced their “first husbands” while Smith was alive and all of them continued to live with their civil spouses while married to Smith.³⁹

Contrary to almost all other scholars who have looked closely at this phenomenon, with the notable exception of Andrew Ehat,⁴⁰ I am convinced that the behavior in which Smith apparently engaged could *not* have been viewed, either by himself or by his loyal followers at the time, as a form of “polyandry.” Although outsiders, including contemporary Mormon scholars, may use this term, given the intensely patriarchal emphasis in early Mormon plural marriage it is hard to imagine that Joseph Smith himself considered the practice to be “polyandrous.” Let me, therefore, briefly restate here the comprehensive argument I presented in my 1981 MHA award-winning study *Religion and Sexuality*, which has never been fully addressed by subsequent scholarship, and then tie that argument to the larger comparison between John Humphrey Noyes’s and Joseph Smith’s marital experimentation of the 1840s.⁴¹

The first two of my three arguments about Joseph Smith’s supposed “polyandry” have been widely echoed in later scholarship on this point.

37. Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 159-66.

38. Bachman, “Plural Marriage,” 124-36; Richard S. Van Wagoner, “Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 67-83; and Compton, “Trajectory of Polygamy,” 20-31. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 301-304, 335-37, was one of the first to use and develop the concept of “polyandry” in reference to Joseph Smith’s alleged relationships with wives of his associates.

39. Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness*, 15-16.

40. Andrew F. Ehat, “Pseudo-Polyandry: Explaining Mormon Polygyny’s Paradoxical Companion,” paper presented at the Sunstone Theological Symposium, 22 Aug. 1986, Salt Lake City, Utah.

41. Ehat’s argument is that Joseph Smith’s “pseudo-polyandrous” marriages to women who were already married were for “eternity only” and did not include physical relations on earth. *Ibid.*, 15, 19-25. Thus, he sees no need to consider my attempt to explain how physical relations between Joseph Smith and wives of his associates might have been justified. It is far from clear whether Ehat is right that “pseudo-polyandrous” marriages were unconsummated or whether, as I and most other scholars of Mormon history who have closely analyzed the evidence believe, some of them probably were consummated.

In the first place, the 1843 revelation on plural and celestial marriage makes clear that conventional marriages based on the standards of the external world were not considered valid for eternity. The revelation states: "All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connections, associations, or expectations, that are not made and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for eternity ... are of no efficacy, virtue, or force in and after the resurrection from the dead."⁴²

Later Mormon theology has taken this statement as referring to the afterlife, but in the millenarian context of Nauvoo and early Utah, Mormon leaders attempted to apply presumptive heavenly standards directly on earth. Earthly and heavenly standards were seen as inextricably intertwined; an imminent earthly millennium was to be realized. This meant that existing marriage standards were invalid and that the only valid marriages were those sanctioned under the "new and everlasting covenant" as sealed and practiced on earth. Mormon initiatory ceremonies, from baptism to the more elaborate temple rites, involved a rebirth into a new and different world that was in the process of being created on earth by the church. Prior to the initiation into the new standards, however, there was a brief but disruptive interregnum when neither set of standards was operative and the basis of social authority was unclear.

A former member of Smith's secret Council of Fifty, which helped to regulate this transition, recalled:

About the same time [1842] the doctrine of "sealing" for an eternal state was introduced, and the Saints were given to understand that their marriage relations with each other were not valid. ... That they were married to each other only by their own covenants, and that if their marriage relations had not been productive of blessings and peace, and they felt it oppressive to remain together, they were at liberty to make their own choice, as much as if they had not been married. That it was a sin for people to live together, and raise or beget children, in alienation from each other.⁴³

In addition to this larger argument that the revelation on plural and celestial marriage superseded all earthly bonds and covenants, a second argument also suggests why Joseph Smith might have asked for the wives of other men. In a public speech on 6 October 1861, Brigham Young discussed the ways "in which a woman might leave a man lawfully." The primary valid cause for divorce was: "When a woman becomes alienated in her feelings & affections from her husband." In addition, "if the woman Preferred—another man higher in authority & he is willing to

42. *Deseret News Extra*, 14 Sept. 1852, cited in full in Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, 249-55.

43. John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled; Including the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee* (Hartford, CT: Park, 1881), 146-47.

take her & her husband gives her up—there is no Bill of divorce required. ...”⁴⁴ Such a practice of “moving up” in the hierarchy without a formal divorce may well have originated with Joseph Smith.

There is a third, more speculative explanation developed in *Religion and Sexuality*, and which apparently has never been addressed directly by subsequent Mormon scholarship,⁴⁵ that could further help account, within a patriarchal marriage system, for cases in which Smith appears to have taken married women as plural wives while they remained wives of their first husbands as well. According to a number of sources, including an internal Mormon document discussed below, it may have been possible in some cases for a proxy husband to be assigned by the president of the Mormon church, through the power of the holy anointing, to serve the part of a temporary husband for wives of men absent on long missionary assignments or otherwise unable to have children. The children born under such arrangements could be viewed as belonging to the original husband, who was considered in some sense to have been temporarily “dead.” Thus, while a man was absent in the service of his church, his patriarchal “kingdom,” which was heavily dependent on the number of his children, would not suffer loss.⁴⁶

44. James Beck Notebooks, 1859-65, vol. 1, in LDS archives. In the original stenographic report of Brigham Young’s speech of 8 October 1861, he states that he and a few others learned this belief from Joseph Smith himself. For an unauthorized transcription of this speech, see Dennis R. Short, *For We Men Only: The Lord’s Law of Obedience* (Salt Lake City: Dennis R. Short, 1977), 85-90.

45. Of all the scholars known to me who wrote subsequent to the appearance of *Religion and Sexuality*, only Ehat, “Pseudo-polyandry,” clearly shows an awareness of my “proxy husband” argument. He discounts it without directly mentioning it, however, since he is convinced that Joseph Smith’s marriages to already-married women in Nauvoo were “for eternity only” and did not include a temporal component. Ehat’s work is a distinct step forward from that of Richard S. Van Wagoner, “Mormon Polyandry,” which never even acknowledges my work on the issue of Joseph Smith’s marriages with already-married women, even though my treatment provided a more comprehensive explanation of this issue than did his later article on the subject.

46. The fullest source for this argument is John Hyde, who rose rapidly in the LDS church and then apostatized during the troubled period of the Reformation of 1856-57. Though Hyde frequently exaggerates or fails to understand the deeper spirit underlying Mormon actions, his specific factual allegations often are surprisingly accurate. He stated:

As a man’s family constitutes his glory, to go on a mission for several years, leaving from two to a dozen wives at home, necessarily causes some loss of family, and consequently, according to Mormon notions, much sacrifice of salvation. This difficulty is however obviated by the appointment of an agent or proxy, who shall stand to themward [sic] in their husband’s stead. ... This is one of the secret principles that as yet is only privately talked of in select circles, and darkly hinted at from their pulpits and in their works. They argue that the old Mosaic law of a “brother raising up seed to his dead brother” is now in force; and as death is only a temporary absence, so they contend a temporary absence is equivalent to death; and if in the case of death it is not only no crime, but proper; so also in this case it is equally lawful and extremely advantageous! This practice, commended by such sophistry, and commanded by such a Prophet was adopted as early as Nauvoo.

This hypothesized arrangement, which could explain within a consistent patriarchal framework many, if not all, of Joseph Smith's apparent sexual relationships with wives of his close associates, is supported by a remarkable letter Brigham Young wrote on 5 March 1857 to a Mormon woman in Manti, Utah. In that letter, responding to an earlier letter from the woman on 22 February, Young declared: "... if I was imperfect and had a good wife I would call on some good bror. to help me. that we might have increase; that a man of this character will have a place in the Temple, receive his endowments and in eternity will be as tho' nothing had happened to him in time."⁴⁷

An astute early leader of the RLDS movement, Jason Briggs, also criticized what he saw as an apparent "proxy" authorization in the revelation on plural and celestial marriage itself. That passage states: "And as ye have asked concerning adultery, verily, verily I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with *another* man, and if I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery and shall be destroyed" (emphasis added).⁴⁸

Following the publication of *Religion and Sexuality*, I received an unsolicited call from a Mormon in Arizona recounting a family history of such a practice. According to my informant, one of his missionary ancestors who was sent out in 1852 at the time of the public announcement of plural marriage, returned home to find that the ancestor's wife, unknown to him, had participated in such a "proxy" relationship in his absence. Although he retained the woman as a wife, he considered her "polluted" and never subsequently had sexual relations with her.

If such an extraordinary millenarian version of the Hebrew practice of the levirate ever existed, it was only practiced on a very limited scale during the emotionally superheated fervor of the transition from the old

Much scandal was caused by others than Smith attempting to carry out this doctrine. Several, who thought that what was good for the Prophet should be good for the people, were crushed down by Smith's heavy hand. Several of those have spoken out to the practices of the "Saints." Much discussion occurred at Salt Lake as to the advisability of revealing the doctrine of polygamy in 1852, and that has caused Brigham to defer the public enunciation of this "proxy doctrine," as it is familiarly called. Many have expected it repeatedly at the late conferences. Reasoning out their premises to their natural and necessary consequences, this licentious and infamous dogma is their inevitable result (Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* [New York: Fetridge, 1857], 87-88).

47. This letter, in the Brigham Young Letterbooks in the LDS archives, was kindly called to my attention by D. Michael Quinn. This letter and its context are more fully discussed in Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, n132, 312-14.

48. In the current Utah Mormon versions of the Doctrine and Covenants, this is verse 41 in section 132.

order to the new in Mormon Nauvoo and in early Utah.⁴⁹ Such a practice would be of interest, however, because it could provide an explanation for Joseph Smith's relations with wives of his associates other than the "polyandrous" one, which cannot be squared with patriarchal marriage and simply suggests that his libido had gone wild. Along with other polygamous practices, this could only plausibly have been introduced and justified in response to a sense of intense inner compulsion, what Smith articulated as the command of "an angel with a drawn sword." Such practices would also be of interest in comparison to the Oneida practices of John Humphrey Noyes, which similarly linked him sexually as well as in other ways with the wives of his associates.⁵⁰

49. Perhaps the most judicious assessment of this issue was made by the knowledgeable apostate T. B. H. Stenhouse. He stated:

The Author has no personal knowledge, from the present leaders of the Church, of this teaching; but he has often heard that something yet would be taught which "would test the brethren as much as polygamy had tried the sisters." By many elders it has been believed that there was some foundation for the accusation that Joseph had taught some sisters in Nauvoo that it was their privilege to entertain other brethren as "proxy husbands" during the absence of their liege lords on mission. One lady has informed the Author that Joseph so taught her. All such teaching has never been made public, and it is doubtful if it ever extended very far, if, indeed, at all beyond a momentary combination of passion and fanaticism (Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints; A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* [New York: Appleton, 1873], 301).

50. There is a related argument that at least is worthy of reference since it could provide an even closer parallel between Oneida under John Humphrey Noyes and certain purported practices of Joseph Smith, Jr. The most stark presentation of this argument is in a bitter but carefully researched account by "Dr. W. Wyl" [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal]. He argues that Joseph Smith demanded total loyalty of his closest followers in all things and that this test of loyalty included insisting on their willingness to relinquish their wives to him as well. As Wyl put it: "Joseph Smith finally demanded the wives of *all* the twelve apostles that were at home then in Nauvoo." He cites as his source Mrs. Leonora Taylor, wife of John Taylor, then president of the LDS church. Dr. W. Wyl [Wilhelm Ritter von Wymetal], *Joseph Smith, the Prophet, His Family, and Friends: A Study Based on Facts and Documents* (Salt Lake City: Tribune, 1886), 70-72.

Wyl also cites an extraordinary sermon by Jedediah M. Grant, one of Brigham Young's closest counselors in the late 1850s: "Do you think that the prophet Joseph wanted the wives of the Twelve that he asked for, merely to gratify himself? No; he did it to try the brethren. But if President Young wants my wives, or any of them, he can have them." *Ibid.*, 70. He also quotes a similar statement by Grant from the official collection of nineteenth-century Mormon sermons, the *Journal of Discourses* 26 vols. (Liverpool, Eng., 1854-86), 1:14, and another sermon by Orson Pratt in which he said, "Consecrate everything to the Lord that you have. ... The wives have given themselves to their husband, and he has to consecrate them. They are the Lord's. He has only lent them to us" (*Journal of Discourses* 1:98).

That such demands, when they occurred, did not necessarily result in a liaison is clear from Orson F. Whitney's biography of his grandfather, Heber C. Kimball. Whitney states that Joseph had asked Heber to give Vilate to him to be his wife, saying that this was a requirement. When, after enormous inner turmoil, Heber presented his wife Vilate to Joseph, Joseph wept, embraced Heber, and said that he had only been determining if Heber's loyalty to him were absolute! Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Kimball Family 1888), 333-35.

Clearly there are important parallels between what happened at Oneida and among the early Mormons. Yet there were important differences, as well, based especially on the widely different size and complexity of the two groups. The Oneida Community never had more than several hundred adults at its peak, whereas the Mormon movement by the time of Nauvoo numbered in the tens of thousands. Even in the small Oneida group, dissent over complex marriage temporarily led to the discontinuance of their unorthodox sexual practices and the near-disbandment of the group in 1852, just four years after the community had been founded. In the case of the Mormons, conflicts and irregularities were far more complex and difficult to manage, leading with almost tragic inevitability to the martyrdom of the prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum on 27 June 1844. Only under Brigham Young's leadership in the relative isolation of the Great Basin region during the mid-nineteenth century were the Mormons able fully to implement their system of plural marriage as part of their Zion in the West.

IV

What larger conclusions can we draw from this brief, exploratory comparison of the prophetic expansion of marital and sexual relationships in the Oneida and Mormon communities in nineteenth-century America? The main point is that while personal and sexual impulses undoubtedly play an important part in what frequently appears as a sort of sexual hyperactivity by charismatic leaders, in cases where that activity is extended beyond the prophet himself to an important portion of his followers as well, it may be more useful to analyze how such activity serves larger social functions to bind the loyalty of the prophet's followers to the prophet and his cause.

Two world-significant cases in point might be mentioned in this regard. The first involves the Muslim prophet Muhammad, founder of what is now the second largest and one of the most rapidly expanding religious movements in the world. Although hostile stereotypes about the prophet Muhammad are legion in the West, it is worthy of note that he remained monogamous until the death of his beloved first wife, Khadijah, and that almost all of the eleven other women whom he eventually took as wives served to link him with his closest followers and with the various tribal groups with which he was developing alliances. Except for his first wife, Khadijah, and for Maria, none of Muhammad's wives bore him children.⁵¹

A different case that is also instructive here is that of Hong Xiuquan,

51. Rafiq Zakaria, *Muhammad and the Quran* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 43-60.

the millenarian leader of the mid-nineteenth-century Chinese Taiping Rebellion, the largest civil war in world history, which cost at least 20 million lives in the course of its fifteen-year duration. During the flush period of Taiping success which came close to bringing the movement into control of all China, Hong developed an extensive group of consorts and allowed his senior associates similar privileges prohibited to ordinary Taiping followers.⁵² While personal pleasure almost surely played a part in these developments, cementing the loyalty of his closest associates was at least as important a factor.

In conclusion, perhaps anthropologist Kenelm Burridge in his fine study *New Heaven, New Earth* best summarizes the sexual dynamics of charismatic leadership in his cameo essay, "The Prophet," when he asks:

What is the significance of the commonly reported sexual attractions of prophets? Until recently there were few communities in which women were not simply home-makers and child-bearers. Apart from a privileged few, usually elderly and past the flushes of sexual enjoyment, women have played little part in the management of political affairs. They have been in the main uneducated in intellectual matters, untrained in public and managerial techniques. Exchanged or bought in marriage, they have been regarded as chattels who followed their men and did what they were told. Interacting most significantly in the sexual act, the relations between men and women have been largely determined by the overt ordering of different kinds of sexual access. Even if she understood him, of what interest to a Sudanese peasant woman were the Mahdi's dreams of glory, the Caliphate and empire if not, surely, the privileged luxury and influence of being a member of his harem? And much the same may be said of the ladies of New Guinea, whose aspirations are largely realized in being the wife of a rich and important man. On the whole, therefore, the sexual attractiveness of male prophets is to be accounted for less in the amatory skills of the prophet, and more in the conditions of being a woman. Not for nothing did Jupiter come to Danae in a shower of coins. A prophet offers both sexes a wider and more satisfying redemption, and his sexual attractions and virility suggest an awareness of new babies as well as new men: total rebirth, a new community.⁵³

52. Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: Norton, 1996), 250-51.

53. Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken, 1968), 161.



Ernest Wilkinson and the Transformation of BYU's Honor Code, 1965-71

Bryan Waterman

FOR THE FIRST FOURTEEN YEARS of his tenure as president of BYU (1951-65), Ernest Wilkinson was largely occupied with expanding the school's size and its academic reputation. His goal of creating the world's most important university depended, he believed, on controlling not only academic and political life for faculty, but also social life for students. He oversaw aspects of student life as minute as what music could be played on campus, what dances could be danced, what movies could be shown, and, perhaps of greatest concern, what clothes could be worn (especially by women) and what hair-styles could be sported (especially by men). Such examples of student control were largely facilitated by Wilkinson's conceptual shift from a student code of honor to what he called a "code of conduct."¹

Wilkinson's efforts to use the honor code to control student behavior began in earnest in the mid-1960s and were prompted by transformations in the larger American culture. The late 1950s and early 1960s witnessed a shift in national government from the Republicanism of the Eisenhower era to the Democratic Kennedy and Johnson administrations. National media attention shifted from the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to the civil rights movement and growing resistance to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In this climate Wilkinson began to pay as much attention to national politics as to BYU expansion. In the late 1950s he began to consider invitations to run for the U.S. senate but always con-

1. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975-76), 3:327. The best previous treatment of BYU's honor code is Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 107-20.

cluded that he could accomplish more at BYU than in Washington, D.C.² By 1964, however, he had begun to feel at age sixty-five that his usefulness on the Provo campus was coming to an end.³ Furthermore, state and national politics seemed to be declining morally at an alarming rate. During the 1960 election season Wilkinson began to worry about the "financial solvency of our country." When Richard Nixon lost the U.S. presidential race to John F. Kennedy, Wilkinson feared that the Massachusetts senator's "socialist proposals" would bring the country to ruin.⁴ In 1964, then, Wilkinson stepped down as president to run for the senate. An ugly battle ensued, which he lost. His fears about godless government seemingly confirmed, he returned to BYU after a hiatus of less than a year,⁵ hoping to use his position at the university's helm to stem socialism's growth. For faculty members, this would mean launching in 1966 a "spy ring" to keep tabs on "liberal" faculty members;⁶ for students, it would mean stepping up "the standards crusade."⁷

"THE DECLINE ... OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC," 1965-67

For Wilkinson, the world in early 1965 seemed to be falling apart. America's attention in Vietnam had been captured by the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964. The fall election had resulted in Lyndon Johnson remaining in office. Conflict within Mormonism over civil rights (which many conservatives considered communist-controlled) led some to fear that "outside agitators" would stage a race riot in Salt Lake City during the church's fall 1965 general conference.⁸ American youth culture also seemed to be deteriorating. More disturbing to Wilkinson was what mainstream media were beginning to call "campus unrest." From the disruption of HUAC meetings by Berkeley students in 1960 to the launching of that school's Free Speech Movement in 1964, *U.S. News and World Report* had published a series of articles on student protests, each asking the

2. Ibid., 179. For Wilkinson's political activity, see Gary James Bergera's two articles, "A Strange Phenomena: Ernest L. Wilkinson, the LDS Church, and Utah Politics," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 89-115; and "'A Sad and Expensive Experience': Ernest L. Wilkinson's 1964 Bid for the U.S. Senate," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1993).

3. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:180.

4. The first two quotations are noted in Wilkinson's diary, 28 Apr. 1960, the second two from entries dated 8 Aug. and 9 Nov. 1960, all cited in Bergera, "A Strange Phenomena," 109.

5. On the 1964 race, see Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:177-90, and Bergera, "'A Sad and Expensive Experience.'"

6. On the spy ring, see Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:775-76; Bergera and Pridis, *Brigham Young University*, 207-16; and D. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 1-87, esp. 50-55.

7. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:329.

8. Benson, in the church's April 1965 general conference, had asserted that the NAACP was communist-controlled. See Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson," 34-35.

same question: "Are Reds to Blame?"⁹ In response, Wilkinson instituted a practice of beginning each fall semester with a "crisp statement" to all students: rioters would be expelled, no questions asked. Students unfailingly answered with a standing ovation.¹⁰

By 1965, according to Wilkinson's official history, "the dimensions of campus unrest had been broadened to include domestic racial problems, the draft, drugs, coeducational dormitories, student control of curriculum, student determination of administrative policies, the exclusion of police from college campuses, and a multitude of other issues [including] the war in Vietnam."¹¹ Believing that both "campus unrest" and Democratic party victories were signs of a looming socialist state, Wilkinson returned to BYU from his failed political venture. In May 1965, at the end of his first semester back, he delivered an apocalyptic commencement address: "The Decline and Possible Fall of the American Republic." Citing rising rates of crime, juvenile delinquency, immorality, divorce, and public welfare, he blamed these "evidences of moral decay" on the steady increase of federal power beginning with Roosevelt's New Deal and extending to Johnson's views on social security. These and other proofs (in Wilkinson's mind) of federally funded moral decline spelled the end of cherished American freedoms.

Wilkinson based his address largely on the words of Mormon leaders from Joseph Smith to the current church president and ardent cold warrior, David O. McKay. Having failed in his bid for public office, Wilkinson now sought to act on "the duty of a university president" in "times of national and world crisis ... to speak forth boldly in behalf of what he considers to be the truth." Confessing that "my generation has failed you [graduates] in preserving and strengthening the Constitution," he vowed to mail copies of his talk, along with a compendium of anti-communist "prophetic utterances," to every graduate, "with the hope that you may help stem the tide that is now engulfing our country."¹²

Preventing communism from creeping onto campus depended in large measure, for Wilkinson, on his ability to prevent student unrest. Wherever the president saw change, discontent, or challenges to authority on other campuses, he moved quickly to prevent such evils from emerging at his own school. During his first fall semester address to the

9. See "Back of San Francisco Rioting: Red Agitation," *U.S. News and World Report*, 30 May 1960, 12; "More Campus Unrest: Are Reds to Blame?" *U.S. News and World Report*, 10 May 1965, 14; "From J. Edgar Hoover: A Report on Campus Reds," *U.S. News and World Report*, 31 May 1965; all cited in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:321-22.

10. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:323.

11. *Ibid.*, 322.

12. Wilkinson, *The Decline and Possible Fall of the American Republic*, Commencement Address, 28 May 1965 (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), quotations from pp. 11, 3, 4.

student body after returning to BYU, Wilkinson launched into the issue of student dress—a topic that would preoccupy him for the remainder of his term at BYU. While expensive clothing was discouraged on campus, Wilkinson told students, “we do expect the boys to have civilized attire, and we expect the girls to be modest and becoming in their dress.” With the Beatles and other cultural pariahs in mind, Wilkinson spent the next several minutes commenting on the state of American college fashion: “[W]e do not want on our campus any beatles, beatniks, or buzzards,” he told students, revealing his characteristically acerbic sense of humor: “We have on this campus scientists who are specialists in the control of insects, beatles, beatniks and buzzards. Usually we use chemical or biological control methods, but often we just step on them to exterminate them. For biological specimens like students, we usually send them to the Dean of Students for the same kind of treatment.”¹³ Although Wilkinson did not draw attention to men’s beards, a *Daily Universe* writer earlier in the year had noticed an increase in facial hair on campus. Wilkinson’s main concern in the fall 1965 address, though, was sloppiness in general and what he perceived as the anti-social and anti-authoritarian culture of campus unrest.

Wilkinson’s concerns regarding student dress were gender-inclusive, and carried an implicit anti-Californian bias that probably reflected the increase at BYU of California students as well as the increasingly notorious activities of Berkeley students. “As to the dress standards of women,” he told students,

we want no “go-go girls” nor their pseudo-sophisticated friends, nor will we tolerate any “surfers.” And for faculty members who are behind time on their modern high school terminology, [an administrator] informs me that a “go-go girl” is a “sexy, scantily-dressed girl,” and a “surfer” is one who is sloppily clad, often in a T-shirt or shorts, and sometimes barefooted. Indeed, it is out of place for girls to wear slacks to any class or appear in them in any academic or administrative building on campus. This includes secretaries as well.¹⁴

Wilkinson’s talk belied increasing anxiety over “control.” This emphasis stemmed from new realities for BYU. In the fall of 1965 Wilkinson no longer had to fret about recruiting students. Now, after a decade and a half in office, he had opposite worries: how to maintain individual influence over 15,000 students, and how to justify to church members the board of trustees’ imminent decision to cap enrollment. In addition, his

13. Wilkinson, “Make Honor Your Standard,” address to BYU student body, 23 Sept. 1965, in *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1965-66* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1966), 9.

14. *Ibid.*, 10.

student concerns throughout his remaining years in office centered on three broad topics: ferreting out “unworthy” students, institutionalizing student dress regulations, and increasing administrative control over student conduct code enforcement.

Keeping track of students brought with it, Wilkinson believed, another problem: facilitating social intercourse among a large student body. To deal with these challenges, beginning in the fall of 1965 he sought to require students to wear name badges on campus. The proposal met with resistance, but Wilkinson brought up the topic perennially. In 1966 he even spent \$6,000 on over 20,000 name tags, though Dean of Students J. Elliot Cameron reported that student reaction was “very negative” and that “approximately 90 percent would not wear the name tages [sic] even for their ward functions.” Based on such a dismal response, Cameron begged Wilkinson to drop the matter the following year. Instead, he told the president, students could wear tags “during orientation and registration periods,” serving “to identify [them] when you shake hands with them.”¹⁵ Two years later Wilkinson pursued the idea again, suggesting that “why don’t we get a real ritzy name plate and charge students for it—say 50¢ a piece. ... Sometimes people appreciate much more thing[s] for which they pay.”¹⁶ Much to his disappointment, the plan never materialized.

The anxiety Wilkinson felt as he became less and less personally involved with students was manifested in another campaign from the late 1960s: an attempt to have campus church leaders identify and help root out problem students. In order to preserve the “worthiness” of the student body (especially in the face of an increasing number of parents who asked why their children were not enrolled), Wilkinson took steps, beginning in 1966, to require bishops of prospective students to provide information about an applicant’s activity in and attitudes toward the LDS church. In a memorandum to school trustees, Wilkinson explained that the proposed “questionnaire”—not a recommend, he stressed—for bishops “would probably ask somewhat the same questions as are asked for a temple recommend, together with other questions thought suitable for students.” A similar attempt had been made two decades previously, he explained, but received opposition from bishops who “thought sending youngsters to the BYU was a way to reform them.” Wilkinson wanted to attempt a pilot program in the 1967 school year, then send the questionnaire to bishops generally before the fall 1968 school year.¹⁷

15. Wilkinson to Cameron, 21 Dec. 1965; Cameron to Wilkinson, 31 Apr. 1967, from which the quotations are taken. Copies of these and all other unpublished manuscript materials, unless otherwise noted, are in my possession.

16. Wilkinson to Ben E. Lewis and J. Elliot Cameron, 28 July 1967; Wilkinson to Lewis and Cameron, 29 July 1969.

17. Wilkinson, “Memorandum for Board of Trustees,” 31 Oct. 1966.

Wilkinson also undertook a similar course to identify problem students who had already been admitted. In early 1967 the administration received board approval to ask stake presidents and bishops to name students with poor church activity or other potential problems. Wilkinson was annoyed to find campus bishops resistant to the request: on 8 March he confided defensively to his diary that "stake presidents [had been] alarmed over a letter that had been sent out by the First Presidency, which was meeting vigorous opposition from the bishops." Bishops had assumed "that we were going to take disciplinary action against certain students," he wrote, "when all we wanted it for was informational purposes."¹⁸ The following month the proposal met some opposition from faculty as well. Wilkinson reported on the project at a faculty meeting, saying that "if students are not living the standards of the university and the Church they should not be permitted to remain in the school and prevent worthy members of the Church from attending." One faculty member said he "felt the administration should make it clear that the bishops are not to reveal information on students who have come to them in confidence." Wilkinson and Cameron admitted they had not worked out an answer to that problem. While bishops might not reveal specific details to administrators, Wilkinson said, "if they have been informed of a student's inactivity or inability to live the standards of the church by another source they are to reveal this to the University administration." The university "must sustain the Board of Trustees in carrying out this policy in the best manner possible," he told faculty members.¹⁹ (What he did not tell them, of course, was that the idea was originally his.)

In response to the request for information, bishops reported a total of 125 problem students prior to the fall 1967 semester. Contrary to Wilkinson's diary entry in which he claimed only "informational" interest in such a list, the students were prevented from registering for the new semester. The students would be informed that they had to meet with Dean Cameron or another university official. "It is expected that some of these students," the dean of admissions wrote to Cameron, "would exhibit a willingness to conform to B.Y.U. standards and would be permitted to register; others will not be permitted to register."²⁰

Another measure Wilkinson took beginning in 1966 was to institutionalize regulations on student clothing. While women in particular had experienced restrictions on what they could wear on campus,²¹ these

18. Wilkinson Diary, 8 Mar. 1967.

19. Faculty Meeting Minutes, 20 Apr. 1967, UA 560, University Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter BYUA).

20. William R. Siddoway to J. Elliot Cameron, 1 Sept. 1967.

21. For a discussion of the gendered origins of BYU's dress and grooming standards, see Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel, *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), chap. 2.

standards had for the most part been set by churchwide publications, most recently the 1965 pamphlet *For the Strength of Youth*. The informal policy that women wear dresses on campus had never been rigorously challenged, but as student fashions moved toward shorter skirts Wilkinson began dictating what constituted an appropriate dress. In an October 1966 devotional, he referred students to *For the Strength of Youth*, which advised that "[i]t is difficult to make an overall statement concerning modest standards of dress, because modesty cannot be determined by inches or fit since that which looks modest on one person may not be so on another." For Wilkinson, though, this prescription was no longer specific enough, and he provided more detailed guidelines: "Skirts should be long enough to cover the knee cap," he said, "and they should not be too tight fitting. Dresses should not be cut extremely low at the top. Strapless dresses and spaghetti straps are not acceptable. ... Pants for young women are not desirable attire for shopping, school, ... or restaurants. ... Shorts may be worn [only] during actual participation in active sports." At dances, he said, men "should wear a suit with dress shirt and tie [or] a sports jacket, or dressy sweater ... [at] more casual dances."²² *For the Strength of Youth* also indicated that "young men's hair should not be too long."

Controversy over BYU's orally transmitted dress standards first erupted a few months later when, in early December, staff in the Wilkinson Center were instructed to enforce "dress standards" in the bowling alley and hobby shop. Lyle Curtis, director of the student center, told the *Universe* that his employees would turn away "coeds ... unless they were wearing dresses." For those working on crafts projects, he continued, they had "developed a mother-hubbard type of apron ... [to] protect the ladies' clothing as they work."²³ Two days later the paper reported that the student government's executive council had voted "unanimously ... [to oppose] the Wilkinson Center's 'no slacks' policy, and appointed a three-man committee to appeal the issue with the Administration Dress Standards officials."²⁴ Within a few weeks the student body president, Lynn Southam, and the administration's student coordinator released a joint statement announcing that "the Dress Standards Committee of BYU has decided to allow girls to wear slacks on the lower floor" of the Wilkinson Center. In addition, student officers recommended the appointment of a new Dress Standards Committee—one that included students.²⁵

Perhaps because students claimed victory in allowing women to

22. Quoted in *Daily Universe*, 13 Oct. 1966.

23. "ELWC—No Slacks Is Absolute Policy," *Daily Universe*, 13 Dec. 1966.

24. "Student Reaction: Council Too," *Daily Universe*, 15 Dec. 1966.

25. "Standards Committee Okays Girls in Slacks," *Daily Universe*, 3 Jan. 1967.

bowl in slacks, Wilkinson stepped up his argument that BYU women were not welcome on campus generally unless they wore dresses of appropriate length. Mini-skirts, in his mind, were as scandalous as pants: one was too erotic, the other too masculine. "It is out of place on this campus for girls to wear slacks in any class, or mini-skirts anywhere," he told students as classes reconvened in September 1967. "Last week I saw only one girl on this campus with a mini-skirt and she didn't have anything to show."²⁶

That year Wilkinson launched his first attempt to remove administration of the honor code from student control. In January, the same month that student leaders claimed victory in the Wilkinson Center "no slacks" controversy, the student Honor Council announced it was surrendering its "authority to impose disciplinary measures" to the administration-controlled Academic Standards and University Standards committees. (The division between the two administrative committees also signaled the separation in the honor code between cheating issues and behavioral standards associated with dress, sex, and Word of Wisdom matters.) A year earlier student leaders had been told that failing to yield their authority in these areas would result in a wholly revised honor code system with no input from students. The student Honor Council's new functions would be strictly educational.²⁷

In November students learned of the change in honor code administration and that the code itself had been revised, most notably to include a proscription against "possession, dispensing, and/or use" of illegal narcotics. Tag Taggart, chair of the student Honor Council, said that copies of the new code would be made available to students shortly.²⁸ The same day that the *Universe* reported these changes, the student newspaper also ran an in-house editorial protesting the fact that students had not voted on the revisions. An administration-enforced policy, editors felt, removed the concept of "honor" from the honor code.²⁹

Over the next several weeks students struggled to understand the implications of the new system. In an article explaining the administration's approach to discipline, one student journalist noted that students reported to the Standards Office would be called in and asked about the truth of the charges. "If the accusation is denied," the reporter explained, "the person making the charges is requested to supply proof." Even if the evidence against a student is overwhelming, the article continued, there "is always an avenue of escape" for the wrongly accused: "This is the polygraph, or 'lie detector' test, which is administered by Captain Swen

26. Robert Goodrich, "Wilkinson Voices Standards," *Daily Universe*, 22 Sept. 1967.

27. See Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 118-19.

28. "Honor Code Revised," *Daily Universe*, 17 Nov. 1967.

29. "Keep Honor in the Code," *Daily Universe*, 17 Nov. 1967.

C. Nielsen of [Campus] Security. While the test ... would not be admitted as evidence in a courtroom, it is accepted by BYU."³⁰

Concerns about the new honor code at the end of 1967 were not limited to students. Faculty members learned in December that a revision of the *University Handbook* subjected teachers, for the first time, to the same honor code provisions required of students. The development led to an explosive faculty meeting mid-month, when several professors charged that placing faculty under a regulated code of behavior demonstrated an unmistakable lack of confidence and respect. Teachers demanded to vote on the measure. The *Universe* reported that the "meeting erupted into a heated, emotional debate, ending in abrupt adjournment." Academic Vice President Robert K. Thomas, who was in charge, announced he would never again chair a faculty meeting. Refusing to accept further motions, according to the news report, he "called on a faculty member for the benediction and adjourned the meeting."³¹

FROM HONOR CODE TO CODE OF STUDENT CONDUCT, 1968-69

The controversies over the administration's takeover of the honor code continued through the entire next year. It became clear in early 1968 that part of the reason Wilkinson wanted to revamp honor code procedures was an increase of drug use among students. Following the arrest of five undergraduates on marijuana charges in January, Wilkinson issued a statement that students arrested for drug use or possession would be automatically suspended. Dean Cameron explained the decision to the *Universe*, arguing that the arrest itself was sufficient cause for disciplinary action. "The suspended student, if found not guilty," the *Universe* noted, would still have "no possibility of getting credit for the semester's classes. He would have to register and repeat everything" after appealing the suspension.³²

In response, defense attorneys for the five students protested that suspending students on a presumption of guilt was unfair. Further, they claimed BYU security officers had used "gestapo tactics" by relying on undercover campus police and student informers to encourage other students to use drugs. In a *Universe* article reporting the attorneys' claims, Cameron retracted his previous statement and said that the university would, in the future, deal with disciplinary cases individually.³³ However, the five students were still suspended on the basis of their arrests.

30. Charlotte Antrei, "University Standards is More than Just Discipline," *Daily Universe*, 4 Dec. 1967.

31. "Faculty Boils Over," *Daily Universe*, 15 Dec. 1967.

32. Larry Wright, "Dean Affirms Arrest Means Suspension," *Daily Universe*, 1 Feb. 1968.

33. Larry Wright, "Defense Attorneys Blast Suspensions," *Daily Universe*, 2 Feb. 1968.

According to the students, no one from the school ever talked to them about the incident and they were not allowed to defend themselves to University Standards officials.³⁴

Some students reacted angrily to these actions. "Someone should inform Dean Cameron that the present year is 1968 and not 1984," one student wrote to the *Universe*.³⁵ One of the newspaper's writers even asked the administration: "Is it gratifying in some way to sit in your offices and act out the roles of the judge and the jury? Do you find it rewarding to pronounce judgment in cases that have not yet gone to court? ... I cannot believe that you are so blind to the concepts of due process of law that you would presume guilt until these students are proven innocent."³⁶ *Universe* editors also entered the fray, complaining that the "new code has never been presented to the student body for discussion and acceptance and is technically only the responsibility of those students who have entered the school since it was adopted."³⁷

Though Wilkinson's November revisions to the honor code did not yet formalize "dress standards," he continued in 1968 to call attention to student dress regulations and to move toward their institutionalization. In response to his continued reliance on the church's *For the Strength of Youth*, one student challenged: "When did neckties and short hair become the fullest expressions of western civilization?"³⁸ In March Wilkinson launched what was perhaps his most notorious—and most resisted—dress standards campaign. The *Daily Universe* quoted the guidelines from *For the Strength of Youth*: "skirts should be long enough to cover the knee-cap."³⁹ Wilkinson then called attention to the stricter language by requiring Wilkinson Center employees to distribute handouts with the slogan "Pardon Me" on the front to female students whose skirts were too short. "In order to spare you embarrassment," the 8½-by-3-inch pamphlet informed violators, "we give you this folder to remind and inform you of dress standards at BYU because we do not want you to feel out of place on our campus. If you are a student this will renew the dress standards you agreed to accept when you registered." The handout instructed women not to wear skirts above the knee, pant dresses, shorts, slacks, "pedal pushers," sweat shirts, bare feet, or culottes (unless they were dress length). Men were informed they should not wear sandals without socks, sweat shirts, cut-offs, bermuda shorts, gym clothes, or bare feet.

Students responded with immediate resistance. Women, the *Universe*

34. "A Good Plan," *Daily Universe*, 8 Feb. 1968.

35. Joseph Naylor to the editor, *Daily Universe*, 5 Feb. 1968.

36. Judy E. Geissler, "The Firing Line," *Daily Universe*, 6 Feb. 1968.

37. "Know the Honor Code," *Daily Universe*, 6 Feb. 1968.

38. Howard Palmer to the editor, *Daily Universe*, 23 Feb. 1968.

39. "Campus Dress Standards," *Daily Universe*, 14 Mar. 1968.

reported, competed for clever comebacks to "Pardon Me" distributors, including "Does your wife realize you're doing this?" "Masher!" "Jealous?" and "You know what you can do with that."⁴⁰ Another *Universe* article explained that the campaign had been engineered by the administration of the Wilkinson Center, although the brochures carried the name of the student government's dress standards committee. The Wilkinson Center's business manager, though, noted that the center had taken the project out from under student government supervision because the student group "was not doing a good job" enforcing standards.⁴¹ The *Universe* proved to be one of the program's most vocal critics. The paper printed clip-and-save coupons for students to hand back to campaign administrators: "You're Not Pardoned."⁴² An editorial a few days later claimed "'Pardon Me' Not Valid" because, though the student dress committee had ostensibly approved the pamphlet for publication, it had not authored it. The same day, student body president Paul Gilbert announced that new copies of *For The Strength of Youth* had arrived from Salt Lake City and now included the more general recommendation that dresses be of "modest length." The article noted that female students had been turned away from a Friday night dance and from using the Wilkinson Center's elevators on Saturday for wearing skirts that were too short. Gilbert said the new church pamphlets would supersede the "Pardon Me" campaign, and that no more "Pardon Me" brochures would be distributed.⁴³

In March 1968 Wilkinson also moved forward with his plan to tighten admission standards based on prospective students' attitudes toward the LDS church. In preparation for fall admissions, he sent bishops a letter explaining a new confidential form to assess applicants' moral character. The impetus for the new recommendation form, he said, was the board's recent decision to cap enrollment at 20,000. "[I]t would be unfair to admit a student," Wilkinson wrote,

who does not observe the proper moral and spiritual standards, even though he has a high academic record, for, with our limited enrollment, this would probably mean the exclusion of a student who does live the proper standards, but whose scholastic qualifications may not be quite as high. In this troubled world we believe that character is even more important than scholarship, although at the BYU we require both and want to accommodate just as many of our fine young men and women as our facilities admit.

40. "'Pardon Me' Pamphlet Raises Coed Protests," *Daily Universe*, 15 Mar. 1968.

41. "Dangerous Booklet," *Daily Universe*, 15 Mar. 1968.

42. *Ibid.*

43. "No More 'Pardon Me' Slips," *Daily Universe*, 18 Mar. 1968.

In response to criticisms that such a recommendation violated "the confidential nature of a bishop's relationship with his ward members," Wilkinson said that "an instance where there has been a confession and repentance" need not be reported. In keeping with this claim, two of the recommendation questions (regarding the Word of Wisdom and sexual morality) asked only about "unresolved" problems. Other questions, though, asked for *any* knowledge of infractions on the applicant's part, suggesting where Wilkinson's deepest concerns probably lay: drugs and narcotics, acts of civil disobedience, and violation of "the laws of the land," in particular. The form also asked bishops to read and discuss the honor code with applicants and to assess their attitude toward keeping it.⁴⁴

In April campus attention returned again to Wilkinson's anti-drug measures when some of the students suspended earlier in the semester were found not guilty of drug possession in court. According to Wilkinson, they would not, however, be readmitted, since he still considered their arrests in themselves a sign that they had violated the honor code.⁴⁵

Later that month the controversy surrounding Wilkinson's revisions of the honor code resumed when the new code was printed in the 1968-70 course catalogue. That the code was included without having been submitted to students for approval infuriated some student government officials. The *Universe* protested in a cautious editorial: "Although we don't believe it is the case," editors wrote, "it looks like the Administration is trying to put something over on the student body."⁴⁶ In an article the next day, Student Honor Council chair Tag Taggart explained that "the code in the '68-'70 Catalogue of Courses is the one we're being held responsible for. I must emphasize, though," he added, "that it's not because that's what the Student Honor Council wants, but rather because that's what the Administration decided." Taggart added that the new code had not been put to a vote because the Student Honor Council opposed the revisions and had been attempting to reach a compromise with the administration. A *Universe* columnist also reported that Taggart said he "feels like the administration is using the code as a means to punish students, rather than as a vehicle to improve students. ... Possibly one of the biggest offenders' rights along with its own professional integrity. How? It is a well known fact that, although a student is told upon entering the Office of Standards that what he says is confidential, this often ain't what happens."⁴⁷ For the most part the code paralleled Wilkinson's November

44. Wilkinson to "Dear Bishop," Mar. 1968; "Brigham Young University Confidential Report on Candidate for Admission."

45. "Does the Court Rule the Y?" *Daily Universe*, 10 Apr. 1968.

46. "Honor Code Not Honorable," *Daily Universe*, 29 Apr. 1968.

47. Judy Geissler, "Honor Code Explained," *Daily Universe*, 30 Apr. 1968.

1967 revisions, with a few notable exceptions. A lengthy preamble noted that "[w]e believe in being an ensign of proper conduct to the entire world," which required a clear set of expectations based on "Church standards." The phrase "high moral standards" from previous incarnations of the code had been changed to "virtue and sexual purity."

Resistance from the student honor council to the honor code in the new course catalogue was so acute that Dean Cameron formed a committee of himself, four other administrators, and six students to draft a new "BYU Code of Student Conduct," adopted on 21 May 1968. The result, though, was hardly the setback Wilkinson experienced at his board of trustees meeting that June. Rather, the new code set was the most rigorous and detailed in the university's history, containing fifteen requirements, the violation of any of which could result in "expulsion or suspension." The punishable violations were:

- * Failure to live the high moral standards of the Church ... including observance of the law of chastity;
- * Dishonesty, including cheating, plagiarism, or knowingly furnishing false information;
- * Forgery, [or] ... altercation ... of University ... records ;
- * Obstruction or disruption of ... University activities;
- * Physical abuse;
- * Theft;
- * Unauthorized entry;
- * Vandalism;
- * Violation of University policies concerning ... student organizations;
- * Use, possession or distribution of narcotic or other dangerous drugs;
- * Violation of rules governing residence in University-owned housing;
- * Disorderly, lewd, indecent, obscene or otherwise illegal or immoral conduct;
- * Failure to comply with directions of University officials;
- * Failure to adhere to University standards of dress; and
- * Use of tea, coffee, alcoholic beverages, or tobacco in any form.

The statement also included a provision that "The President of the University may clarify any disciplinary policy by publishing and announcing such clarification to the studentbody."

In response to the changes, Brian Zemp, who had succeeded Tag Taggart as chair of the ASBYU Honor Council, lamented, "There is no longer an Honor Code at BYU." Zemp also emphasized that the new code had eliminated one of the most controversial of Wilkinson's earlier revisions:

an injunction for students to “take appropriate action if a violation of the Honor Code is observed”—meaning, as many understood it, that students were supposed to turn each other in if they were aware of inappropriate behavior.⁴⁸

In response to Zemp’s suggestion that BYU no longer had an honor code, Cameron issued a statement within a few days explaining that while “[i]t is true that the old Honor Code has been replaced by [a] Code of Student Conduct which student officers and faculty members helped to draft,” students should realize that the “new Code of Student Conduct, however, replaces and becomes an honor code because each student who enrolls at the University agrees to abide by this Code of Student Conduct.” Further, he argued, the “statement which appears on the application for admission stated that students will take appropriate action when they observe a violation of the code. This appropriate action has traditionally meant that students would report violations of the code.”⁴⁹

With increasing frequency, “student conduct” was conflated in many students’ and administrators’ minds with “dress and grooming standards.” The most widely debated dress-and-grooming topic in the fall of 1968 regarded beards on men, which Wilkinson was coming to identify (along with what he considered general sloppiness) with the countercultural element on other campuses and at the center of the anti-war movement. In August Wilkinson had written a letter to parents of entering freshmen that broached, in part, the issue of facial hair for male students. “While there can be no objection to a properly trimmed mustache—and there is surely nothing morally wrong with wearing a beard,” he wrote, “we would prefer our young men to be clean-shaven and to keep their hair cut. We are living in an age,” he added, “when shaving is so convenient that there is no need to imitate our grandfathers’ facial foliage.” Noting that the school had received criticism the previous year for the appearance of some bearded students, he added: “At this institution we must resist even the appearance, not only of evil, but also of the emulation of undesirable contemporary characters. We suggest that being clean shaven and having your hair properly cut is not too great a price for you to pay to further the reputation of this studentbody.”⁵⁰ Wilkinson repeated the advice in his opening address to students.⁵¹ The discouragement of beards would likely have raised a larger protest among students if the Associated Press had not misreported Wilkinson’s letter to parents as an outright ban on beards. Wary of the bad press such a story was sure

48. Judy Geissler, “No Y Honor Code,” *Daily Universe*, 30 Sept. 1968.

49. “Honor Code Is Not Totally Replaced,” *Daily Universe*, 2 Oct. 1968.

50. Quoted in “Sounding Board,” *Daily Universe*, 12 Nov. 1968.

51. Wilkinson, “Welcome Address,” 26 Sept. 1968, in *BYU Speeches of the Year, 1968-69* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1969), 16.

to generate, trustees quickly authorized a press release to clarify that Wilkinson's advice was not binding and that neatly trimmed beards were permissible. At the same meeting of the board, however, Wilkinson received instructions from church leaders to continue his campaign to eliminate mini-skirts and to encourage male students to remain clean-shaven and keep their hair short.⁵²

The clarification that beards were not forbidden, and that Wilkinson's attempted discouragement had been advisory only, freed students to grow beards. In fact, on 4 October the *Universe* observed that "since the administration's statement that beards are permissible, if neatly kept, more and more whiskers have appeared on campus."⁵³ A few days earlier a front-page photograph in the *Universe* of three bearded professors had so irked Wilkinson that he instructed them to shave.⁵⁴ Following the incident, reports began to surface that bearded students were being called into University Standards and strongly encouraged to shave.⁵⁵ By the end of November, administrators had voted to make long hair a punishable offense for male students.⁵⁶

In February 1969 Wilkinson happily recorded that campus stake presidents and bishops were beginning to come around to his vision of rooting out problem students and eliminating the use of BYU as a reformatory. He had entreated their cooperation, "in particular methods of eliminating students who do not fit into the culture of BYU so that those [who] would get into it might be admitted to the institution."⁵⁷ In a talk delivered in April to the same body only a hint of anxiety remained surrounding his request for information from bishops about prospective and current students: "the only matter that is strictly confidential between a bishop and a member of his ward," he told them, "is a confession. ... All other knowledge that you have can, with propriety, be shared with us."⁵⁸

While he felt more confident in enlisting the help of local church leaders, he continued to pursue individual cases with characteristic vigilance. At a swimming meet in February, for example, the attentive president noticed "two fellows with long, shaggy hair and otherwise unkempt appearances" who, when they became aware of Wilkinson, "started poking fun in my direction." He had "the person at the door get their names," then sent them to Dean Cameron with a request that he look into

52. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 4 Sept. 1968.

53. "Bearded or Bare," *Daily Universe*, 4 Oct. 1968.

54. "Sounding Board," *Daily Universe*, 16 Oct. 1968.

55. Charles K. Firmage and Pierre Hathaway, "Sounding Board," *Daily Universe*, 12 Nov. 1968.

56. J. Elliot Cameron, Weekly Minutes, 27 Nov. 1968, cited in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:330n66.

57. Wilkinson Diary, 26 Feb. 1969.

58. Wilkinson, "Speech to Stake Presidents and Bishops," 3 Apr. 1969.

their backgrounds, academic performance, and church activity before they met the next week. Cameron's copy of the memo is covered with the information he retrieved over the next several days: both students were from "Berkly [sic], Calif.," he noted, and both were LDS. One was a "questionable scholar—should have been on probation." He reported their GPAs, their addresses, their bishop's name, and comments from others who lived or had lived with them: a former roommate, for example, moved out of their apartment, citing an "unwholesome atmosphere."⁵⁹

Nationwide, the spring of 1969 was one of unprecedented campus upheaval: 300 American colleges and universities that season witnessed "sizable demonstrations," according to one history of the era, "a quarter of them marked by strikes or building takeovers, a quarter more by disruption of classes and administration, a fifth accompanied by bombs, arson, or the trashing of property." Campus unrest was a particular fixation of the national media, paralleling daily reports from Vietnam. "Rare was the day," the same historian writes, "when the major newspapers failed to devote at least an entire page to tracking its fever chart."⁶⁰ In this context Wilkinson and BYU were to some degree celebrated among the conservative establishment. (In July 1970, for example, he would address conservative business, government, and educational leaders at the annual Bohemian Club retreat in San Francisco, and be introduced as the man whose campus had not seen a single demonstration.⁶¹) In May 1969 Wilkinson must have felt some sense of gratification when the *Chicago Tribune* editorialized that "it is refreshing to take a look at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah ... [where the] students are clean-cut. The hippie look is almost non-existent. Students stand when the 'Star Spangled Banner' is played. The ROTC is respected and growing." Discipline was upheld without protest, the paper continued, suggesting "a respect for authority and tradition that is rapidly disappearing at other institutions with vastly more years behind them."⁶² Earlier in the year *U.S. News and World Report* had made a similar assessment.⁶³

Despite such glowing reports from sources he admired, Wilkinson still found some resistance among trustees to his hard-line approach. In April he recorded that the board's executive committee was "torn be-

59. Wilkinson to Cameron, 21 Feb. 1969.

60. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 343.

61. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:324-35.

62. "A Helpful Tip from Utah," *Chicago Tribune*, 4 May 1969, quoted in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:327-28.

63. "A University without Trouble," *U.S. News and World Report*, 20 Jan. 1969, 55-59, cited in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:328n62.

tween themselves as to whether we should be somewhat lenient of the conduct of the students or whether we should be more severe." While he felt confident that he and the board agreed on the standards under consideration, "the application," he wrote, "is always more difficult than the formulation of the policy."⁶⁴ He recorded a similar frustration the following month at the apparent contradiction in holding up BYU as a model for church behavior, while leaders held back from refusing temple attendance to church members whose appearance did not accord with the standards required at the university—particularly regarding hair length for men.⁶⁵

As he prepared for battle the following fall, Wilkinson attended to legal details as well. Writing in May to Dean Cameron, he noted that there "will be some students who will vigorously resent that they cannot return to the campus" and that the school's legal research needed to be thorough in preparation "so that we will be completely protected."⁶⁶ Later in the month, a letter of complaint from a parent whose daughter had bemoaned the school's "lack of enforcement of standards" prompted Wilkinson to write Cameron again: "As soon as we get through graduation," he mused, "I think we need to outline our program for next year. I am sure we have got to tighten up on our dress standards[.]" Part of his concern stemmed from his perception that some students felt that the new code had been imposed on them. "I approved the Code of Conduct," he wrote, "and while it was in a sense approved by the students"—since students had been present on the committee that drafted it—"the students do not feel it was a Student Code and I think we should take some action to let them know that they are in on it."⁶⁷

That summer Cameron reported back to Wilkinson on their efforts to receive lists of questionable students from campus bishops. A total of 137 names had been collected, some of whom Cameron had already investigated. Those with whom no contact had been made had their records "tagged" prior to fall registration, and Cameron was preparing, he said, to send them all letters requesting to meet them before they returned to school. Of the students already contacted, Cameron said, "many ... are find [sic] young men and women," and only seven had been "counseled out of school." In some cases students had merely been attending other wards and had been reported inactive. "[S]ome of the bishops," he complained, "presented information which led me to believe that in some cases they were asking the University to follow through on their failure to activate" certain students.⁶⁸ As the summer wore on, some differences

64. Wilkinson Diary, 24 Apr. 1969.

65. *Ibid.*, 9 May 1969.

66. Wilkinson to Cameron, 7 May 1969.

67. Wilkinson to Cameron, 26 May 1969.

68. Cameron to Wilkinson, 27 June 1969.

apparently began to surface between Wilkinson, who considered the list to be of "students who ... should not return to the University," and Cameron, who wrote the president that he had "contacted numerous of these students, and to this point have not found any who in my opinion should not be given an opportunity to continue." Possibly seeking to console Wilkinson, he added: "Perhaps future contacts will reveal some."⁶⁹

Wilkinson continued to take considerable interest in the search for problem students. In July, when the report on the bishops' lists had been assembled, Wilkinson was annoyed to find that one campus stake had not submitted any reports. After inquiring of the stake president, Wilkinson learned that this particular stake had worked with sixty students who had "serious problems," but that the stake's approach was "to convince them of the personal benefits which would occur to them from observing the standards of the University."⁷⁰ As a result, the stake president reported, seven students had elected to leave the university, and all but four of the remaining number had modified their behavior to the extent that the bishops had felt no need to submit their names to the university. He said that four names, then, had been turned over to Cameron. Wilkinson followed up on this report by asking Cameron for the four names. Cameron reported that he had not kept the names since the "bishops had indicated they would handle these" cases, and that he "assumed that the bishops were able to extract the commitment to activity." While Wilkinson's response to Cameron's reply is unknown, his general approach is worth noting: his attention to individual cases and his apparent unwillingness to believe that a stake could have no students meriting discipline.⁷¹

That summer Wilkinson wrote in his annual letter to parents that part of the "difference between student conduct at BYU and that of activists at other universities" is that "*attendance at BYU is a privilege and not a right*" (emphasis in original). For the coming school year, he told parents, the university had turned away 2,000 applicants, "and it would be unfair," he added, "to reject them but admit others who did not abide by our standards." In addition to obedience to the law—by which Wilkinson meant the failure to participate in protests or demonstrations—the president saw, as the most compelling measure of "university standards," adherence to dress and grooming standards. As he had in the past, he cited appropriate passages from *For the Strength of Youth*. For the first time, though, Wilkinson went past the guidelines in the pamphlet to ban long hair and beards for men. "Although in the matter of dress the world is

69. Cameron to Wilkinson, 18 July 1969.

70. See Wilkinson to William R. Siddoway, 19 July 1969; Siddoway to Wilkinson, 23 July 1969.

71. See Wilkinson to Cameron, 24 July 1969; Cameron to Wilkinson, 28 July 1969.

becoming more lax," he wrote, "we intend at BYU to maintain a vigorous standards" in part because "our students have gained a great reputation for being clean, modestly dressed, good-looking young men and women," and "the appearance of even one person on our campus who deviates from our standards in dress or appearance impairs our reputation." BYU standards, he also said, were set because "our students are expected to set the proper examples for the entire Church." Just as missionaries were not allowed to wear long hair or beards, he wrote, BYU students, as models of Mormonism to the entire world, "have the obligation to represent the Church in the most favorable manner."⁷²

Cameron cited nearly the entire letter to parents in his own letter to students that summer. In addition he included a copy of the new, 15-point Code of Student Conduct. "Every student should understand that his right to register or to continue at BYU," he wrote, "will be contingent upon his strict observance of all University rules and regulations." When students arrived in September for registration, they were greeted by a headline in the *Daily Universe* reminding them that regulations had tightened once again: "Administration to Get Tough on Standards."⁷³ Evidence of the new measures was present in the form of "spotters," who scanned registration lines for beards or long hair on men, or high hem lines on women. The Associated Press reported that "[s]cores of students ran afoul" of the guidelines, and that violators were interviewed before being allowed to register. "All but one of the many we interviewed agreed to reexamine their personal commitments," Assistant Dean of Students LaVar Rockwood told the A.P.⁷⁴ Later that fall Dean of Women Lucile Petty reported to Wilkinson that at the fall registration 201 female students had been interviewed regarding dress length.⁷⁵

By October, according to the minutes of the Dress Standards Committee, there were reportedly only two beards on campus—one attributed to (non-Mormon) religious beliefs, the second to skin problems. At the same meeting committee members reviewed the results of an informal survey administered by history professor Richard Poll to almost 1,700 students, which found about 80 percent of students favorable or very favorable to the dress standards, and only 11 percent unfavorable or very unfavorable.⁷⁶

72. Wilkinson, excerpted in J. Elliot Cameron to "Dear Student," ca. June 1969.

73. "Administration to Get Tough on Standards," *Daily Universe*, 18 Sept. 1969.

74. "Guards Scan BYU for Long-Hairs," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 Sept. 1969. See also "BYU Rejects Beards, Holds Down Line on Miniskirts," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 Sept. 1969.

75. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:328.

76. Dress Standards Committee Meeting Minutes, 15 Oct. 1969, UA 553, BYUA.

FINALIZING SKIRT LENGTHS

Still, at least one member of the board of trustees continued to press Wilkinson for a more positive approach. In "one of our meetings," wrote Apostle Delbert L. Stapley regarding Wilkinson's summer letter to parents, it "was the feeling that a positive position should be taken, and instead of threatening students, appeal to their sense of modesty and decency. As you know," he added, "Joseph Smith said that people should be taught correct principles and then govern themselves." Stapley also requested that Wilkinson hold to the "approved" language of the church's *For the Strength of Youth* regarding dress lengths rather than specifying lengths by their relation to the kneecap.⁷⁷

For half a decade the church pamphlet had been a thorn in Wilkinson's side. All editions of the pamphlet carried a statement that "modesty cannot be determined by inches or fit since that which looks modest on one person may not be so on another." Early editions, though, had gone on to explain that, according to church standards, "Skirts should be long enough to cover the knee cap." But the most recent editions, to the president's chagrin, noted only that "[s]kirts and dresses should be of modest length." As skirt lengths continued to be a problem, some of Wilkinson's advisors, Dean of Women Lucile Petty in particular, felt that the school could not enforce a consistent standard without a firm position on what constituted a "proper dress length."⁷⁸

In early January 1970 Wilkinson set out to resolve the issue once and for all. Writing to deans Cameron and Petty shortly after the new year began, Wilkinson identified *For the Strength of Youth* as a major stumbling block to setting a firm policy. The difficulty he saw was in trying to enforce a stricter standard at BYU than church leaders had set forth "to govern the entire Church." His recommendation to Cameron and Petty was that, in keeping with the current language in *For the Strength of Youth*, they not insist that dresses cover the kneecaps, but that they set a strict regulation that "dresses be no shorter than just above the knee. Indeed," Wilkinson added, "with some of the more plump girls even that is not modest."

For Wilkinson, the issue was important in part because "one becomes quickly accustomed to seeing girls go around with dresses much above the knees" and because "there is a human sex tendency for men to like this style." In addition, he received constant pressure "from girls who do adhere to our standards about the other girls who do not." Reviewing the brief history of his attempts to eliminate miniskirts from campus, Wilkin-

77. Stapley to Wilkinson, 2 Oct. 1969.

78. Petty's position is represented in Wilkinson to J. Elliot Cameron and Lucile Petty, 2 Jan. 1970.

son also pointed out that the board had advised administrators (though never through “formal resolutions,” he noted) that standards should be upheld “by means of persuasion ... but that if after persuasion they did not conform, we have the right to suspend them from the Institution.” Suspension, he said, would be meted out on three grounds: first, that the guilty were violating standards; second, that they were violating their pledge to uphold these standards upon entering school; and third, that a violation also constituted an “attitude [that] is improper.”

His plan was simple: stage the same kind of policing of styles at second semester registration that the deans had supervised the previous fall. Those students who were initially turned away but chose eventually to conform, he said, should be warned that one more violation would warrant their suspension. Anyone who responds in an “impudent” manner “should be suspended.” Wilkinson also told Cameron and Petty that he had attempted to get a letter from the First Presidency on the issue but “under the present circumstances”—referring to the incapacitation of church president David O. McKay—such an attempt might not be fruitful. At the very least he thought a letter from himself to the students, printed in the *Universe*, would serve to remind students of tightened standards.⁷⁹

In a meeting with trustees a few days later, Wilkinson reported that 79 men and 201 women had been prevented from registering due to dress and grooming standards violations. All but three of the students chose to comply and stay in school. Wilkinson also complained about the “liberalization” of *For the Strength of Youth* and was informed by Apostle Stapley that a new statement from the church would recommend the “covering of the body from the shoulders down to the knees.” Wilkinson said such a statement would be helpful in his campaign to prevent miniskirts from appearing on campus. He also assured the board that he was attempting “persuasion” as a strategy for enforcement, but that “in cases of defiance [the school] intended to suspend the girls unless instructed otherwise.” Church leaders approved.⁸⁰

Wilkinson met with Stapley and another apostle, N. Eldon Tanner, in mid-January the next year “to get their support with respect to standards of dress at the BYU—that is, that dresses should be to the knee. They both promised their support,” he recorded, but added that “in the present chaotic condition at Salt Lake City”—President McKay’s continued deterioration, presumably—“one does not know what to expect.”⁸¹

A few days later Wilkinson confided to his diary that he was frustrated by what he saw as a lack of support from his administrative staff

79. Ibid.

80. BYU Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 7 Jan. 1970.

81. Wilkinson Diary, 14 Jan. 1970.

on this issue. Although the administration had been working "for over a week" on a statement to students setting a specific length for dresses, he left the matter in the hands of three key administrators only to be "shocked," a few days later, to find that the statement they prepared contained no specific limitations.⁸²

The letter from Cameron to students subscribed to "persuasion" rather than to threats. The standards he outlined included: "Being clean and well-groomed; Avoiding the wearing of mini-skirts, which means that skirts and dresses should be of modest length, and they should not be too tight fitting; Avoiding long hair, beard and grubby appearance." Cameron's statement that administrators "have purposely avoided setting specific mathematical measurements for dress and grooming" was likely part of what had "shocked" Wilkinson, who had worked for months to establish a specific standard. Rather than set an exact length, Cameron stressed to students that their compliance was a matter of honor and consideration for church members who would, if allowed to attend the school, willingly submit to the dress codes. "If you are one who chooses not to comply with BYU standards," he concluded, "we ask you not to register next semester."⁸³

At registration in February 1970, Lucile Petty and LaVar Rockwood again assumed their roles as dress monitors. The *Universe* reported that they interviewed nearly 100 students who were not allowed to finalize registration until they demonstrated compliance.⁸⁴ The *Universe* also reported that a public relations subcommittee of the school's dance committee had been organized to police standards at school dances. A handful of students, according to the article, would "circulate among those attending the dance until they find a girl whose dress is visibly shorter than average," and then invite her to leave. The standard for "boys" would be neatness rather than conforming to an average length.⁸⁵

The *Universe* editorial staff responded to the administration's continued efforts with a sarcasm characteristic of this period. The in-house editorial decried the evils of the "maxi-coat," which was being used by subversive coeds to conceal their "mini-skirts" as part of "an effort to undermine the very fabric of our civilization." "We, the studentbody," editors wrote, in language that parodied the university president, "must unite in combating this festering sore on our campus. We must eradicate this evil from our boundaries and be a shining example unto the world."⁸⁶

82. *Ibid.*, 17 Jan. 1970.

83. Cameron to "Dear Students," printed as "Cameron Stresses Standards," *Daily Universe*, 19 Jan. 1970.

84. "Dress at Registration," *Daily Universe*, 5 Feb. 1970.

85. "New Committee Lays Down Dress Rule," *Daily Universe*, 4 Feb. 1970.

86. "Clothing: Maxi-Evils," *Daily Universe*, 6 Feb. 1970.

Resistance persisted from individuals, as well. An assistant professor of Spanish wrote to the *Universe* that the "intolerance toward beards at BYU is intolerable." Claiming the right to wear a beard as part of his "patrimony from God, as a male, as one of his sons," the junior faculty member accused the administration's standards watchdogs of being "scribes and pharisees" who maintained "whited sepulchres."⁸⁷ When Wilkinson noticed individual students on campus in violation of codes, though, he continued to confront them personally. In March he wrote Dean Petty that he had followed a female student in a mini-skirt into the administration building. "I would be safe in saying that [her skirt] was at least six inches" above the knee, he wrote. He asked her name, and when she hesitated, he told her he wanted her to report to the Dean of Women's office, because "she knew as well as anyone else that her dress did not conform to University Standards." Wilkinson added that the "disgusting thing was that she didn't have anything to show except some stilts."⁸⁸

Deans Petty and Cameron warned in a *Daily Universe* interview in March that first-time dress standards violators (all of whom were presumed to be "girls") would be interviewed by Petty. Second-timers would receive a warning of suspension, and a third-time violator would face suspension for a set period of time. Cameron stated that "No one is ever going to be expelled for dress standards," but added that the term "suspension" leaves the option open to the student to attend another school. Further, Cameron and Petty agreed, a third violation would indicate, in addition to a dress code violation, a lack of "personal honor and integrity" that might require disciplinary action.⁸⁹

In April the Young Democrats (whose presence on campus irritated Wilkinson anyway) hosted a question-and-answer session on dress standards that included deans Cameron and Petty as well as Gary Carver, head of the Standards Office. The panel fielded questions on the rationale behind several parts of the dress policies. Asked about the prohibition of women's pants, Petty said church leaders had endorsed *For the Strength of Youth*, which discouraged Mormon women from wearing pants in most public settings. "I wasn't on the committee which compiled this [pamphlet]," she said, "and I don't know why [the proscription was included, but] it's my business to enforce the rules." Carver added that he was "working to find a rationale" for some of the standards with which he was personally uncomfortable, but added that he had to accept them in the meantime. Cameron said his own rationale did not matter, since "the Church leaders' saying it is all that is necessary," though when pressed he conceded that "many things which happen on this campus are not

87. Wendell Hall to the editor, *Daily Universe*, 23 Feb. 1970.

88. Wilkinson to Petty, 12 Mar. 1970.

89. "Dress Standards Rule," *Daily Universe*, 9 Mar. 1970.

done by divine authority." Cameron also said he felt BYU's standards were "higher" than the church's, but when some students objected he agreed that "stricter" might be a better word.⁹⁰

Later that month Associate Dean of Students LaVar Rockwood informed Cameron that a committee that included Rockwood, Petty, Carver, and two others had drafted a "specific statement on dress and grooming standards." The committee's main recommendation was that the school no longer use language that suggests or advises, but treat standards as requirements. "I am convinced," he told Cameron, "that it will be impossible to enforce standards unless the students are informed as to specifically what is expected." In order to do so, Rockwood suggested a massive public relations campaign to inform students, faculty, and university personnel of the new regulations. Faculty, in particular, must be persuaded to help enforce the standards, he wrote. "Some faculty are going to be very upset about this kind of strict enforcement," he added. "It is my guess they will not participate. Many of them would rather resign than be required to enforce or deny admission to classrooms."⁹¹

The proposed statement, however, did not receive approval, perhaps because trustees still could not agree on how to approach the issue of regulations and enforcement. In the meantime, Wilkinson, who continued to receive complaints from students, parents, and local church leaders that the school was not strict enough, began to feel even greater urgency to remove violators from campus. In May, Petty informed Wilkinson that thirty-three female students had been placed on a year's probation for dress code infractions.⁹² Wilkinson approved heartily. "We must be unusually vigilant from the very first day of school," he wrote to Petty and Cameron, "both for this summer and for next fall in enforcing these standards." He also gave academic administrators "the urgent request that they immediately formulate some program of support from the faculty so that next year everyone will be supportive of this program right from the start of summer school and from the start of fall term."⁹³ When the student body president—more critical of Wilkinson than some others had been—heard of the plans, he fired the president a protest letter: "If the introduction of these arbitrary specifics is an attempt to remove 'radical' elements from campus, I think that it is ill-founded."⁹⁴

Over the summer administrators continued to compile lists of stu-

90. "Dress Board Gives Reasons," *Daily Universe*, 17 Apr. 1970.

91. Rockwood to Cameron, 28 Apr. 1970.

92. Petty to Wilkinson, 19 May 1970.

93. Wilkinson to Cameron and Petty, 23 May 1970.

94. Brian Walton to Wilkinson, in Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 252. Wilkinson had previously instigated an investigation of Walton for supposed leftist sympathies.

dents who should be monitored or whose registration materials should be "tagged" to prevent them from starting school in the fall without having been interviewed about their attitudes toward dress standards. (One such list, sent from LaVar Rockwood to Gary Carver, included a grandson of a church apostle.⁹⁵) At the beginning of fall semester, the *Daily Universe*, having undergone a change in editors, argued that an enrollment cap meant "we do not think that it is proper for us to allow students who do not participate either in our church activities or avail themselves of other great opportunities on this campus, to remain at BYU." The article noted that BYU has "exit as well as admissions standards."⁹⁶

By that fall Wilkinson had submitted his resignation to the First Presidency, though he would not leave office until the middle of the next year. Following the death that year of church president David O. McKay, Wilkinson felt that support from ranking church leaders—particularly Elder Harold B. Lee—would probably diminish.⁹⁷ A September announcement on "Grooming and Dress Standards for Young Men and Women of the Church," included in the church's *Priesthood Bulletin*, for example, stressed the more "liberalized" language of "modesty" and "free agency" rather than the shoulders-to-knees regulations that Wilkinson had worked for and even had been promised by some apostles.⁹⁸

Before leaving office, Wilkinson still hoped to see BYU put its dress and grooming guidelines on paper, and for him the issue still carried political significance and near-apocalyptic urgency. In February 1971 a Gallup poll showed that 54 percent of American male college students wore their hair in what could be considered "long" styles (though only 7 percent wore it "to or below the shoulder"). The other 45 percent wore what could be considered "traditional" short cuts. The poll also confirmed Wilkinson's long-held suspicions that an association existed between long hair and leftist politics.⁹⁹

In keeping with national trends, BYU witnessed a vast increase in the number of dress and grooming violations—especially in men's hair length—during the 1970-71 school year. In September University Standards interviewed 682 registering students—405 women and 277 men—regarding their appearance. Following second semester registration in February 1971, at which administrators employed a panel of students to identify violators, the *Universe* reported that nearly 1,200 students,

95. Rockwood to Carver, 4 June 1970.

96. "'Y' Policies Explained," *Daily Universe*, 25 Sept. 1970.

97. Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 32.

98. "Grooming and Dress Standards for Young Men and Women of the Church," *Priesthood Bulletin* 6 (Sept. 1970): 2.

99. George Gallup, "Long Hair Stands Out as Style for Campus," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 Feb. 1971.

mostly men, had their records tagged and were later sent letters from college deans informing them of the infraction and requesting compliance.¹⁰⁰ In one such letter, an offending student was warned that "[d]eviations of dress and grooming tend to give the impression of alliance with those bizarre groups of students whose misdirected ideals would lead them to destroy our universities and even our society." As an example: "One of our fine students, of lofty ideals, could see no reason why he should not groom himself after the fashion of the day until he was approached by one selling pot. He was shocked and asked why he should be identified as a potential buyer of marijuana. He was told: 'Man, you give me the cues.' If you wear the coat of the enemy you can get shot," this dean said.¹⁰¹

A BYU Survey Research Center study conducted in March revealed that almost 40 percent of the students violated dress and grooming standards in some way, and that over 85 percent did so knowingly.¹⁰² Perhaps in response, Wilkinson proposed to the board of trustees that the Code of Student Conduct he had helped create be abandoned and replaced by a legal contract with students that made the university's expectations clear and legally defensible. The board rejected the idea.¹⁰³ The following month the administration moved ahead in other ways to maintain standards. They announced that beginning with the upcoming spring term, students whose registration packets were tagged would be monitored by teachers who would report back to the Standards Office if the student had complied.¹⁰⁴

At the same time this committee was exploring new ways to enforce dress codes, the executive committee of the board of trustees suggested to Wilkinson that women's dress standards be loosened to include pant suits but still exclude "levis and slacks." On further consideration, they agreed to allow pant suits and slacks, but to exclude jeans, effective the following school year.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps in an attempt not to lose ground, as the month of April drew to a close Wilkinson conferred with administrators on the Committee on Dress Standards, who "consented," he wrote, "to my giving a statement at Devotional to the effect that we were going to be more severe on violators of our dress standards." Such a measure would be, Wilkinson thought, a last stand of sorts. "I am cognizant of the

100. "Dress Violators Mount," *Daily Universe*, 5 Feb. 1971.

101. A. Lester Allen to C**** L. H****, 23 Feb. 1971.

102. "Codes Broken Knowingly," *Daily Universe*, 3 Mar. 1971.

103. See Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University*, 120.

104. "Dress Standards Committee Tries New Method of Confronting Violators," *Daily Universe*, 8 Apr. 1971.

105. A summary of these proposed changes, discussed in board meetings on 25 March and 7 April 1971, is included in BYU Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 6 Oct. 1971.

fact that this committee," he wrote, "would much prefer that we wouldn't do this but handle this merely by love and persuasion. I am, however, conscious of the fact that we have not been successful in doing it that way."¹⁰⁶

Wilkinson's statement was forceful. "Heretofore we have had a general policy," he announced, by first warning a student, then placing him or her on probation, then taking the final measure of suspension. "Hereafter," he said, "there will be no warning given to those who violate these standards. By registering they have already agreed to abide by the standards and thus have already been warned as to what the rules are. ... The Dean of Students and his staff are given the authority, without any further warning of any kind, to suspend students who violate our standards, even for a first aggravated offense." He added: "students who are not taking advantage of the unusual privileges of this Institution, such as regular attendance at Church, will be advised not to return next year. We deem it entirely unfair to permit those students to register at this Institution and at the same time exclude other students that would be very happy to come here and abide by all of the standards of this Institution."¹⁰⁷

Wilkinson's speech kept the campus abuzz for a few weeks. "If [the same] emphasis that has been placed on dress standards [were] placed on academics," wrote one student to the *Universe*, BYU would "be on its way in becoming a great university."¹⁰⁸ Other students relayed rumors that as many as fifty people had been suspended immediately following Wilkinson's speech. The *Universe* denied the story a week later, though Wilkinson, in another follow-up article, said that "some"—though not fifty—"have been suspended."¹⁰⁹ Four months later BYU had a new president.

While the long-haired radicals Wilkinson feared are now safely a part of American history, BYU's behavioral codes continue to reflect Wilkinson's influence. During his final years in office, the code took on the character it largely retains today. Indeed, with only subtle changes in recent years, the honor code and dress and grooming standards reflect the substantial items adopted during Wilkinson's tenure, and the latter continue to be the campus's leading indicator that students are adhering to the former. More importantly, the reasoning behind the code has for the most part remained Wilkinson's: BYU is a showcase to the world for the high moral stature of its students and of Mormons generally; its students are

106. Wilkinson Diary, 20 Apr. 1971.

107. Wilkinson, "Announcement to Student Body," 20 Apr. 1971; see also "President Warns Violators," *Daily Universe*, 21 Apr. 1971.

108. Stephen Wight to the editor, *Daily Universe*, 22 Apr. 1971.

109. "Rumor Validity Discredited," *Daily Universe*, 27 Apr. 1971; "Statement on 'Due Process' Made," *Daily Universe*, 28 Apr. 1971.

to help fuel Mormonism's moral leadership in world arenas. "BYU, as the flagship of LDS Church education," Wilkinson wrote in his official history, "had to set a proper example of dress, dance, and behavior in keeping with the Mormon philosophy that men and women should shun the world and all its unseemliness."¹¹⁰ In the face of enrollment caps that began under Wilkinson, the university's rationale for disciplinary action against honor code offenders has also remained: those who cannot or will not abide by BYU's behavioral restrictions should make way for those "worthy" applicants waiting to get in. With the goal in mind of keeping worthy students apart from the world, BYU's behavioral codes continue to aid the school in making model students.

110. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 3:331.

Night Fires

—for Tamara

Brent Pace

Family sentinels, we watch flames grab scrub oak
roughly on the shoulder of our dysphoric mountain,
shiver as three firs' tired arms collapse in slow motion
silence.

You give me Camel Lights, speak with
dry mouth of smoke's poetry, look through half-open
eyes to the grove where Father prays to the Wonderful
Wizard of Oz on cracked wheat mornings.

You spit
anecdotes, stream of consciousness, about your year
in hospitals, how an x-acto knife opened up your
forearms twenty times. The scars shimmer here,
flattened silk worms that giggle in the manic light.

I caress the still scarless skin of my white ankles, lean
against our elm, sure that if I sleep, dawn will find me
once again in that windowless room of yellowed cotton
mattresses. And while you doze on weeping grass, a
malingering moon undresses, escapes its canyon
prison.

When you sit up at last, anxiolytic dreams
leap onto frightened, waking eyes—your yellow face.



Determinist Mansions in the Mormon House?

L. Rex Sears

THE HUMAN MIND SEEMS IRRESISTIBLY COMPELLED by (at least) two incompatible intuitions: first, that as morally responsible beings we are able to do other than what we do; second, that what happens now could not have been different unless at some point in the past things had been different. Certainly Mormonism, with its deep commitments both to human freedom and responsibility, on the one hand, and the universal reign of natural law, on the other, seems committed to both. Yet discourse over the conflict in its Mormon setting is virtually nonexistent.

By way of introduction (for those not already conversant with the terms of the debate), determinists maintain that all events, including human decisions and actions, are determined, fixed by factors outside the events themselves. While there are other kinds, the most common sort of determinist believes that every event is caused by other (usually¹ prior) events. Absent explicit indications to the contrary, "determinism" used without modifiers refers to their view, causal determinism. Almost invariably when first exposed to deterministic views, people conclude that determinism and human freedom are incompatible, that if determinism holds true then people are not free; libertarian² thought accepts this conclusion and affirms that we are free (and that determinism is therefore false).³ Despite this strong prevalent prejudice to the contrary, many thinkers have argued that careful reflection reveals the compatibility of determinism and freedom. Soft determinists go beyond this mere compatibilist assertion of the

1. Usually, not always, because some causes operate contemporaneously with their effects; for example, my moving finger causes the computer keyboard key to move at the same time, not later.

2. Philosophy appropriated the term for this use before there was a Libertarian political party.

3. So-called hard determinists agree with libertarians on this point, but insist, instead, on the truth of determinism.

compossibility of determinism and human freedom, insisting that both are actualized in the real world.

Some thirty-odd years ago Sterling McMurrin accused his contemporaries in Mormondom of confusing the freedom at stake in the free will/determinism debates with "the various forms of social or political freedom"⁴; McMurrin also charged that the few thinkers of the Mormon tradition who succeeded in distinguishing the relevant notion of free will from the others uncritically subscribed to common libertarian conceptions of freedom, with "no serious attempt to refine their doctrine or to confront the numerous subtle problems associated with the meaning of freedom within the context of the current analysis of causation and determinism."⁵ Judging from what has appeared in the intervening decades in print, at least, not much has changed: modern LDS church leadership shows none of the interest in or sensitivity to philosophical issues exhibited by some earlier leaders; among lay thinkers who distinguish free will from political or social freedom, the libertarian hegemony, while occasionally repudiated,⁶ has yet to be effectively challenged; neglect of the subtleties of the general free will/determinism debate and their potential bearing on Mormon thought continues; and the doctrine of free agency remains undeveloped.

In this essay I hope to invigorate what to all appearances has been a moribund area of thought and discussion, in part by challenging pervasively but complacently held beliefs. In the first place, it seems to me that several central strands of Mormon thought militate in favor of determinism; I begin by exploring these, to motivate the discussion that follows. Next, I examine what seem to me to be the strongest barriers to Mormon acceptance of determinism, arguing that once both these objections and determinism are properly understood the objections fail. In the course of doing so, I will offer a more comprehensive formulation of the doctrine of free agency than is commonly set forth.⁷

4. Sterling McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1977), 82. The freedom at issue in the free will/determinism debates is essentially characterized by its connection with moral responsibility. The other freedoms mentioned by McMurrin might be necessary to protect various forms of self-expression but not to render individuals morally responsible; for example, though subjects of the Nazi regime lacked virtually every form of social and political freedom imaginable, we nevertheless consider them free in the sense required to hold them responsible for their actions under that regime.

5. McMurrin, *Theological Foundations*, 81-82.

6. See, for example, Truman Madsen, *Eternal Man* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970), 66n; Kent Robson, "Foundations of Freedom in Mormon Thought," *Sunstone* 7 (Sept.-Oct. 1981): 51-54.

7. This formulation is developed and authenticated in more painstaking detail in chap. 2 of my dissertation, "An Essay in Philosophical Mormon Theology," Harvard University, 1996.

IN FAVOR OF DETERMINISM

But for the instinctive appeal of libertarianism, it would be puzzling that recognized Mormon thinkers have not advocated determinism. The deterministic inclinations of Mormon thought are apparent, for example, in the dominant Mormon view that miracles are not divine interventions that violate the natural order, but rather result from the operation of laws with which we are currently unfamiliar⁸: there is underlying this view a commitment to the idea that the reign of natural law is universal, yet the notion of a thoroughly law-governed universe implies determinism (as Truman Madsen certainly recognized⁹).

The preference for a naturalistic view of miracles may seem doctrinally peripheral, and so perhaps its rejection justifiable given this conflict and the intuitive appeal of libertarianism. Of course, the general commitment to a law-governed universe appears in other places, as well, notably in explaining the need for atonement and in justifying the exclusion of some people from exaltation; still, the advocate of libertarianism could insist that there are specific laws mandating these results while denying that the reign of law is absolutely universal. Nevertheless, I believe there are even more fundamental (and so less excisable) elements of Mormon thought that press toward determinism: first, Mormonism's acceptance of divine foreknowledge of human behavior; second, its materialist ontology; and third, its denial of creation *ex nihil* and concomitant commitment to conservation principles.

The Argument from Divine Foreknowledge

Scripture explicitly describes Peter's denial of acquaintance with Christ (Mark 14:66-68) as an object of divine foreknowledge (v. 30). Whether or not God's foreknowledge can be analyzed as justified true belief (per the standard philosophical model), it seems reasonable to suppose that God's foreknowledge of Peter's denial entails at least that God believed, at the time foreknowledge of Peter's denial was announced (t_1), that Peter would first deny Christ shortly before the cock first crowed (t_2). Given that God believed, at t_1 , that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 , Peter's denial of Christ at t_2 appears unavoidable:

- (i) Peter cannot falsify God's belief, because God cannot be wrong;
- (ii) Peter cannot change the fact that God held that particular belief at t_1 , because Peter cannot change the past; and

8. B. H. Roberts, *The Truth, The Way, The Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology* (San Francisco: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 60-61.

9. Madsen, *Eternal Man*, 66n.

(iii) Peter cannot change the fact that the being who held the belief at t_1 was infallible.¹⁰

Failing to deny Christ would necessarily involve doing one of the impossible things enumerated in (i)-(iii); so given God's foreknowledge, it is impossible for Peter not to deny Christ.

Note that the argument is not that God's belief *makes* Peter deny Christ; the argument says nothing about what leads to Peter's denial, what makes it happen. What the argument does purport to show is that since God, who cannot be wrong, at t_1 believed that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 , and since Peter can neither falsify God's belief nor change the past, Peter cannot do other than as God has foreseen. Now there is nothing in this argument peculiar to Peter or his denial of Christ, and since God is commonly held to have foreknowledge of every action anybody performs, the conclusion is that if God exists then everything anybody does is fixed prior to their performance of that action.

In *The Consolation of Philosophy* Boethius champions the most promising line of defense against this argument by insisting that God is not within time; that God's cognitions, like God himself, are outside of time and so do not precede my actions; and that, since God's cognitions of my actions do not precede them, my actions are not fixed *prior* to my performance of them. Mormonism, however, places God firmly within time and so cannot avail itself of the Boethian resolution of the apparent contradiction between divine foreknowledge and human freedom.

The argument from divine foreknowledge requires only that God believe, at t_1 , that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 . The argument can be further clarified by juxtaposing it with another argument, that the truth, at t_1 , of the proposition that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 (which also seems to be implied by God's foreknowledge of Peter's denial), seems to entail the conclusion that, at t_2 , Peter could not do otherwise. For *this* argument, however, the existence of God and divine foreknowledge is irrelevant. At t_1 the proposition that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 was true, whether or not it was foreknown by God or by anyone else.

However, this argument from the antecedent truth of propositions about the future to the fixity of the future appears to rest on a failure to appreciate the difference between hard and soft facts, anticipated by Ockham's distinction between "propositions about the present as regards both their wording and their subject matter" and "propositions ... about the present as regards their wording only and ... equivalently about the future, since their truth depends on the truth of propositions about the

10. Compare Nelson Pike, "Divine Omniscience and Voluntary Action," in John Fischer, ed., *God, Foreknowledge, and Freedom* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 57-73.

future."¹¹ An approximation (not completely rigorous) of the needed distinction between hard and soft facts can be constructed from Ockham's classification of propositions: roughly, facts about a given time t , that can be described using only propositions that do not depend for their truth on propositions about the future relative to t , are hard facts about t ; facts about t , that can only be described by using propositions that depend (at least in part) for their truth on propositions about the future (relative to t), are soft facts about t .¹²

Returning to the argument from the past truth of propositions about the future to the fixity of the future, that it was true, at t_1 , that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 , appears to be a soft fact about t_1 : the truth of the proposition describing this state of affairs, the proposition that the proposition that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 was true at t_1 , depends on the truth of the proposition that Peter *did* deny Christ at t_2 , a proposition about a future time (relative to t_1). Since the truth of the proposition, at t_1 , about Peter's future denial of Christ is a soft fact about t_1 , it seems that this fact (that the proposition was true) was, in some way, not quite fixed at t_1 , and so Peter's action at t_2 was not fixed at t_1 , either.

In contrast, that God believed, at t_1 , that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 , appears to be a hard fact about t_1 : the truth of the proposition that God *believed*, at t_1 , that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 , does not appear to depend on the truth of any proposition about the future relative to t_1 ; in particular, the truth of this proposition describing God's belief does not depend on the fact that Peter *did* deny Christ at t_2 . While the soft fact that the proposition describing Peter's denial at t_2 was true at t_1 does not render Peter's denial unavoidable, the hard fact that God believed, at t_1 , that Peter would deny Christ at t_2 , coupled with God's infallibility, appears to entail that Peter could not fail to deny Christ at t_2 .

Were it successful, the argument from the antecedent truth of propositions to the fixity of the future would entail that it is impossible for Peter (or anybody else, for that matter) to do other than he does at any particular time: for any action (except an action occurring literally at the beginning of time) there was an earlier time at which it was true that that action would be performed when it was performed; given this, when the time for the performance of the action comes, it is irrevocably fixed by the antecedent truth of the proposition describing its occurrence. In an orthodox context, where a mistake on God's part is ruled out as a conceptual impossibility (in Nelson Pike's terms, God is *essentially* omniscient¹³),

11. William Ockham, *Predestination, God's Foreknowledge, and Future Contingents*, tr. Marilyn McCord Adams and Norman Kretzmann (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1983), 46.

12. Compare Marilyn McCord Adams, "Is the Existence of God a 'Hard' Fact?" in Fischer, *God, Foreknowledge, and Freedom*, 75-76.

13. Pike, *Divine Omniscience and Voluntary Action*, 58.

similar conclusions can be drawn from divine foreknowledge: given that God believes prior to every action that it will occur, and that God *cannot* be wrong, when the time for performing an action comes it is impossible for the actor to do otherwise. God's infallibility is a hard fact about t_1 , the time at which he foreknows what Peter will do at t_2 , and so Peter cannot at t_2 change the inerrancy of God's foreknowledge.

The prevalent Mormon understanding of divine foreknowledge as a product of personal premortal acquaintance suggests a way of softening the conclusion of the argument from divine foreknowledge by questioning the status of God's infallibility. Within Mormon thought, divine foreknowledge assumes a naturalistic and empirical cast, being a knowledge acquired through millennia of prior acquaintance with us, as exemplified in James E. Talmage's characterization: "God's knowledge of spiritual and of human nature enables Him to conclude with certainty as to the actions of any of His children under given conditions"¹⁴; having had the opportunity to become acquainted with each of us during the course of our first estate, God is able to apply his knowledge "of spiritual and human nature" to predict our choices. Presumably both God's acquaintance with us, in particular, and his knowledge of spiritual and human nature, in general, are acquired through the same sorts of learning processes that we use. Accordingly, God's foreknowledge has merely empirical certainty, rather than the strict logical infallibility of more orthodox creeds: given God's prior research, we and God have every reason to be confident in the correctness of his predictions, not because he *could* not *conceivably* be wrong but simply because he has done his homework well enough that we (and he) are quite sure he *will* not be.

Returning to the initial three-step argument from God's foreknowledge with which this section began, the Mormon explanation of divine foreknowledge downgrades propositions (i) and (iii), that Peter cannot falsify God's belief and that he cannot render God fallible, from the level of logical truths to merely empirical certitudes. Accordingly, it is at least conceivable that Peter could render God fallible and falsify God's earlier prediction of betrayal.

However, this softening of the conclusion of the argument from divine foreknowledge comes at a price: the Mormon explanation apparently presupposes determinism, because it depends on there being laws of spiritual and human nature that describe how individuals with certain characteristics will behave in given situations.

Some prominent thinkers in the Mormon tradition astute enough to recognize the apparent threat posed to human freedom by divine foreknowledge have advocated denial of the latter—for example, Talmage's

14. James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 173.

contemporaries, church historian J. M. Sjodahl¹⁵ and B. H. Roberts.¹⁶ Paralleling his pious redefinitional efforts to salvage “omnipotent” as an accurate characterization of the Mormon God, Roberts suggests that we understand God to be omniscient in the sense that he knows all that is known, which includes all that is or has been, but that the future, which as yet is not (and so is not yet determinate), is not known by God or anybody else until it unfolds and so becomes fixed; at which point God will know it. More recently Roberts’s views have received a sympathetic airing by Blake Ostler.¹⁷

But denial of God’s foreknowledge appears to be the exception, and with good reason: scriptural references to specific items of divine foreknowledge aside, such knowledge is also presupposed by (other) central Mormon doctrines. According to Joseph Smith, just as God knew, sanctified, and ordained the biblical prophet Jeremiah before he was conceived (Jer. 1:4-5), so too the council in heaven witnessed the appointment, or foreordination, particularly of Jesus as our savior and more generally of every individual who was to play a role in the achievement of God’s aims here on this earth.¹⁸ Presumably, God appoints those he does because “the Lord in his wisdom,” acquired through ages of observation, knows that the person so ordained has “the talents and capacities” to perform the requisite task(s).¹⁹ Regarding Jesus Christ, Lorenzo Snow explicitly taught that God the Father knew that he could trust Jesus to fulfill his mission because the Father had observed his course for thousands of years prior to his birth.²⁰ The doctrine of foreordination, so explained, requires substantial divine foreknowledge—achieved through a combination of personal acquaintance with particular individuals and a knowledge of general laws according to which people behave and develop.

The questions raised by the doctrine of foreordination may be posed again by Mormon soteriology. On one reading, this life is a time of testing to determine our suitability for membership in the various kingdoms of the hereafter. Essentially this is a later iteration of foreordination: those whose conduct during the course of their entire existence prior to judgment shows them to be capable of shouldering the burdens of exaltation (that is, allows us to predict their success as gods) are to be appointed

15. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, 442.

16. Roberts, *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, 477-78.

17. Blake Ostler, “The Mormon Concept of God,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 77-79.

18. Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 365.

19. Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 290.

20. Lorenzo Snow, *The Teachings of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 93.

thereto. As such, this idea carries the same deterministic implications as the doctrine of foreordination.

The Argument from Materialism

According to Mormon scripture, "[t]here is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes; We cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified we shall see that it is all matter" (D&C 131:7-8). The apparent intent of this passage is to deny the existence of *any* immaterial substances; accordingly, intelligence (or intelligences; see below) too must be material, perhaps being composed of the same sort of matter as spirits. Presumably, material intelligence(s) and spirits operate according to principles as deterministic as those governing our physical bodies, and so a deterministic view of human behavior appears inevitable.

Richard Price, an early modern rationalist and libertarian, accused determinists of confusing the operation of physical cause with the influence of a moral reason, thereby committing themselves to the absurdity that "*an abstract notion can strike a ball*"²¹; in arguing from Mormonism's materialism to determinism, it might seem that I have made just this mistake. Yet it is certainly possible to be a determinist without confusing ideas and physical processes, insisting only that whatever reasoning a person engages in, were that same person placed in identical circumstances (having the same beliefs, values, attitudes, etc., and responding to an indistinguishable physical situation), the reasoning would yield the same outcome. Going farther (and more directly to the complaint currently under consideration), even accepting that mental processes presuppose material processes on which to supervene, determinism can still be accepted without also accepting the absurdity of direct interaction between abstract notions and billiard balls: the argument from materialism only requires that the history of deliberation and that of causally interacting matter can only vary concomitantly; the argument from materialism does not require that causal, material processes *produce* deliberation.

In a related vein, the inference from materialistic metaphysics to determinism need not depend on any claims regarding the reducibility of mental phenomena and their relations to causally related states of material entities. The argument from materialism (understood as a thesis about the nature of all that exists, and not about the reducibility of mental phenomena to physical) to determinism rests on the proposition that if all

21. Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism, and Philosophical Necessity, in a Correspondence Between Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley* (London: J. Johnson and T. Cadell, 1778), 140.

of the material circumstances surrounding the occurrence of some mental happening (thinking a thought, feeling a feeling, making a choice) were to be duplicated, then things would transpire in the same way. This can be defended without appeal to any reducibility thesis: it seems reasonable to suppose that if there are no immaterial entities, then cognitive operations, if they are not equivalent to material processes, at least could not occur except in conjunction with accompanying material processes; whether or not the former are reducible to the latter, there can be no variation in the one without some variation in the other.

While I do not know of its having been offered in support of determinism, the argument from materialist ontology to determinism has been tacitly endorsed by one writer who insists that the scriptural passage denying the existence of immaterial substances must be reinterpreted to avoid the deterministic conclusion.²² Nolan's own process-philosophy reinterpretation of Mormonism's materialism as recognition of the ontological primacy of change over substance in matters spiritual (as well as physical) does not undermine the argument for determinism: whether change or matter is the fundamental ontological reality, there is no reason for a Mormon to think that the processes by which change occurs in spiritual affairs are any less deterministic than those occurring in the physical world appear to be.

Also, construing Mormonism's materialism in such a way as to exempt the matter of which spirits and intelligences are composed from the laws governing the operation of grosser, physical matter would again conflict with Mormonism's naturalistic view of miracles (discussed above as the principal manifestation of Mormonism's commitment to the universal reign of law). Almost without exception, Mormon thinkers have characterized miracles (divine interventions into earthly affairs) as executed in accordance with, rather than in violation of, natural laws—perhaps natural laws we do not yet know, but natural laws, nonetheless. To affirm that spiritual matter is affected by principles other than those which determine the course of physical matter would render the interaction of spirit and body a miracle in the sense in which Mormon thinkers commonly deny that miracles happen.

Theoretical advances that have led physicists to reformulate deterministic causal laws as statements of high statistical probability do not affect what I see as essential: according to Mormonism, human thoughts and actions are as fully prefigured prior to their occurrence as are any other observable events; whatever freedom human beings have does not exempt them from being as regular in their development as the rest of na-

22. Max Nolan, "Materialism and the Mormon Faith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Winter 1989): 62-75.

ture. Two caveats are in order, however. First, if spirit matter, like the physical matter with which we are more familiar, behaves deterministically on observable (comparatively macro) levels, then the randomness recognized by quantum mechanics does not affect the deterministic inference from Mormonism's materialist ontology. However, scriptural characterization of spirit as *finer* matter (D&C 131:7) might be taken to support the conclusion that its behavior, even on larger scales, resembles that of the random particles of quantum mechanics. To have one's actions determined by random events of the sort described by quantum mechanics, however, seems to be no more free (and quite possibly less free) than having those actions determined by causal processes.

Which leads to the second caveat. Quantum mechanics describes the behavior of certain particles as random. If, however, what quantum mechanics characterizes as randomness is some sort of non-random self-determination by those particles, or if particles of spirit matter exhibit such a capacity for non-random self-determination (Orson Pratt suggested that *all* matter is composed of particles having such a capacity²³), that *would* undermine this argument from Mormonism's materialism; the argument based on God's foreknowledge, however, would remain.

The Argument from Conservation

One of the most distinctive manifestations of Mormon hostility to the notion of miracles as violations of the natural order is Mormonism's strident rejection of creation *ex nihilo* (a rejection absent from Joseph Smith's earlier creation narrative in the book of Moses but incorporated into the Mormon canon by the later account in the book of Abraham [3:24]). Undergirding this rejection is an unbending commitment to the principle that the stuff from which things are made (call it matter [D&C 131:7-8] or element [D&C 93:33] or materials [Abr. 3:24]) is conserved through all changes. In the King Follett Discourse Joseph Smith greatly amplified the modest scriptural declaration that "the elements are eternal" (D&C 93:33), proclaiming

that God Himself had materials to organize the world out of chaos—chaotic matter—which is element and in which dwells all the glory. Element had an existence from the time He had. The pure principles of element are principles that can never be destroyed. They may be organized and reorganized, but not destroyed. Nothing can be destroyed. They never can have a beginning or an ending; they exist eternally.²⁴

23. *The Essential Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 187.

24. Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 203.

Mormon apologists consistently refer to this Newtonian sounding conservation principle when seeking to demonstrate the superior rationality of the Mormon view of creation as against the foolish superstitions of their sectarian rivals.²⁵

While it seems that in its earliest formulations this principle of conservation was focused primarily if not exclusively on matter, it has been readily expanded to incorporate the (even more explicitly and specifically Newtonian) principle of conservation of force; according to Roberts, for example, "[t]o this statement in respect of the uncreatability and indestructibility of matter there must be added its necessary corollary, the conservation of, or the persistence in undiminished entirety the sum of force or energy throughout the universe."²⁶ Roberts, for one, made short work of reconciling Einstein's theory of the interchangeability of mass and energy with the doctrinal principle of conservation: after all, Einstein never said matter was annihilable; at most (assuming, for the moment, that matter and mass are equivalent), he said that matter could be converted into energy, but this conversion is again a form of conservation. "'The elements are eternal'—when you get to them."²⁷

Yet this deeply rooted commitment to conservation apparently conflicts with libertarian freedom, which seems to involve the introduction of *new* force into the universe. Hence, as Kant saw, the libertarian free will is a first, uncaused cause of the sort apparently precluded by Mormon denial of the possibility of creation *ex nihil* (see the Third Antinomy in Kant's first *Critique*). Roberts characterized free will as a *vera causa*²⁸ and its exercise as a fact independent of all that surrounds or precedes it,²⁹ apparently unaware of any potential for conflict between his dearly held conservation principles and his understanding of the nature of human agency.

It might be possible to avoid this conflict by hypothesizing that exercises of free will introduce pairs of compensating forces; likewise, it could be supposed that the exercise of free will uses ambient mass-energy to produce those paired forces, thereby avoiding the even more problematic specter of absolute creation of mass energy. Perhaps the apparent conflict between libertarian conceptions of free will and principles of conservation can be resolved by such ad hoc measures, and so this apparent difficulty might not be fatal to Mormon libertarianism, but the tension between libertarian thought and a strong commitment to conservation principles cannot be denied.

25. See, e.g., *The Essential Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 193; *The Essential Orson Pratt*, 29-30; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 169.

26. Roberts, *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, 38.

27. *Ibid.*, 41.

28. *Ibid.*, 72.

29. *Ibid.*, 32.

AGAINST DETERMINISM

The arguments in favor of determinism that can be developed out of Mormon doctrine have not been extensively discussed by recognized Mormon thinkers, either sympathetically or critically; instead, the almost universal rejection of determinism (among the minority who consider the issue) has been based on the apparent incompatibility of it with other, more clearly supported, doctrines, principally the rejection of predestination and the assertion that we are free agents.

Predestinationism and Determinism

Mormons commonly distinguish predestination from foreordination, accepting the latter but denying the former. Predestinationism is "the false doctrine that from all eternity God has ordered whatever comes to pass," according to which some "are irrevocably chosen for salvation, others for damnation."³⁰ To be foreordained to some calling, in contrast, is to have been selected by God before coming to this earth to perform certain tasks and/or play certain roles, presumably because "the Lord in his wisdom" knows that the person so ordained has "the talents and capacities" to perform the requisite task(s).³¹ Determinism seems to entail predestinationism, and so is rejected.

Coupled with a doctrine of divine creation *ex nihilo*, determinism would entail predestinationism: if God established all initial conditions, and the universe unfolded in a deterministic way, God would dictate (directly or indirectly) everything that comes to pass. The Mormon doctrine of creation as organization from preexistent materials, by itself, might still allow the argument from determinism to predestinationism via God's organizational role. But the connection between determinism and predestinationism can be severed by a suitable interpretation of the doctrine of uncreated intelligence.

In his King Follett Discourse, Joseph Smith taught that "the mind of man - the immortal part - is as immortal as, and is coequal with, God Himself."³² Commonly, this teaching is correlated with the scriptural declaration that "[m]an was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be" (D&C 93:29), and subsequent generations of doctrinal expositors have employed the term "intelligence" to refer to that part of a person that is un-

30. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 588.

31. *Ibid.*, 290.

32. Larson, "The King Follett Discourse," 203.

created and the term “spirit” to refer to the created part.³³

Such use of “intelligence” has some scriptural foundation (D&C 93:29; Abr. 3:21-22), but scriptural usage of the terms “intelligence” and “spirit” does not consistently reflect the distinction that has become common since Smith’s time; for example, one passage describes spirits as beginningless and endless (Abr. 3:18), while another seems to characterize what contemporary usage would label spirits as intelligences (Abr. 3:21-22). The King Follett Discourse exhibits similar ambiguity, equating “the mind of man,” that part that “is as immortal as, and coequal with, God Himself,” with the immortal spirit³⁴, but also characterizing Adam’s spirit as having been “created before” its insertion into Adam’s physical body.³⁵ Scriptural sources also seem to disagree about whether this uncreated something is single, perhaps common to all humankind (as suggested by D&C 93:29), or whether there are many uncreated things (suggested by Abr. 3:18). From this confusion has emerged a general consensus that something of humanity predates any creative intervention by God, but the nature of this uncreated something has been a subject of disagreement.

Bruce R. McConkie offered an interpretation that exemplifies the single uncreated thing view. According to McConkie, intelligence is a (presumably undifferentiated) mass of stuff out of which individual spirits are organized.³⁶ On McConkie’s view the argument from determinism to predestinationism could be made.

B. H. Roberts defended what appears to be the most widely accepted version of the many uncreated intelligences interpretation. According to Roberts, intelligences are unoriginated, discrete entities that are housed in spirits much as spirits are housed in physical bodies.³⁷ At a minimum, intelligences must possess self-consciousness, “the power to distinguish himself from other things”—the “me” from the “not me”; the power deliberately to compare, “by which he sets over one thing against another”; and the “power of choosing one thing instead of another.”³⁸ Of several contending interpretations of this doctrine, only Roberts’s view has been presented and defended with some measure of church sanction. Roberts included his interpretation in a church-published manual of in-

33. See, e.g., B. H. Roberts’s note, carried over from the report of the sermon in the seven-volume *History of the Church* to the *Teachings* report; Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 350.

34. Larson, “The King Follett Discourse,” 203.

35. *Ibid.*

36. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 84, 387.

37. B. H. Roberts, *A Scrap Book* (Provo, UT: Lynn Pulsipher, 1991), 2:26-28.

38. *Ibid.*, 26.

struction he authored³⁹; much later Roberts's view was defended by Truman Madsen⁴⁰ in another church-sponsored publication,⁴¹ and Roberts himself again defended his view in an article reviewed and approved by the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve for publication in a church journal.⁴²

Assuming, as it seems reasonable to do, that individual intelligences are not identical when God first intervenes in their existence, the coupling of determinism with Roberts's interpretation of the doctrine of uncreated intelligence implies that while the fate of an individual may be fixed long before it is earned or awarded, and so people may be, in some sense, predestined to salvation or damnation, God does not do the predestinating. (Apart from helping to render acceptance of determinism consistent with longstanding Mormon doctrinal commitments, this understanding of what the Mormon denial of predestination amounts to will figure prominently in the reconciliation of determinism and personal responsibility offered below.) In providing spirits and bodies to unoriginated intelligences, God makes possible salvation or damnation, as those are understood by Mormonism, but God does *not* dictate that this person will be saved and that person not. Accordingly, given this interpretation of the doctrine of uncreated intelligence, the inference from determinism to predestinationism collapses; nevertheless, even Roberts, champion though he was of the relevant interpretation of the doctrine of intelligences, seems to have been unaware of this, decrying deterministic dogmas in science (and theology) as "amounting almost to the doctrine of absolute predestination."⁴³

Ostler's work exhibits a related confusion. Ostler complains that if the future were fixed prayer would be an absurdity because God, like us, would be unable to change it.⁴⁴ Determinism is often confused with what might be characterized as fatalism, the view that nothing we do can change the future; but according to determinism, the future is fixed not in spite of what we or God might do but, rather, *because* of what we and God have done and will do. Turning specifically to the case of prayer, the future God foresees may well be shaped by God's foreseen response to our foreseen prayer; the prayer then is not an irrelevant sideshow but rather an essential causal nexus significantly shaping the future.

39. B. H. Roberts, *Seventy's Yearbook* 4 (Orem, UT: Grandin Book Co., 1994): Lessons I-III.

40. Madsen, *Eternal Man*, 24-25.

41. *Ibid.*, vi-vii.

42. Roberts, *A Scrap Book*, 2:21.

43. *Ibid.*, 175.

44. Ostler, "The Mormon Concept of God," 79.

Free Agency

Nothing in the Mormon conception of man is more in evidence or relates more importantly to the total theological structure than the affirmation of the freedom of the will. Nothing is permitted to compromise that freedom as the essential meaning of personality, whether human or divine, and at every turn of Mormon theological discussion the fact of moral freedom and its implied moral responsibility must be met and accounted for.⁴⁵

Accordingly, unless determinism can coexist with free agency (the Mormon version of free will), determinism must go. For present purposes it will be useful to separate two issues: first, the compatibility of determinism with the specifics of the doctrine of free agency; second, in light of the clear connection Mormon thought makes between that doctrine and moral responsibility, the compatibility of determinism with such responsibility. I will treat the second in the next section.

The Ability to Choose. The power to deliberate, evaluate, and choose, identified by Roberts as essential to uncreated intelligences,⁴⁶ is the most likely aspect of free agency to be a sticking point for the propounder of determinism. At first blush, it may appear that if the outcomes of our deliberations, our decisions and actions, are fixed before we even begin to consider our alternatives then we are not really deliberating (or choosing). However, on closer examination this initial presumption itself becomes difficult to sustain.

Whether or not determinism is true, we still, in Kant's phrase, must act under the idea of freedom.⁴⁷ Consider Christine Korsgaard's illustration:

The afternoon stretches before me, and I must decide whether to work or to play. Suppose first that *you can predict* which one I am going to do. That has no effect on me at all: I must still decide what to do. I am tempted to play but worried about work, and I must decide the case on its merits. Suppose next *I believe that you can predict* which one I'm going to do. ... What then? I am tempted by play but worried about work, and I must decide the case on its merits.

... Having discovered that my conduct is predictable, will I now sit quietly in my chair, waiting to see what I will do? Then I will not do anything but sit quietly in my chair. ...

... Of course it *can* happen, in a specific kind of case, that knowing the sort of thing I am usually determined to do diminishes my freedom. If I see that I often give in to temptation, I might become discouraged, and fight

45. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of Mormonism*, 77.

46. Roberts, *A Scrap Book*, 2:26.

47. Immanuel Kant, *Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals*, tr. by James W. Ellington, 3rd ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1981), 50/448.

against it even less hard. But there is no reason to think that this kind of discouragement would be the *general* result. ... Or if there is, it must come from some pessimistic philosophy of human nature, not from [determinism].⁴⁸

Note, too, that determinism does not imply the persistence of past patterns into the future, because in the deterministic unfolding of the universe things do change. In fact, the prospect of old patterns continuing into the future can itself precipitate change; "[i]f predictions can warn us when our self-control is about to fail, then they are far more likely to increase that self-control than to diminish it" by putting us on our guard.⁴⁹

The truth of determinism does not change what deliberation looks and feels like from the point of view of the person trying to decide what to do; it does not provide any direction to the deliberation (by itself it provides no reason for doing one thing rather than another); and it does not obviate the need to deliberate before acting (the agent's performance of her acts still depends on her having deliberated and decided as she did).

Phenomenologically, determinism and the ability to choose do not conflict; nor need they conflict metaphysically. Commenting on free agency, Roberts declares "that men possess the POWER of their own free will to accomplish things because THEY WILL to do them,"⁵⁰ and that "Man is not a mere transmitter, or quotient of forces external to himself."⁵¹ The first of these seems equivalent to Hume's description of liberty as "a power of acting or not acting, according to the determinations of the will,"⁵² and as such certainly implies no conflict with determinism. Indeed, some of Roberts's descriptions of human freedom of choice so closely parallel those of compatibilists that had Roberts not elsewhere insisted that each decision a person makes is "a simple fact independent of all the facts which precede or surround it,"⁵³ we might be left wondering if he might simply have been confused about the compatibility of freedom, as he understood it, with determinism.

Roberts's insistence that we are not mere transmitters of external forces seems easy to reconcile to a deterministic interpretation of Mormon doctrine⁵⁴: after all, if individual intelligent beings have no begin-

48. Christine M. Korsgaard, *The Sources of Normativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-96.

49. *Ibid.*, 96.

50. Roberts, *A Scrap Book*, 2:175.

51. *Ibid.*, 177.

52. David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

53. Roberts, *The Way, The Truth, The Life*, 32.

54. More elaborate consideration of a related line of objection may be found in chapter 2 of my dissertation, "An Essay in Philosophical Mormon Theology."

ning, then it would seem that they are, simply in virtue of that fact, something more than transmitters of external forces, whether or not they operate deterministically. Although individuals may be affected by and transmit some external forces, since "man never has been totally a product,"⁵⁵ even if we operate deterministically we have always had something more to contribute to the network of causes and effects than that which we have received from outside influences.

From the standpoint of Mormon metaphysics, the history of a person's practical development can be told in two distinct ways, neither of which must be regarded as superfluous. By way of illustration, assume, for the moment, that Peter's denial of Christ was motivated by fear of suffering a fate similar to Christ's. In this case, the deliberations which led Peter to conclude that his survival would be threatened if his connection to Christ became known, as well as his decision to safeguard himself rather than acknowledge his discipleship, doubtless were preceded and accompanied by deterministic processes occurring within Peter's material intelligence; further, the deliberation and decision could not have occurred without those deterministic processes; but likewise there could have been no such processes without the deliberation and the decision. Peter has been deliberating and choosing, and his material intelligence has been developing along its deterministic path, forever; neither the deterministic processes occurring within the material intelligence nor the self-conscious development of the agent could be without the other. The fact that there are two histories (the causal history and the associated deliberative history) to be told does not make the description of Peter's denial as a result of deliberation and decision any the less accurate or relevant, and there is no apparent reason to assign explanatory priority to one rather than the other. In short, determinism itself denies neither the existence nor the relevance of the cognitive content of deliberation.

Other Elements of Free Agency. As suggested above, freedom of choice should be seen as part but not all of free agency. Accountability must be part of any complete characterization of agency (for which, see below), but there are a couple of other elements of agency having no apparent conflict with determinism. I will set these out, here, without attempting to argue explicitly for their compatibility with determinism.

While other narratives and doctrines can be profitably mined for what they might have to tell us about the doctrine of free agency,⁵⁶ an account of agency that suffices for present purposes can be extracted from consideration of events related by scripture as having transpired in the

55. Madsen, *Eternal Man*, 65.

56. I cast a broader analytical net in chapter 2 of "An Essay in Philosophical Mormon Theology." In addition to the Garden of Eden story, that of the War in Heaven also figured prominently in my wider investigation.

Garden of Eden, where, according to modern revelation, God gave unto us our agency (Moses 7:32). The scripture describing agency as a gift given in the garden suggests linkage between agency and knowledge: "I [God] gave unto them their knowledge, in the day I created them; and in the Garden of Eden, gave I unto man his agency" (Moses 7:32). While the agency-conferring knowledge could be whatever awareness of good and evil they gained in consequence of eating forbidden fruit (see, e.g., Gen. 3:7), I think the more promising candidate knowledge is God's initial instruction of Adam and Eve regarding the commandment not to partake. When God forbade partaking of the fruit, he informed Adam of the consequence of doing so. The Joseph Smith translation, in particular, suggests that in doing so God was making Adam a responsible agent: "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, *nevertheless, thou mayest choose for thyself, for it is given unto thee; but, remember that I forbid it, for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*" (Moses 3:17; Joseph Smith's retranslation added the italicized portion to Gen. 2:17). Giving Adam knowledge of the consequences of his actions was part of making him an agent.

I think the choice to which Adam was put by this knowledge should be recognized as a further component of free agency—in fact, the final component necessary for present purposes. According to Nephi, "men are free ... to choose liberty and eternal life ... or to choose captivity and death" (2 Ne. 2:27). Mormon commentators commonly recognize two forms of death to which Adam and Eve became subject through transgression: first, physical death; second, spiritual death, understood as separation from God, which Adam and Eve suffered immediately (when they were driven from the garden, where they stood in the presence of God and conversed with him face to face [*Lectures on Faith* 2:18]). By their response to God's requirement, Adam and Eve were able to determine the nature (intimate or remote) of their relationship with God; indeed, but for the continued availability of prayer, to which God would at times respond, their choice would have carried with it the possibility of destroying that relationship altogether.

Agency and Accountability

Agency connotes, inter alia, accountability to God for the exercise of that freedom (see, for example, D&C 93:31, 101:78). Accordingly, even if other aspects of agency can be reconciled with determinism, within a Mormon framework this reconciliation cannot be purchased at the cost of defining agency, or the freedom of choice that is part thereof, as something incompatible with moral responsibility. While this is not true of *every* component of free agency, serious questions about the possibility of

responsibility *are* raised by the deterministic account of freedom given above. Articulation of both the questions and my responses can be facilitated by considering Truman Madsen's proposed Mormon reconciliation of determinism and accountability.

Madsen, a proponent of deterministic interpretation of Mormon doctrine, maintains that the combination of determinism with the doctrine of uncreated individual intelligences allows Mormonism to reconcile determinism with moral responsibility. As Madsen observes, philosophical discussions about determinism generally assume a thesis denied by this deterministic doctrine of free agency, viz., that people have a beginning over which they have no control.⁵⁷ Drawing on this observation, Madsen contends that what he characterizes as the Gordian knot embodied in the venerable dialectic between traditional determinist and indeterminist views "is cut not by indeterminism, but by *self-determination*. Cause-effect relationships, apparently, are universal. But man is, and always has been, one of the unmoved movers, one of the originating causes in the network."⁵⁸

In his analysis of the impact of the doctrine of unoriginated individuals on the debate about determinism, Madsen appears to have in mind incompatibilist lines of argument like Peter van Inwagen's consequence argument, helpfully summarized by John Fischer as follows:

Causal determinism is the claim that a complete statement of the laws of nature and a complete description of the facts about the world at some time t_0 together entail every fact about the world after t_0 . If determinism is true, then all of our choices and actions are a *consequence* of the laws of nature and events in the distant past. But no one ever has, or ever had, any choice about what the facts of the world were at some time t_0 in the very remote past. Therefore, if determinism is true, then it follows that no one has, or ever had, any choice about any fact about the world after time t_0 —that is, no one has, or ever had, any ability to do, or to choose, otherwise.⁵⁹

If determinism is true, so the argument goes, everything that happens now, including the decisions we make, are unavoidable consequences of things beyond one's control—viz., the laws of nature and the past, the way the universe was before one's birth—so everything that happens now is beyond one's control.

As it stands, the argument fails against the deterministic doctrine of free agency described above because that doctrine contradicts the

57. Madsen, *Eternal Man*, 65.

58. *Ibid.*, 66n; compare Robson, "Foundations of Freedom in Mormon Thought."

59. John Fischer and Mark Ravizza, eds., *Perspectives on Moral Responsibility* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 8-9.

premise that there was a time in the past, recent or remote, when any individual had no choice, and so no responsibility, about what the facts of the world were. Since intelligences are uncreated, each individual has always been able to influence the course of events; nobody is entirely a product of past circumstances over which she had no control; "man never has been totally a product."⁶⁰

However, the Madsenian response just given to the consequence argument seems to be an inadequate accommodation of the conviction that drives that argument. To understand why, consider Gary Watson's analysis of a fundamental libertarian predicament. As Watson describes it, libertarianism incorporates the principle "that to be responsible for anything, one must be responsible for (some of) what produces it" (the contrapositive of the principle formalized in the rule of inference on which van Inwagen's argument relies⁶¹); libertarianism combines this principle with the view that good people and bad people are made by their responses to formative circumstances, rather than by those formative circumstances themselves—i.e., that formative (environmental) influences cannot make a person a bad person (or a good person) without that person's consent.⁶² The Madsenian response to the consequence argument seems to grant both of these elements, so Watson's subsequent commentary can be applied to Madsen's response. Watson goes on to inquire about the source of the relevant consent:

If we think of agents as consenting to this or that *because* they are (or have?) selves of a certain character, then it looks as though they are responsible for so consenting only if they are responsible for the self in which that consent is rooted. To establish this in each case, we have to trace the character of the self to earlier acts of consent. This enterprise seems hopeless, since the trace continues interminably or leads to a self to which the individual did not consent. The libertarian seems committed, then, to bearing the unbearable burden of showing how we can be responsible for ourselves.⁶³

Even though the tracing to which Watson refers would never terminate (on Madsen's view) with "a self to which the individual did not consent" but would instead be interminable, this lack of termination does not seem to meet the "unbearable burden" of explaining our responsibility for ourselves. As Madsen himself observes elsewhere, individual dif-

60. Madsen, *Eternal Man*, 65.

61. Peter van Inwagen, "The Incompatibility of Responsibility and Determinism," reprinted in John Fischer, ed., *Moral Responsibility* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 244.

62. Gary Watson, "Responsibility and the Limits of Evil: Variations on a Strawsonian Theme," reprinted in Fischer, *Perspectives on Moral Responsibility*, 143.

63. *Ibid.*

ferences are not created either by God or by individuals themselves, but are always present.⁶⁴ There must always have been some difference between a good person and a bad, which has led and continues to lead to different kinds of choices; according to the principle underlying the consequence argument, individuals are responsible for these choices only if they are responsible for that differentiation; and responsibility for these originless features seems as little attributable to the individual possessing them as any characteristic with which an individual might have been endowed when she was brought into being by either God or nature. If (as it seems only reasonable to claim) a person is not responsible for the originless features which make her respond to her formative circumstances in such a way as to become good or bad, then the consequence argument applies with full force: assuming she is not responsible for her formative circumstances, she cannot be responsible for those choices, nor for her resultant character, at any point along the way. Recognizing that Mormonism denies that our existence originates from circumstances over which we have no control does not, as Madsen maintains, render libertarian arguments such as the consequence argument irrelevant to deterministically interpreted Mormon doctrine.

The compatibilist articulation of freedom to choose made in the previous section (beginningless exercise of deliberative choice coordinate with beginningless causal processes occurring within a material intelligence) faces this very challenge: granted it may show that the process and outcome of deliberation are not by-products of causal processes occurring outside of the agent, but absent responsibility for some set of initial conditions it does not show that the agent is therefore responsible for those outcomes.

A particular view of the nature of moral responsibility underlies consequence arguments like the one I just made against Madsen (and the compatibilist articulation of freedom to choose put forward above). According to this view of the nature of moral responsibility, a person is responsible for an action just in case the action's ultimate source is the person herself. Yet if such is our understanding of responsibility, it would appear that nobody can ever be responsible for anything: to the extent that determinism is true, whether our existence has a beginning or not our actions are products of causal series extending either to a distant past over which the person performing the action had no control, or to an uncreated essence for which, again, the person cannot be held responsible; to the extent that determinism is false, actions cannot be traced to any source (actions might be traced to volitions, but if a volition has no further source it would be a mistake to ascribe the volition, and so the ac-

64. Madsen, *Eternal Man*, 57.

tion, to the person). The only way we *could* be responsible, if we accept the model of responsibility under consideration, would be to create our (at least somewhat) deterministic selves.

This model treats the issue of a person's responsibility for a given action as a feature of the person to whom it is ascribed. A person is or is not responsible for a given action, whether or not we are aware of this fact, and when we ascribe responsibility to a person we do so because we believe that, as a matter of fact, independent of our ascription, she is responsible. Religious discourse commonly characterizes human responsibility in terms of accountability to God; Mormonism, in particular, characterizes the stages of our existence as estates granted by God and our earthly responsibilities as stewardships, suggesting an alternative understanding of responsibility that differs in two fundamental (and related) ways.

First, this new paradigm inverts the relation between attributions of responsibility and purported facts about responsibility: when I hold another responsible, I am not making a judgment whose truth value depends on whether or not she is, in fact, responsible; rather, I am *making* her responsible, creating the fact of her responsibility. This does not mean that my perceptions of her factual situation play no role in my determination of whether or not to hold her responsible, but only that her responsibility, prior to my determination to hold her responsible, is not a part of that situation. Second, under this new paradigm, responsibility is relational: a person is not simply responsible, but responsible *to* the individual(s) who hold her responsible. I may be holding myself responsible, in which case I am responsible to myself, but I am still responsible *to* somebody, rather than simply responsible.

I believe that the exposition of the Mormon doctrine of free agency offered above comports well with an account of responsibility that follows the lines just indicated. Central to agency, as set forth above, is a set of expectations that God informs us that he has of us and from our (dis)satisfaction of which momentous consequences follow: the nature of our future relationship with God (indeed, whether or not we will have an interpersonal relationship with him) is determined by whether or not we meet those expectations. I propose that to be responsible to God, to be held responsible by him, is just for him to have such (consequence-laden) expectations of us.

Further, while to this point discussion has focused upon our relationship and concomitant responsibility to God in particular, what has just been proposed with regard to God readily allows generalization. Free agency has been explained as follows: *to be a free agent is to be possessed of a deterministically operative power of self-determination; to have received intuitively endorsed but contested instruction to do some things and avoid others;*

and to have the ability, by choosing to obey or disobey the admonitions one has received, the nature of one's future relationship with God. This is what it means to be a free agent with respect to God. Generalizing this explanation to what it is to be a free agent with regard to any individual, we have the following: to be a free agent with respect to a particular individual is to be possessed of a deterministically operative power of self-determination; to have been instructed by that individual to do or not do certain things; and to have the ability to determine, by choosing to obey or disobey the admonitions received by that individual, the nature of one's future relationship with her. Having the relevant expectations held of us by her, in turn, makes us responsible to her, and to be a free agent with regard to a particular individual is just to be responsible to her.

The expectations held of those we hold responsible differ from what may be termed purely predictive expectation, most obviously in the kinds of emotive responses we have to frustrations of the expectations we have of people we hold responsible. I may be frustrated if my car does not start the day after I pick it up from the shop, but my reactions to the mechanic who said she had fixed it will be of a different sort. Moral responsibility, in particular, is to be distinguished from more generic forms of responsibility by the content of the relevant expectations. To be morally responsible is to be expected to behave morally (perhaps by ourselves; we do, after all, expect things of ourselves and rest our self-perception on conformity to those expectations). Further specification of the nature and source of the expectations peculiar to moral responsibility could be influenced by the choice of a particular moral theory (Kant's, say; or a virtue ethics or utilitarian system); in this essay I would rather avoid such entanglements.

Determinism does not make it impossible to hold the relevant expectations of one another; nor does it, in general, make the holding of those expectations irrational by rendering their fulfillment impossible. The truth of determinism does mean that whether or not those expectations would be held or fulfilled was (more or less, given caveats about quantum mechanics) determined prior to the event, and so it may mean that in certain cases expectations could not have been fulfilled, but this does not provide a general argument for the inevitability of the frustration of our expectations. *Determinism tells me that whatever I do, I was determined to do; it does not tell me what it is that I shall do. Likewise, determinism tells me that whatever fate my expectations meet, that was determined; but it does not tell me what that fate will be and so it does not tell me whether to hold a given expectation.* In short, on this understanding of the nature of responsibility, determinism does not seem to pose any threat to responsibility.

However, this interpretation of responsibility readily admits the formulation of a lingering element of libertarian unease about determinism:

it might be thought that the difference in the kinds of expectations we have of people and of things can be justified only if people have a special, indeterministic sort of freedom that sets them apart from things. Yet if the unique value accompanying the expectations manifested in attributions of responsibility needs any justification, I do not see how denying determinism could provide it. To me, it seems that the relevant difference between people and things is that people can deliberate about what to do, can think about and weigh outcomes, make decisions, and act accordingly; whether or not history determines the outcome of that deliberation does not matter.

More generally, we place great value on interpersonal relationships characterized by mutual attributions of responsibility. We value social interaction incorporating such mutual attributions; we seek to interact with people who have expectations of us that mirror ours of them. The value of such society is augmented, not diminished, as we become more certain of the fulfillment of the relevant expectations. The relations we value most are those with the people we regard as the most dependable.

Consider Christine Korsgaard's explanation of what it means to hold another responsible. Korsgaard distinguishes two common uses of the term "responsible": according to the first, to describe a person as responsible for an action or attitude indicates that that person is a candidate for praise or blame; according to the second, however, to call a person responsible connotes that person's reliability, trustworthiness, etc. The notion of responsibility with which Korsgaard operates contains elements of both: "we think of the person as someone who should be regarded as reliable and trustworthy and so forth, and *therefore* as a candidate for praise and blame."⁶⁵ We hold others responsible because we anticipate their fulfillment of our expectations, and the truth of determinism (as discussed previously) does not militate against this anticipation.

Still, this relational analysis of responsibility and the accommodation of determinism it makes possible may seem simply beside the point when we turn from responsibility, generally, to specifically moral responsibility. It may seem that the question raised by the specter of determinism is the question of whether or not a person who lacks indeterministic freedom is bound by the moral law, and to that question the possibility of our holding expectations of her may seem irrelevant. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the issue raised by determinism is strictly one of relational responsibility. Even if we are determined, we can still exhibit moral behavior: we can act to promote happiness, as the utilitarians require; we can act according to lawful maxims, as Kantians say we should; we can act as a virtuous person would act. Further, we can act out of appropriate

65. Korsgaard, "Creating the Kingdom of Ends," 326n.

motives or from virtuous dispositions. The possibility of moral conduct is not threatened by determinism. The question determinism raises is precisely: is it proper for us (or God) to *expect* determined individuals to behave morally, can we hold them responsible for whether or not they do so; and the preceding suggests that determinism provides no reason for *not* doing so, for not holding people responsible for the morality of their conduct, for not expecting them to behave morally.

While absolute independence of the sort sought after by libertarian thought is not necessary for responsibility, some degree of mutual independence among participants in relationships characterized by mutual attributions of responsibility may be indispensable; hence the significance to my analysis of responsibility, remarked upon earlier, of the Mormon rejection of predestination, where that is understood as denial that God dictates the salvation or damnation of the individual. Accordingly, although I observed above that the doctrine of the uncreatedness of individuals does not resolve the apparent conflict between determinism and moral responsibility, I believe it does play a role in explaining the possibility of relations between God and human beings that involve mutual attributions of responsibility. If deterministically operative human beings were products of divine creation, we might be hard pressed to develop any sort of plausible justification for divine attributions of responsibility to us, for the value we attach to moral responsibility may well depend on a certain degree of mutual independence; that is, while the fact that another's actions are determined might not threaten the value I attach to their conformity to or violation of certain expectations, that value may be threatened if I am, in whatever degree, ultimately responsible for that determination.

In order for us to be free agents, in the Mormon sense, we must be able to determine the nature of our future relationship with God. But if we were created by God and determinism were true, then God would ultimately determine the nature of our future relationship with him. The analysis of free agency developed above proceeds against a doctrinal background that includes the assumption that we are uncreated individuals, and it seems to me that this background commitment is essential to the utility of the analysis.

Setting aside the issue of determinism, if the preceding remarks are correct then it may be that traditional doctrines of humanity's creaturely status and ontological dependence on God render truly mutually responsible relationships between ourselves and God impossible. The God of traditional theism keeps us in existence at his pleasure, and he could choose to end our existence if we are found to be sufficiently intransigent; but even the decision to annihilate us is purely God's: *we* cannot choose to terminate our relationship with him by ending our existence. The God

of traditional theism ultimately exercises a great deal of control over the nature of our relationship with him, whether or not determinism is true. Accordingly, it seems that free agency (in the Mormon sense I am advocating) might not be possible within the framework of traditional theism, and so it may be that there can be no truly reciprocal relationships, relationships characterized by mutual attributions of responsibility, with the God of theism; we would be too dependent on such a God for him to hold us responsible.

The warping effects of dependence can be seen, somewhat, even in human relationships, such as the parent-child relationship: only adult children who are independent of their parents can enter into interpersonal relationships with their parents characterized by full-blooded mutual attributions of responsibility (rather than approximations of such attributions). Our relationship with the God of traditional theism takes dependence to the extreme, and so it may warp the context for attributions of responsibility to such an extent that such attributions can no longer meaningfully be made.

Surprise! A Final Objection

I have been surprised to find in Mormon circles that a, if not the most, common objection to determinism is that it robs life of its flavor. Unpredictability, so the criticism goes, is the only thing that can make an unending life worth living; take it away and we might as well cease existing (were that possible for uncreatable and indestructible intelligences) *right now*, or at least once we have seen and predicted it all. While surprise might make for good parties and may be an essential plot element for movies worth at most one viewing, I find it odd that surprise should be regarded as the wellspring of good living. The most worthwhile relationships, and even entertainment, are those that are in large measure predictable: I look forward to seeing my wife laugh at just the part of the story I thought she would find most humorous, taking pleasure in the fact that I know (and am known of) her so well; so, too, I enjoy the growing crescendo of the opening movement of Beethoven's *Ninth* all the more, knowing what is coming.

I suspect that the infatuation with surprise stems from a tradition within Mormonism of praising the ideal of God as constantly progressing in knowledge.⁶⁶ Yet even granting for the sake of argument the desirability of surprise, determinism entails only that the future is knowable, and not that it is known. To orchestrate the symphony of earth life, God may

66. See, for example, LeGrand Richards, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 271.

well have to chart the course of our earth lives with great precision, but once we are safely established on the path to deity there is no reason for him not to curtail his predictive proclivities and enjoy the unexpected delights of interacting with his children and grandchildren. Further, there are ways of growing in knowledge other than knowing that this, that, or the other will in fact happen.

CONCLUSION

The God of Mormonism lives in a universe and among intelligences not of his own making. I see no reason for concluding anything other than that our God is a moral being seeking to do the best that can be done in a universe that is morally ambiguous or neutral. In particular, God seeks among the uncreated intelligences populating the universe for those with whom he can enter relationships of the kind he values most dearly, those at the heart of which are expectations of righteous living. And recall that even under the deterministic reading of Mormonism espoused above, God acquires the ability to predict our behavior only by getting to know us; when meeting an intelligence for the first time, as it were, God does not know if things will work out with that intelligence.

There is a certain kind of pride that comes of being a self-made person, which the arguments made in this essay undercut: in the final analysis, it appears, none of us is self-made. I believe this to be so whether or not determinism is true, but those who reject determinism generally do so in part out of belief that we can somehow be the ultimate source for our character and/or conduct. Accordingly, it seems to me that by rejecting that possibility finally and explicitly, determinism *does* militate against smug self-satisfaction on the part of those able to satisfy the kinds of expectations characteristic of celestial society. But this hardly seems a good reason for a religion insistent on its Christian credentials to dismiss the view. Instead, viewing the position defended above against the backdrop of the assimilation of divine to human that is central to Mormon thought, I believe it proper to suppose that the Mormon deity joins with us in viewing with sorrow those unable to meet such high demands, with the poignant yet relieved thought that there but for the grace not of God but of inscrutable, immutable fate go I.

Our most fully interpersonal relationships are characterized essentially, even if not uniquely, by mutual attributions of moral responsibility. In previous sections of this essay, I have argued that participation in these relationships is not rendered either impossible or irrational or pointless by the sobering thought just enunciated. But that thought should keep those fortunate enough to have such ties from hubris.



Profile of Apostasy: Who Are the Bad Guys, Really?

Allen Dale Roberts

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A WORD MAKES. Consider, for example, these two words: apostle, a biblical word from the Greek *apostolos*, meaning “one sent forth.” For Mormons, an apostle is a man called of God as a prophet, seer, and revelator; a leader and guide; a man to honor, respect, and obey. Now think of apostate, a word not found in the Bible, from the Greek *apostasia*, meaning “one who has abandoned what one believed in, as in a faith, cause or principles.” For Mormons, an apostate is one to pity, fear, and shun for opposing the church and contaminating the Saints; a person to excommunicate. No two words sounding so similar have such opposite meanings. Yet these two etymologically unrelated words help us to identify what are considered to be types of persons on opposite ends of the spectrum of belief.

As a young man, I prepared for my upcoming missionary service by reading several church books, among them Joseph Fielding Smith’s *Essentials in Church History*. Although written from a decidedly orthodox and apologetic point of view, it introduced me to the phenomenon of apostasy within the Mormon tradition. I found the brief biographies of general authorities at the rear of the book especially interesting. Doing some numerical calculations, I found that there was an extraordinary incidence of apostasy in the church while it was headed by founding president Joseph Smith.

Of his first and second counselors, all but his brother Hyrum were excommunicated. Nine of his nineteen apostles were excommunicated, and two others, Orson Pratt and Orson Hyde, were temporarily cut off, depriving each of his succession to the church presidency forty years later. Thus eleven of the nineteen apostles, Smith’s closest associates, were either excommunicated, disfellowshipped, or “rejected.” Taken together, fourteen of twenty-three, or 61 percent, of Joseph’s most trusted leaders, all called by him and, presumably, by God, were severely disci-

plined, mostly excommunicated, by their prophet-president. Many men and women in other positions of importance, such as the presidents of the Seventy and stake presidents, were also lost to apostasy after converting, following the church from state to state, often at great sacrifice, in loyal service to their beloved religious leader.

What caused these reversals of belief and commitment, I wondered, perhaps fearing that I, too, might be somehow vulnerable. I found my answer in orthodox Mormon literature, wherein latter-day apostasy and apostates are described in clear and consistent terms.

MORMON PROFILE OF APOSTASY

I have assembled some typical descriptions, which collectively I call a "Profile of Apostasy," an obvious reference to Apostle Hugh B. Brown's popular "Profile of a Prophet."

The recently published *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* offers three characteristics of apostasy and apostates: (1) apostates "reject the revelations and ordinances of God"; (2) apostates "change the gospel of Jesus Christ"; and (3) apostates "rebel against the commandments of God, thereby losing the blessings of the Holy Ghost and of divine authority." Aside from a description of the "Great Apostasy of Christianity," which justified the Mormon restoration, the article makes no historical mention of apostasy within the LDS tradition.

While Joseph Smith established the precedent of using the label of apostasy to discredit and excommunicate those who opposed him, his successors were equally verbose on the subject and active in cutting off apostates. Brigham Young devoted entire sermons to the subject, including one called "Faithfulness and Apostacy" delivered in 1855 on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church, in which he criticizes those who say: "Mormonism is true, but I am not going to stand it; I am not going to abide this severe temporal loss; I am not going to stay here and have my rights trampled upon, I am not going to be checked in my career; I do not wish to be trammelled in my doings, but I want my liberty perfectly. Still I believe it to be true with all my heart."

For Young, to sacrifice all and suffer anything at the hand of the church is the lot of the faithful. If I were to interpret and summarize in two sentences the heart of Brigham's sermon, it would be: To obey, regardless of the commandment or the cost, is righteousness. To resist abuse, or disobey, regardless of the reason, is wickedness and apostasy.

Over a hundred years later, Apostle Bruce R. McConkie provided an expanded LDS view of apostasy. In his categorical work, *Mormon Doctrine*, we are told that apostates are those who: (1) abandon and forsake gospel principles, (2) are guilty of pride, worldly learning, and the denial

of miracles, (3) work in secret combinations with the devil to "commit murder and iniquities," (4) deny the Holy Ghost, (5) believe false, vain, and foolish doctrines, (6) pollute the holy Church of God, (7) err because they are taught by the precepts of men, (8) accept false educational theories and the practices of sectarians, (9) find fault with the Lord's anointed, and (10) cause divisions and contentions in the church. While McConkie might concede that not every apostate is guilty of all of these characteristics, we get an idea of how broadly he uses the term as we read that those who use tea or coffee, or play cards, are in a state of "personal apostasy."

The present church *Handbook of Instructions* provides a three-part definition of apostasy for the use of church leaders. It says that apostasy is: (1) repeatedly acting in clear, open, and deliberate public opposition to the church or its leaders, (2) persisting in teaching as church doctrine information that is not church doctrine after being corrected by their bishops or higher authorities, and (3) continuing to follow the teachings of apostate cults (such as those advocating plural marriage) after being corrected by their bishops or higher authorities.

Interestingly, this definition does not include the traditional meaning: activity aimed at destroying the church or subverting its mission. Regardless of the written definition, recent events have shown that apostasy is often whatever a church leader thinks it is at any given moment. In a general priesthood session address, Elder James Faust, a leader of the euphemistically named "Strengthening the Members Committee," gave an even broader definition of apostasy. Reminding us that the concept of a "loyal opposition" does not exist in the church, he stated that if a member differs in opinion with a leader, it is not necessarily apostasy, but if the member makes public or publishes his or her views, it is definitely apostasy. And, as Apostle Dallin Oaks instructed on an earlier occasion, criticism of the brethren is wrong, "even if the criticism is true." If we accept that this conditional and utilitarian view of truth, together with an assumption of leadership infallibility and an intolerance for contrary views, is the prevailing leadership attitude, we begin to better understand the events of the on-going Mormon purge.

I find it doubly troubling that both the interpretation of apostasy and the administration of "disciplinary councils" are inconsistent and vary from situation to situation. Some people have been excommunicated for little more than eccentricity or personality conflict, while a few others have been given wide latitude by their local leaders to write and speak openly on almost any topic, provided they do not come out in open rebellion by attacking the church directly. In recent years the church has attempted to narrow the spectrum of acceptable Mormon behavior and belief by attacking its heterodox members on both the left and right. Members on the so-called left have been excommunicated for heresy,

feminism, history writing, and for identifying instances of ecclesiastical abuse. Members on the right have been cut off for discussing the last days, communitarianism, and believing that when the statements of current leaders are in conflict with the scriptures, God expects us to follow the scriptures.

Although the "September Six" of 1993 have received the most press coverage, the number of those who have been excommunicated, disfellowshipped, called in for pre-disciplinary interviews, fired from Brigham Young University, or voluntarily resigned their membership in protest of mean-spirited, iron-fisted leadership exceeds 135 and is increasing daily. Elder Oaks's attempt to dismiss such events as "not a purge" have convinced few. Do we no longer call the murders at Mountain Meadows a massacre because "only" 119 men, women, and children were killed? Do we forget the eight Mormons killed at what we still call the Haun's Mill Massacre? The general authority-instigated purge, followed by denial, then lying, then defensive justification, and finally an official statement reaffirming the church's right and intention to act in this manner have not improved our leaders' credibility nor contributed to a positive, reconciliatory outcome. I believe that it time for members of all stripes to reconsider our notion of apostasy and the efficacy of punishing members who wish to be included among the fold.

In order to evaluate the validity of the stereotype of apostasy, it may prove useful to examine the religious journeys of four historic apostates: Jesus, who apostatized from Judaism; Martin Luther, who was excommunicated from Roman Catholicism; William Law, who departed from Mormonism; and E. L. T. Harrison, spokesman of the Godbeite "New Movement."

JESUS: APOSTATE FROM JUDAISM

It may give us some discomfort to think of Jesus as an apostate, since we are given to describe him only in the highest, most shining superlatives. But the assignment of apostasy, as we will see, is a matter of perspective, and to Jews 2,000 years ago and now, Jesus was not the Christ, but a clever, influential, and divisive imposter, or, at best, a wise teacher who factionalized Judaism in his creation of rival Christianity.

Actually, Christianity was established by two people—Jesus and Paul. While Jesus set forth the principal ethical concepts of Christianity, along with its spiritual and humane characteristics, it was Paul, born Saul, who through his extensive proselyting was the main shaper of Christian theology, organization, and worship. Jesus presented the spiritual content and Paul gave it a living form. Paul, incidentally, was an apostate from both Judaism and Romanism.

At the time of Jesus' early death at age thirty-three, he left behind a small number of disciples who formed, at most, a minor reformist Jewish sect. Due to Paul's tireless preaching and writing, this small sect was enlarged and expanded in scope to include Jews and non-Jews, empowering the fledgling movement to grow gradually into one of the world's greatest religions.

Jesus left no writings behind, and the information provided about him in the Gospels is often contradictory. Still, it is apparent that he was a devout Jew and similar in many ways to the Old Testament prophets, whom he often quoted. He had little or no influence on the political systems of his era, but his ethical and spiritual principles outlived him to exert worldwide influence. His distinctive view point that we should "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you," remains of some importance today.

Yet along with these progressive and constructive teachings, Jesus spent considerable effort in criticizing religious and secular authority and calling for reform of the very Judaism to which he gave allegiance. In fact, some regard Jesus' mission more as an attempt to cleanse and sanctify his own Jewish religion and culture than as an effort to create an entirely new religion.

In retrospect, we see that his denouncements of the religious abuses of his time place him squarely within the classic definition of apostasy, viewed of course from the Jewish perspective. Clearly Jesus was highly critical of all of the authoritative groups of his time, including the rabbis, Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes, judges, lawyers, and Herodians, as well as the rich and powerful generally.

Jesus came into a part of the world ruled over not only by the mighty Roman Empire, but also by an oppressive, self-righteous, and abusive religious hierarchy. The Jewish scribes and rabbis exalted themselves to the highest rank, even higher than the priestly class, giving rabbinical sayings precedence over prophetic utterances. They also took to themselves all important official and professional offices and thus became both civil and religious rulers, a condition similar to that existing during the theocratic Mormon rule prior to Utah statehood.

Due to their power, rabbis were often guilty of self-pride and self-aggrandizement, as implied in the title *rabbi*, which means father, doctor, or master. As an elite group, they sought adulation and special favors.

Scribes, who were sometimes rabbis or lawyers, were repeatedly denounced by Jesus because of the dead literalism of their teachings and the absence of the spirit of righteousness.

The Sadducees, a group in competition with but smaller than the influential Pharisees, opposed the early Christian church and denounced

the possibility of resurrection. Jesus spoke out against rabbinical self-pride and self-aggrandizement. He condemned the dead literalism of the teachings of the scribes, as well as the Sadducees' refusal to believe in resurrection.

The Pharisees, the leading priestly order, took the lead in opposing Jesus' influence. They were inquisitorial, deceptive, and manipulative in their attempts to trap him. They excommunicated a blind beggar Jesus had healed because the man had transferred his allegiance from them to him. They also denied Jesus' spirituality and powers, blaming his miracles on the devil. Guilty of external shows of piety, but spiritually bankrupt and threatened by Jesus' incessant exposure of their flaws, they nonetheless used every method, including sign-seeking, in tempting him.

On one occasion Jesus intentionally omitted the ceremonial washing of hands at a Pharisee's dinner. To his fault-finding observers, he leveled a scathing criticism of their Pharisaic externalism, which he compared to cleaning cups and platters on the outside, while leaving the insides dirty. He accused them of complying with visible, outward observances of religious law, while ignoring the deeper inward, spiritual aspects.

Jesus once healed a man with dropsy at the house of a prominent Pharisee and was accused of violating the Sabbath. Again he appealed to the spiritual intent of the law, inquiring of them, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?" There was no answer.

Jesus' criticism of the uncaring wealthy is well known. He also took to task Pharisees who were "lovers of money," teaching, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." He attacked their arrogance with the saying: "For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

Jesus advised his disciples to obey their leaders, the scribes and Pharisees, but warned of their hypocrisy. "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do not yet after their works, for they say and do not." He advised his followers to be wary of leaders' vanity, feigned piety, lavish lifestyles, and insistence on being called by lofty titles. "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." How would leaders respond today if reminded of this basic precept, or, if addressed thus: "But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in."

The Pharisees depended on their legalistic interpretation of the law to control the "common people," creating obstacles to their entrance into the Kingdom of God. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayer, therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation." Here Jesus strikes out at the scandalous extortion by which the Jewish hierarchy unlawfully

amassed enormous wealth at the expense of its less fortunate members.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." This condemnation seems aimed at the emphasis on converting new proselytes to Phariseism, only to transform them into new members of this self-righteous, avaricious, and perverse ruling class of Jews.

In another place Jesus said, "Woe unto you, ye blind guides, which say whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor! Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?" Here he condemns the system of overbearing and unrighteous oaths, vows, rules, and technical requirements which, if broken, were grounds for punishment or excommunication. Jesus called for allegiance to higher spiritual laws.

The meaning of the following two verses is self-apparent: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith, these ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead bones and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and inequity."

Jesus' decrying of the wickedness of the religious leadership of his day and his declaration of his own higher vision and special calling resulted in a predictable outcome. He was charged and convicted of blasphemy, a form of apostasy, and was crucified.

MARTIN LUTHER: APOSTATE FROM CATHOLICISM

I doubt that anyone starts out intending to be a reformer or an apostate. The cost is too high. It is not something that comes naturally. Reformers often come to their dissent with constructive intentions, opposing only in reaction to the abuses they either observe or suffer. In short, abusive churches or, more specifically, abusive religious leaders (just as abusive government or business leaders) create apostates through the abuses they themselves perpetuate. Such was the cause for Martin Luther's transformation from a zealously devout Catholic priest and monk to eventual reformer and, finally, a Catholic-defamed apostate, the unwitting founder of a great new religious tradition.

Although his father wanted him to become a lawyer, Luther experi-

enced an epiphany, somewhat like the apostle Paul's, which redirected his life inexorably to the clergy. Like other reformers before and after him, he took his religious calling and obligations very seriously. His strong orthodox belief was exceeded only by his devotion. If you had told him when he was a newly appointed and unusually young doctor of divinity that he would in just five years write 95 theses challenging the primacy of the Catholic church, he might have protested his denial with violence.

As a Catholic with a promising future, Luther had a brilliant beginning. From boyhood he was preoccupied with the question, "How can one lead a perfect life before God?" He would be forever driven and conflicted by his need to answer this question. Well-educated as a youth, he was thrown to the ground by a bolt of lightening at age twenty-two. A product of his superstitious times, he feared God's wrath and cried out in desperation, hoping to save his life: "Saint Anne, help me! I will become a monk." His life was spared and he kept his promise. Two weeks later he entered a monastery and became the order's most earnest scholar.

It was as a lecturer in theology that Luther was exposed to the writings of St. Augustine, especially the monumental treatise *The City of God*. He devoured this and the other important religious writings of his day, earning him a doctorate in theology in 1512 and appointment as professor of Bible studies.

Luther's study of Romans 1:17 led him to alter his view of an angry, distant God, and see that "the righteousness of God is that by which the righteous live through a gift of God, namely, by faith." "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, the just shall live by faith." Luther's new insight that faith alone, developed only through the words of scripture, justify us before God, represented the turning point of his life, and of the history of Christianity.

Luther is still best known for his doctrine of the certainty of grace. In today's terms, Luther's creation of a new theological precept, when the right to develop theology remained in the domain of only high-ranking religious authorities, unknowingly put Luther in the category of speculative theologian, future reformer, and eventual apostate.

Initially, Martin's insights into faith did not lead him to question either the doctrine or the practices of the church. By this time he had become one of the most respected professors at the University of Wittenberg, and was a very popular speaker. He only wanted to awaken his Christian audiences to the Bible's teachings on justification by faith and on grace, God's fair and merciful gift to his undeserving children.

Two events would move Luther from theologian and teacher to contender. The first eye-opener was his exposure to Catholic relics and the superstitious practices he observed in his pilgrimage to Rome in 1510. On

passing the relic merchants in the streets, he became disgusted. People would buy pieces of Moses' burning bush, coins received by Judas for betraying Jesus, or hairs from the head of St. John, and take them to shrines where these gifts, together with their prayers, were believed to shorten the time their dead relatives would spend in purgatory. Luther wrote: "What lies there are about relics! One claims to have a feather from the wing of the angel Gabriel, and the Bishop of Mainz has a flame from Mose's burning bush. And how does it happen that 18 apostles are buried in Germany when Christ had only 12?"

Luther was equally troubled by the excessive, self-indulgent lifestyles of the Italian priests, especially as compared to the simple lives of the German clergy. Although at first overcome with emotion by the appearance of the holy city, his awe turned increasingly to disappointment and disillusionment.

Closer to home, a second event aroused his indignation. Young Prince Albrecht of Bradenburg made a deal with Pope Leo X that the prince would become archbishop of Mainz in exchange for collecting a large sum of money through the selling of indulgences. Half the profits would go toward building St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, the other half to Albrecht's bank, which lent him the money he paid to the pope. The money was raised by friars traveling from town to town selling indulgences, letters which, when purchased, guaranteed divine pardon and freed souls to go to paradise.

Peasants were promised: "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs." Luther, for whom faith was the only way to salvation, was incensed, believing the pope had no jurisdiction over purgatory. And he found the sale of indulgences, with the money going from Germany to aggrandize Rome, an affront to Christianity and an insult to national pride. In 1517 Martin Luther spoke out against these abuses by writing and posting his famous 95 theses. They were direct and forceful. Number 21 read: "Those preachers of indulgences are wrong when they say that a man is absolved and saved from every penalty by the Pope's indulgences."

Copies of the 95 theses were quickly circulated throughout Germany where Luther found many sympathizers. They also came to the pope's attention. Leo quickly mounted a counter-attack, publishing defensive pamphlets and sending out priests to proclaim the pope's infallibility in an attempt to silence Luther. The times were tumultuous.

Luther now realized he was emerging as the leader of a religious revolt. He also became aware that his writing and preaching would cause him to be branded a heretic, possibly leading to trial and execution. But he was also troubled that his teachings might create a conflict that would divide the church and disturb the lives of many Christians. He wanted to

reform the church, not create a new one. Still, he pressed ahead.

Luther eventually recovered from what he considered to be a defeat at his theological debates and prepared three revolutionary treatises which were to become the cornerstone documents of the Reformation. These pamphlets called for the church to reform itself in several areas. He "criticized many traditional Catholic rituals, the pride and selfishness of the Catholic clergy, and the doctrine that held that the pope's interpretation of the Bible was both correct and not to be disputed." He called for the dissolution of preferential distinctions between church leaders and members. He denounced the celibacy of priests. He exhorted the German people to abandon their dependency on Roman laws and rituals. (This list sounds a lot like the condemnations made by Jesus.)

Luther attacked the system of seven sacraments, acknowledging only two, baptism and the Mass. He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, the miracle said to occur when priests administer the sacred bread and wine during the Mass, transforming these elements into the actual flesh and blood of Christ.

In his third treatise, *The Freedom of a Christian Man*, Luther set forth his understanding of ideal Christian life. In 1520, as Luther's writings increased his influence, support for traditional Catholicism eroded visibly. Pope Leo responded by condemning Luther's teachings, forbidding him to preach, ordering his books burned, and excommunicating him, after Luther refused to back down during a sixty-day recanting period.

Much could be said of the remaining twenty-five years of Luther's life, but space permits only a brief summary. In 1524-25 German peasants clashed with civil and religious authorities in a conflict later known as the Peasant Wars. Although Luther preached patience and reason, he met strong opposition. The peasants believed he was compromising under pressure from the government, while, in fact, the latter blamed him for the uprising. Luther was unable to halt the bloodbath that followed, in which more than 100,000 peasant rebels were slain.

Pope Clement VII, a moderate, responded to the threat of German religious reform by advocating reformation of the church within the constraints of Catholic tradition. In time, the Catholic counter-reformation would prove to be a benefit begrudgingly credited to Luther, the Catholic apostate.

Well before his death of a heart attack at age sixty-two, Luther's place in history had been secured. People throughout the Holy Roman empire were studying his writings and singing his hymns in their churches. His teachings and the controversy they aroused remain vital elements of the heritage of Western civilization, while the political impact of his reforms is still felt throughout Western Europe.

In his 1521 defense before the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, per-

haps the catalyst event for the Reformation, Martin Luther concluded: "My conscience I get from God. I can give it to no other. Here I stand; I can do no other. God help me. Amen." He had traversed the path from convert, to adherent, to pilgrim, to contender, to challenger, to dissident, to apostate, to outcast, to reformer, and finally to founder of a great new religious tradition.

WILLIAM LAW: MORMON APOSTATE

Upon losing his first choice for second counselor, Frederick G. Williams, to apostasy after some financial misadventures, Joseph Smith appointed his brother, Hyrum, in his stead. When Hyrum was promoted to Church Patriarch in 1841, Joseph sought a counselor who would be more reliable, unwavering, and financially secure than the troubled Williams. In appointing William Law, he could not have made a better choice. Described as one of Joseph's "ablest and most courageous men," Law proved himself "as steadfast and incorruptible as John C. Bennett had been treacherous and dissolute."

Smith first met Law in Springfield, Illinois, as the latter was leading a small group of converts from Canada to Nauvoo. Law brought considerable wealth to the burgeoning Mormon "City of Joseph." He invested in real estate, the construction business, steam mills, and farms, becoming more responsible than anyone else, save possibly Joseph himself, for the building up of the city. Energetic and ambitious, yet practical and religiously honest, Law made a perfect partner in the prophet's grand plan for establishing the Kingdom of God on earth.

Law's alienation started reluctantly and progressed slowly in eventual reaction to the darker aspects of Smith's personality and actions he came to see through their close association. Until almost the end, Law was remarkably loyal to Joseph and his religious vision and resisted the implications of Joseph's problematic actions and statements, instead giving him the benefit of the doubt.

Law was one of the first to learn of Joseph's newly written revelation on celestial or plural marriage, prepared at the urging of Hyrum Smith, apparently to justify a practice both brothers had engaged in for years. Joseph's wife Emma was overwrought with anger when Hyrum presented it to her, but she sorrowfully conceded to Law, her confidant, "The revelation says I must submit or be destroyed. Well, I guess I'll have to submit." Law, upon hearing the text of the revelation during a 12 August 1843 meeting of the high council, found he could not, in good conscience, "submit." The church hierarchy became divided over the polygamy issue and Law became the minority leader in opposing it.

Manipulation of the Mormon vote to further Hyrum Smith's political

ambitions offended Law's sense of honesty and fair play. Hyrum had promised to deliver the Mormon vote to the Democrats in exchange for a seat in the state legislature the following year. He openly claimed that a revelation from God had directed his political activity. The normally gentle Law was enraged by what he saw as a political and religious sellout to advance Hyrum's personal interests.

Because of his affection for Joseph and his gentlemanly temperament, Law exercised tolerance and forgiveness as he witnessed events that gave umbrage to his own religious sensitivities. At first, he contained his resentment of Joseph's monopoly of the real estate market in Nauvoo, though he came to regard the prophet's preoccupation with temporal affairs as unfitting for a man of God. Joseph's threat to excommunicate wealthy converts competing with him for land troubled Law, and he gradually learned to distrust Smith's business acumen. Rather than invest his money in the publication of Joseph's revised version of the Bible, he chose instead to fund a steam mill.

As he watched hungry and poorly housed workmen struggle to build the temple, while Nauvoo House construction stood at a standstill despite being well-funded, Law determined that Smith was taking funds donated for the hotel to buy land which he then sold to new converts at a generous personal profit.

Yet despite their divergent economic attitudes and Law's inside knowledge of Joseph's weaknesses (he was bothered, for example, by the prophet's sensual attraction to his younger wives, such as the two orphaned, teenaged, and wealthy Lawrence sisters), his friendship and religious fealty remained essentially intact.

What for many other men would have been the breaking straw came when Joseph made a direct attack on the unity and sanctity of Law's own family. It was one thing for him to observe with sorrow born of disappointment and resignation Smith's growing accumulation of wives. But the small rift became an open chasm when the prophet propositioned Jane Law, William's beloved wife.

Jane Law and two other women signed affidavits to the effect that "Joseph and Hyrum Smith had endeavored to seduce them, and made the most indecent proposals to them, and wished them to become their wives." Other intimates of Joseph's, including John D. Lee, confirmed Jane's claim, Lee writing that Smith wanted the "amiable and handsome wife of William Law." Joseph H. Jackson, a detractor, described Joseph's unsuccessful two-month attempt to win Jane Law, adding that "Emma Smith suggested that she be given William Law as a spiritual husband."

William Law confronted Joseph in an angry session, demanding a reformation of the church, starting with an end to the immoral doctrine and practice of polygamy. Despite the prophet's strongest entreaties and

quotations of scripture, Law threatened to publicly expose Smith if he did not confess to the high council and repent of his sins.

According to Law, Smith responded, "I'll be damned before I do. If I admitted to the charges you would heap upon me, it would prove the overthrow of the Church." Smith bantered about the two of them going to hell together, to which Law replied, "You can enjoy it then, but as for me, I will serve the Lord our God."

With considerable forbearance, Law would not yet abandon Joseph. The determined convert maintained his belief in the prophet's earlier revelations, regarding him as a fallen rather than a false prophet, and nurturing a hope that Smith would soon comprehend the error of his ways and make the reforms needed. Law's faith and optimism were not to be rewarded.

Suspicious that he was the "Judas" the prophet had publicly denounced, Law began to receive private warnings that Joseph had commissioned Danite assassins to kill him. It was at this point that William and his brother Wilson widened the distance between themselves and their church leader, while increasing their sympathies for a group of anti-polygamist apostates-in-the-making.

On 7 June 1844 the one and only issue of the ill-fated *Nauvoo Expositor* was published with William Law as co-editor. Although he had been excommunicated two months earlier, Law was committed to present only well-established facts, not lurid rumors or carnal scandal. One historian has called the paper "an extraordinarily restrained document."

Its objectivity was its strength. With inadmissible evidence that Joseph understood better than anyone, the *Expositor* attacked polygamy, Joseph's financial misdealings, his misuse of the Nauvoo charter, his political revelations, the abuses of his exclusive religious authority, and his "moral imperfections."

Smith, on public trial before his people, and understandably defensive, had the offending press destroyed, an act which, more than any other, led to his death at Carthage. Smith's violent reaction was severe, not because the accusation's were scurrilous and untrue, but because he knew them to be true.

William Law, still a devoutly religious man, went on to organize and lead a new church, the Church of Christ, based on the Book of Mormon and the structure of Jesus' ancient church. But Law was not Smith, and his rival church would not flourish.

Predictably, apologetic Mormon writings such as Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History* place at Law's feet, among others, the blame for "evil deeds, lying tongues," and "brutal accusations against the innocent and threatened life of the prophet." The orthodox histories accuse Law and others of plotting to kill Joseph and directly causing his

murder, mostly by virtue of their initiating indictments against him on charges of polygamy and perjury, as well as on the testimony of church spies, one of whom lived with Law's family.

Law himself testified of Smith's adultery. Smith responded by having the police, whom he controlled, harass Law and the others, accusing them of violating city ordinances, resisting officers, committing adultery or spiritual wifery (a practice to which Law remained unalterably opposed), and threatening the life of the mayor. The accused appealed, then countersued, and an ugly legal battle mired all involved.

Although William Law was among those served a warrant for Joseph Smith's death, he was not indicted. And while Mormon histories continue to name him as one of the prophet's murderers, Law was in Fort Madison, Iowa, at the time of the martyrdom, and, as B. H. Roberts admits, there was no proof otherwise.

By the end of 1844 the fondest hopes of both men lay shattered. For most of their time together, it was never Law's intention to bring down the prophet, but in the end Law's need to save the Saints from what he finally came to view as an abusive and incorrigible despot led him to participate in Smith's tragic demise.

William Law acted out of good conscience, just as Joseph, in a different way, followed his own inner light. Yet Joseph is revered today by millions and Law remains a dark footnote, dishonored and condemned for the very beliefs and acts he so deeply despised and heroically resisted.

E. L. T. HARRISON: MORMON "NEW MOVEMENT" APOSTATE

Anyone intrigued with the history of Mormon dissent will quickly focus on the New Movement or Godbeite protest of the 1860s and 1870s, described by historian H. H. Bancroft as the "most formidable" of all Mormon apostasies. An early interpretation of this schism, owing in large part to participant Edward Tullidge's extensive account, portrays the dissidents as loyal members attempting to reform the church of its authoritative excesses and temporal isolationist emphasis, attempting to usher it into inevitable modernity.

As chief New Movement historian, Ronald W. Walker, describes it: "This picture has a heroic quality: the dissidents were faithful churchmen who valued their membership but refused to trade allegiance for conscience. Because of their unwillingness to accept dictation from the church in temporal and secular matters, they were severed from membership."

Were these views to be still valid, it would buttress my original premise that apostates might be victimized creations of abusive churches. But Walker repaints the earlier picture by showing New Movement lead-

ers as far more than reformers. He sees them as "religious revolutionaries whose aim was the transformation of Mormonism."

The early key players in the New Movement were architect E. L. T. Harrison, wealthy merchant William S. Godbe, writer and historian Edward Tullidge, and lesser known Elias Kelsey and William H. Shearman. These five shared many common attributes. Four were in their mid-to-late thirties, were British converts, and had never known Joseph Smith or experienced the Mormon movement from Ohio to Missouri to Illinois to the western Mormon kingdom. Kelsey, on the other hand, was older, American-born, and had briefly met Joseph Smith. All five had been merchants for some time. Four had served in the British Mission where three served in the London Conference presidency. Four were seventies, a major office in the nineteenth-century church, and three served as one of the presidents of their quorums. Three were involved members of the School of the Prophets. As Walker observes, "[W]ithout exception, the five were men of talent, superior education, and literary ability—tuned to the intellectual currents of their age."

The overarching issue that united the New Movement was the group's opposition to Brigham Young's policies for the development of Zion. Young believed the success of his social ideal depended on his flock's unity, frugality, self-sufficiency, obedience, cooperation, consecration, cultural isolation, and most of all obedience. Young's Zion was a theocracy which aimed to control both spiritual and temporal affairs. This guiding philosophy was manifest in his stern policies, such as controlling profits, discouraging mining, controlling railroad development, boycotting non-Mormon merchants, and retrenching to social, political, and religious conservatism.

New Movement spokesmen chaffed at these restrictions, viewing them as hurtful to the Saints and as an instrument to further Brigham Young's personal power. Through a series of publications, including Utah's first magazine, the forerunner of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, they voiced their opposition to "blind obedience" while searching for a philosophy which would wed Mormonism with their new vision for the "divine mission of [the] world."

When they discovered nineteenth-century Spiritualism during trips to the eastern states, they found a compatible companion philosophy and transformed the little group into an adversary movement. Following epiphanies involving Jesus, Joseph Smith, and other deceased Mormons during seances in New York, Harrison and Godbe received revelations confirming the marriage of their theological and intellectual positions, producing a new hybrid child, part Mormon and part Spiritualist.

The subsequent rise, challenge, and demise of the New Movement, resulting in the excommunication of the major figures, is well docu-

mented. In time New Movement proponents came to believe in a pantheist rather than a personal God, rejected Christ's atonement and resurrection, denied the existence of a devil, as well as the authority of scriptures. While they often feigned orthodoxy and support, their new Church of Zion instead had a conspiratorial element apparently directed at the overthrow of Brigham Young and Mormonism.

They rejected the idea of a millennium and the efficacy of organized religion and priesthood ordination. They preached the virtues of thinking freely and the authority of the inner soul. They argued aggressively in late 1869 for increased mining activity in the territory. While their reasoning was not questioned, their timing and motives were. In fact, within four years Brigham Young was advocating the same policy, but in 1869 he took the New Movement position as a direct attack on his leadership.

During their church trial, Harrison and Godbe declared their allegiance to the church and its leaders and read a strong statement demanding freedom of thought and speech in the church. They were excommunicated by unanimous vote, perhaps as Walker suggests, "more for conspiracy than heresy." In the end, Walker dismisses the New Movement as a devious attempt to undermine Mormonism rather than merely reform it. We are left to wonder whether such a distinction would have made a difference then, any more than it does now. No compelling refutation of his findings has yet been made. Still, I find one piece of the puzzle perplexingly missing. It is the piece labeled: "Why?"

What caused the New Movement players to turn from their devout, supportive Mormon lives to their later lives of active dissent? What caused E. L. T. Harrison, for example, to convert to Mormonism through the teachings of Apostle Orson Pratt, experience "gifts of the spirit," serve with skill and enthusiasm as a writer for the *Millennial Star*, head of the church book store and business office in London, and president of the London Missionary Conference? What caused the man, described as "a genial companion, witty and light-hearted, warm in his friendship and faithful in his church duties," to later reject his beliefs for what he believed to be a higher vision? Did Harrison unknowingly bring the latent seeds of discontent to his baptism, only to see them spring forth later, or did his change of mind and heart result from negative stimuli from Mormonism itself?

Perhaps this is like asking where the blame lies if a body rejects an artificial heart. Is it the heart's fault, or the body's, or a mutual incompatibility? For Harrison, was it a case of personal self-delusion or was it an institutional failure to meet reasonable expectations—in short, a failure to deliver on its own promises? Perhaps it was both. No one can chart the day-to-day thinking processes of Harrison or anyone else who has gone through the internally tortuous process of moving from profound belief

and deep commitment, a step at a time, to eventual disbelief, causing disappointment and worse.

CONCLUSIONS

The process of apostasy, like the phenomenon of belief, is too complex to submit to any facile explanation. Yet I believe we can draw some useful conclusions from these four stories of apostasy.

The profile of apostasy maintained from the genesis of the church to the present is not an accurate model for describing apostasy or apostates. There may be exceptions, such as plotting and self-serving John C. Bennett of Nauvoo, but more often those branded apostate are not evil, wicked, immoral, lacking in spirit, or trying to destroy their church or its leaders. I propose that we consider adopting a new and more accurate profile of apostasy. Here are some of its components, with comments.

1. People become disenchanted with the church for a variety of reasons, sometimes because of inadequacies or intolerable conditions related to church doctrine, history, politics, policies, or social practices. Others leave because of their own personal inadequacies. Every story is different and it is not helpful to treat all of the disenchanted as if they had an identical illness.

2. Apostates are, for the most part, like other believing members of the church. At one time they believed, served, lived the gospel to the best of their ability, and loved God and the church.

3. If church leaders and members alike actually lived the Christian gospel, there would likely be few apostates, for there would be little to be hurt by, find fault with, or rebel against. Apostates are made, not born. They are often devout, moral, religiously attuned people who believe and expect that the church's role is to help people to be as loving, caring, and inclusive as was Jesus Christ, its founder. When it is not, some people react, not out of loss of spirit or evil intent, but out of an interest to see the church be what it ought to be.

4. Apostasy is often a product of unfulfilled or crushed expectations. For instance:

- * The church teaches us to revere its leaders as holy men of God, yet they sometimes engage in unholy, self-serving practices.
- * We are taught to study the scriptures and learn "out of the best books," but when we do, we sometimes find doctrinal and historical problems.
- * We are told that the church exists to serve all of God's children, yet the church discriminates against or in favor of its own members on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, race, orthodoxy, wealth, so-

cial status, age, politics, temperament, liberalism, individuality, among others.

- * We are told to be perfect, and we are sometimes punished if we are not, yet we observe important imperfections at the highest levels. Is it fair for leaders to expect a higher standard of sacrifice, love, and righteousness than they themselves are willing to live?

This list could continue at length. The critical question is, how long can a person go on being disappointed, or, in Jesus' words, how long can one live on the expectation of bread when he is being fed stones. Is it time for the church to get in touch with the reality of the expectations and promises it creates, and the actual product it delivers?

5. Apostates are often people with creative spirituality. That is, they bring a new and higher vision to their religious environment. Jesus' law of love, Paul's emphasis on spirituality, Luther's insight on grace and faith, all challenged old ways of thinking. Yet these ideas were considered threats by the religious authorities of their times. Hundreds of millions of people have been enriched by these ideas, once considered heretical. One generation's orthodoxy is the next generation's heresy, and one group's heresy becomes the other's orthodoxy. This is as true of Mormonism as it has been of all other religious traditions.

6. It would seem that religions, especially those that believe that God still speaks to us, would be more accepting of this reality and be more open to new ideas, rather than making apostates of its idea-givers. But religions, like secular organizations, resist new ideas, listening to subordinates, sharing power. As Martin Marty has observed, religions that survive do so because "they make very few changes and they make them very slowly."

7. I agree with Brigham Young that apostasy will always occur, but I believe it is because religious institutions can never be as moral, as righteous, as spiritual, as caring, as progressive, or even as God-centered as its individual members. Apostasy will exist as long as churches, through their abusiveness, create it.

8. The church errs when it goes beyond the traditional definition of apostasy to include anyone and everyone who disagrees at minor levels or simply has fresh, new ideas, or who fails to obey the unrighteous commands of abusive leaders. It errs doctrinally in casting the net too broadly so as to catch not only apostates but too many of the other, less guilty fish, rather than being, as Jesus was, inclusive of these fish. It also errs spiritually in having such a need to exert so much control and power over its members that it resorts to the abuse of and unrighteous dominion over faithful members. Furthermore, it errs in practical terms in assuming that its members are really dispensable and that it can sustain the loss

of these members without great damage to the church or to the individuals experiencing the hurt. Consider these two pieces of information:

- * Because of the apostasy of the wife and children of Joseph Smith, only a handful of his descendants are now members of the LDS church. On the other hand, there are said to be over 55,000 descendants of a certain family of Allreds whose father, mother, and three sons joined the church in its early days. What if, due to some act of unrighteous dominion, the Allreds had decided to leave the church. How would the church, and the lives of the 55,000 descendants, be affected today?
- * A sociologist doing research for the church found that about 75 percent of all Mormons leave the church for some length of time during their adult years. About 68 percent of those leaving eventually return. "The worth of souls is great in the sight of God," our scriptures tell us. Their worth should be as great in the eyes of the church.

9. The stereotype of the evil, wicked apostate is as mythical as the stereotype of the infallible or inerrant leader. Both stereotypes are harmful, not only because they are untrue, but because they separate rather than unify the Saints and prevent the achieving of spiritual unity within a gospel context.

Clearly, it will be difficult to break down these stereotypes, for the church created both and is heavily invested in maintaining them. In a sense, their assumed righteousness depends on the assumed sinfulness of members, as well as the assumed wickedness of apostates. The white-and-black contrast is an important tool in justifying control and power. In short, good guys are needed to protect us from the bad guys.

Members must break down the stereotypes by accepting Jesus' essential teaching that we are all sinners, every one of us, leaders included. As sinners, we are all equal in God's eyes. The whole of humanity stands together on a horizontal plane. We must understand that leaders are not as righteous as they might have us believe, nor are apostates as wicked as we are taught to believe. It comes down to a matter of perspective. Who, but the Jews, think of Jesus or Paul as apostates? Who, but Catholics, regard Luther as an apostate? And why should we consider Mormon apostates to be the evil persons they are portrayed as being?

10. The language of accusation, marginalization, and suppression must be either removed or countered with an equal but opposite vocabulary. I prefer eliminating the offending language and focusing on inclusivity. That is, I would like to see a less judgmental, more value-positive vocabulary. But if "there must needs be opposition in all things," then we should acknowledge, through our language, the two-sided nature of the

abuse/apostasy picture.

If we have *sinners*, we may have *self-righteous accusers*.

If we have *apostates*, we may have *hypocrites*.

If we have *unfaithful*, we may have *whited sepulchers*.

If we have *unrighteous*, we may have *blind guides*.

And so forth. As in the feminist dilemma, the lack of a language adequate to express both sides of the issue disempowers the minority position. It is hard to be heard if there is no voice. Those in authority maintain their power, in part, because they control the language. They define the words and work hard to maintain these one-sided, simplistic meanings. Those being abused or unrighteously accused are trying to develop their own language, if only for purposes of self-defense.

11. Finally, I think that in fairness we must ask one final question: Does the church have something to fear from its apostates? That is, if the church were to accommodate parts of either the conservative or liberal agendas, would it change the church in adverse ways? I believe the church *would* change, but the value and benefit of the changes would depend on one's perspective. Truly the church does have deep concerns over: secularization, doctrinal erosion, the empowerment of women, moral erosion, liberalism, youthful idealism, the loss of power, uncontrolled growth, lost growth, financial accountability, ritual erosion, historical contradictions, the loss of exclusivity and peculiarity, the erosion of scriptural authority, decentralization, democracy, relativism of all sorts, diversity, individuality and expressionism, the erosion of perfectionism, the loss of infallibility, personal inspiration, etc. If apostates were the leaders, it *would* be a very different church.

Sociologist Marie Cornwall speaks of the conflict between the capitalist-Republican model of the church espoused by its business- and government-oriented leaders, and the pluralistic, egalitarian, democratic model supported by the intellectual and feminist contingents. I do not know which model will win out. Both sides have a certain kind of power, and it may be that in the long run the church will become a blend of both. Meanwhile, those with priesthood power will label, negate, excommunicate, and declare apostate those who challenge the current model. Each of us must decide if we are willing to pay the price to advocate a different model, a new vision.

Drama Queen

Brent Pace

The week they turn off your phone,
I wait in your car while you give quarters
to a pay phone mounted on red brick
at a convenience store.

Four aluminum boxes beckon like
Parisian outdoor urinals
for male patrons,
suits return a page,
a dealer promises good dope.

A Haitian chants in creole
to his friends, his heavy sex
is an anxious pendulum
beneath floral shorts
as he steps from one foot to another
to the music from a car.

A man in a Timberland beanie
taps my window, asks for change.
I hand him all I have

And still you talk,
hold your forehead in one hand,
step on your foot,
glance toward the windshield.

I get out to smoke near oily puddles,
stand in a tired pose and wait for you
to say goodnight to Paul.

When you are back
I whine,
say how sleepy I am.
You call me your favorite drama queen,
grab half my face with your hand
then drive me slowly home
observing the gravity of past sins
in your rearview mirror.

Rudger Clawson's Report on LDS Church Finances at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Edited by Boyd Payne

RUDGER JUDD CLAWSON, BORN 12 MARCH 1857 in Salt Lake City, Utah, was a polygamist and the first Mormon convicted and imprisoned (1884-87) for violating federal law (Edmunds Act of 1882) regarding unlawful cohabitation.¹ Upon Lorenzo Snow's appointment as president of the LDS church on 13 September 1898, Clawson was chosen to fill the resulting vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. With no prior knowledge of this appointment, Clawson was ordained an apostle at a meeting in the Salt Lake temple on 10 October 1898, convinced that the new calling fulfilled a phrenologist's earlier prediction.²

Shortly after his calling to the apostleship, Clawson was invited to the home of President Snow. (The two men had spent time together in prison.) After speaking to Clawson for some time regarding the church's financial situation, Snow asked him to take charge of the books in the office of the Trustee-in-Trust and prepare a report showing the exact financial status of the church. Despite Clawson's previous employment as a bookkeeper for his brother's wholesale dry goods business and as an abstractor for the real estate records in Box Elder County, Utah, his appointment to the church's auditing committee came as a surprise and alarmed

1. For more information on Clawson, see Stan Larson, ed., *Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Rudger Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884-87* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

2. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997), 652.

Clawson. He commented to Snow about the considerable responsibility that was being placed upon him, to which Snow replied that he knew Clawson would measure up to the task.

Nearly a month passed before Clawson was able to present his report, consisting of seventeen pages of ledger sheets, to the First Presidency. The report listed the church's active assets, silent assets, direct liabilities, contingent liabilities, and tithing on hand. The report clearly showed that the church was nearly bankrupt, if not already.

Clawson's report prompted Snow to take serious action. It was decided to issue a million-dollar bond to fund the church's indebtedness, then reinstitute the spirit of tithe-paying among the Saints to raise the money to pay for it. The next important step was to send the twelve apostles and First Presidency to stakes throughout the church to preach the law of tithing.³

During this time the First Presidency called a solemn assembly in the Salt Lake temple on 2 July 1899, which 700 men and women attended. At this meeting the Presiding Bishop, William Preston, announced that only 50 percent of tithing was being paid, while many offerings were less. He noted that 25 percent of Saints did not pay any tithing.

The quest to revive the spirit of tithing proved to be beneficial as the worth of the church grew every year thereafter. The only exception was a two-year span during the Depression when a small deficit occurred. Clawson remained in charge of the books of the Trustee-in-Trust throughout Snow's administration and then served under Snow's successor, Joseph F. Smith.⁴

During Clawson's service, the initial financial reports from 1899 were recapitulated in 1901. Subsequent years were also recapitulated and books began to be closed until ledger accounts contained balances that were then reconciled to show the church's loss or gain and carried over to a surplus account. This arduous task was completed and finally showed the exact financial status of the church. Since then, the Trustee-in-Trust's books have been closed annually.

Clawson served in this capacity and supervised the bookkeeping until 1910. He prepared an annual report each year which he presented to the First Presidency, Twelve, and church auditors showing the financial conditions of the church.

Clawson was sustained as president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles on 17 March 1921. He served in this calling, one step away from becoming president of the church, until his death on 21 June 1943 in Salt

3. See E. Jay Bell, "The Windows of Heaven Revisited: The 1899 Tithing Reformation," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Spring 1994): 45-83.

4. Clawson was publicly sustained as second counselor to Lorenzo Snow on 6 October 1901. However, he was not set apart before Snow's death four days later.

Lake City.

The following report was prepared by Clawson in 1923, two years after his appointment as president of the Twelve, in order to provide a full and accurate history of his reorganization of the church's financial system. Clawson was dedicated to keeping historical information and providing details throughout his journals and memoirs. The original report is now housed in the Rudger Clawson Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, and appears here with permission.

* * *

REORGANIZATION OF FINANCIAL SYSTEM
AT PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, UNDER ADMINISTRATION OF
PRESIDENTS LORENZO SNOW AND JOSEPH F. SMITH

—BY—

PRESIDENT RUDGER CLAWSON.

One day very shortly after President Lorenzo Snow⁵ succeeded to the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which occurred September 13th, 1898, he called me into his home for a brief interview. He then resided on Canyon Road, Salt Lake City, a few doors from my home.⁶

He said in substance: "Brother Clawson, I have decided to appoint you to go into the Trustee-in-Trust's office (his office) and set the books in order. I appoint you to this task because I feel that you are capable of doing it. You are fully authorized to go into the Trustee-in-Trust's office, set the books in order, introduce such methods as seem to you to be necessary, and to supervise the work."

He informed me that the late President Wilford W. Woodruff⁷ was not kept promptly and fully posted in advance as to the time when the church obligations fell due for payment, and it became a source of great worry and anxiety to him, and doubtless shortened his life. This, said

5. Lorenzo Snow (1814-1901), born in Ohio, was the fifth president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1898 until his death.

6. Clawson had been living in Brigham City, Utah, in 1898 but moved to 49 Canyon Road in Salt Lake City on 31 July 1899. Snow lived a few houses down the street at 37 Canyon Road. Both homes are no longer standing.

7. Wilford Woodruff (1807-98) converted to Mormonism in 1833, moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1834 and subsequently relocated to Missouri and Illinois. He served a mission to England before migrating to Utah and was later appointed as the fourth president of the LDS church from 1889 until his death.

President Snow, was due possibly to the method of bookkeeping employed in President Woodruff's office. Surprises were often of common occurrence. The Chief Clerk would come into the President's private office and say that he must have \$20,000 at once to meet an obligation due that day; or at another time it may have been \$40,000 or \$50,000, etc. President Woodruff would ask why he had not been notified of this before in order that he might have had time to arrange for the payment. He did not appreciate such surprises.

President Snow felt that this must not be so during his administration. He felt that it was imperative that he should be kept in perfect touch with the financial status of the Church, in fact he said he expected to insist upon it.

It may be that President Snow got the impression I could do the work from having attended, as a visitor, a number of my bookkeeping class sessions at the Utah Penitentiary, during the time we were both, with others, incarcerated there for having violated the U.S. law against plural marriage (called polygamy in the world). As the brethren came into the prison, I organized them into classes of bookkeeping. The course consisted of 60 lessons at 25¢/ each, or \$15.00. For this same course I had paid \$45.00. In this way I earned \$500.00 for the support[,] in part[,] of my family. President Snow seemed to have been pleased with my method of teaching.⁸

I answered President Snow that I regarded this appointment as a heavy responsibility and feared I might be unequal to it, but, nevertheless, would accept and do the best I could.

It would be proper to add at this point that a little later on an Auditing Committee was appointed at a meeting of the Council of the First Presidency and Twelve, with ample authority to inquire into every matter pertaining to the finances of the Church and the method of accounting. This Committee did the work ably and with thoroughness. The personnel of said Committee was Franklin D. Richards,⁹ Francis M. Lyman,¹⁰ Heber J. Grant¹¹ and the writer. Later a second Auditing Commit-

8. Clawson was convicted of polygamy and imprisoned in 1884 for violation of the Edmunds Act. He served in the U.S. penitentiary in Salt Lake City (Sugar House) and was released from prison by presidential pardon in 1887. For a more detailed account of Clawson's stay in prison, see Larson, *Prisoner for Polygamy*.

9. Franklin Dewey Richards (1821-99) served as an LDS apostle beginning in 1849. He was the church's Trustee-in-Trust (1877-80) while also serving on the Church Auditing Committee (1878-87). He subsequently served as assistant Church Historian (1884-89), Church Historian (1889-99), and president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (1898-99).

10. Francis Marion Lyman (1840-1916) had worked as an assistant assessor for the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, as Millard County, Utah, pound keeper and assessor, as Tooele County, Utah, recorder, and as an LDS apostle from 1880 until his death.

11. Heber Jedediah Grant (1856-1945), son of Apostle Jedediah Morgan Grant, was ordained an apostle in 1882 and set apart as seventh president of the LDS church on 23 November 1918 by the Quorum of the Twelve, but not publicly sustained as church president until 1 June 1919 due to the nationwide influenza epidemic.

tee, succeeding the first, was appointed, namely the writer, and Elder Reed Smoot,¹² who served from Nov. 1, 1901 to Dec. 31, 1904. At that time, (Dec. 1904) a third Auditing Committee succeeded the second. The personnel was Rudger Clawson, chairman, Wm. W. Riter,¹³ John C. Culter,¹⁴ C. W. Nibley¹⁵ and A. W. Carlson.¹⁶ This Committee with some changes is still serving at the present time, (Dec. 1923). Additional members of the Committee appointed were Henry H. Rolapp,¹⁷ Heber Scowcroft¹⁸ and Peter G. Johnston.¹⁹

Under the appointment given me by President Lorenzo Snow, which was heartily approved by the Auditing Committee, I was placed in charge of the Trustee-in-Trust's office, where I regulated the accounting, and supervised the work for a period of nine years. During this time an annual report was submitted regularly to the Council of the First Presidency and Twelve, and Auditing Committee and approved by them. I was released from this responsibility to take the Presidency of the European Mission in 1910.²⁰

In taking up my labors in the Trustee-in-Trust's office, I found the following conditions: The accounting was being accurately done so far as making current entries in the books of the Trustee-in-Trust was con-

12. Reed Smoot (1862-1941), born in Salt Lake City, Utah, was called as an apostle beginning in 1900 and served as a U.S. senator for thirty years.

13. William Wollerton Riter (1838-1922) served in the Swiss, Italian, and German Mission of the LDS church from 1863-65 and was president of that mission during his final year. He was active in building the Utah Central Railroad and was considered a faithful Mormon.

14. John Christopher Cutler (1846-1928) served as Salt Lake County Clerk from 1884 to 1890 and was called to be a general authority in 1887, which he declined. He served as Utah's second governor from 1905-1909 and later died of a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

15. Charles Wilson Nibley (1849-1931) was a prominent businessman and co-organized the Oregon Lumber Company in 1889. He served as Presiding Bishop of the LDS church from 1907-25 when he was called to be second counselor in Heber J. Grant's First Presidency.

16. August Wilhelm Carlson (1844-1911) served as president *pro tem.* of the Scandinavian Mission of the LDS church from 1877-78 and helped publish the first edition of the Book of Mormon in Swedish.

17. Henry Hermann Rolapp (1860-1936) practiced law in Utah, acted as assessor and as assistant county attorney for Weber County, Utah, was a member of the Utah State Board of Corrections, was Utah Supreme Court Jury Commissioner, was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of Utah Territory, and was later elected judge of the Second Judicial District. Rolapp was chosen as a member of the church's General Sunday School Board and later as a member of the church auditing committee.

18. Heber Scowcroft, Sr., (1868-1922) was employed by his father in the wholesale and retail confectionery business and later served as vice president of the John Scowcroft and Sons Company which dealt in wholesale dry goods in Ogden, Utah.

19. Peter Green Johnston (1864-1931), born in Scotland, served as an LDS bishop in Idaho.

20. Clawson was called to preside over the church's European Mission on 7 April 1910 and left for Liverpool, England, on 17 May, arriving on 4 June. He served in this capacity until 1913, leaving England on 15 April.

cerned, and a monthly trial balance was being taken, but for a period of thirty or forty years, or, at least, since the Trustee-in-Trust's books had been opened, these books had never been closed, as is customary and essential in up to date business. It was therefore impossible under the methods then in vogue to determine accurately the financial status or the (then) present worth of the Church.

I was at a little loss to know just where to begin my labors, but finally concluded to get out a report of the finances, taking as a basis to work from, a statement of the assets of the Church prepared by the Chief Clerk, [James Jaques,] under direction of the late President Woodruff and his counselors, to be used in the East for negotiating a loan. The purpose of said statement was to show that the Church would be able with its asset values to protect its creditors. For convenience, I used blank sheets with four ruled columns.

The assets set forth in the original statement were listed in the first column. They were then carefully considered, item by item, and, if the asset had an active market value, it was entered in the second or active assets column, if it had not active market value, it was entered in the third or silent assets column, and if the asset had not value at all, it was entered in the fourth column.

As a result of this procedure, the following showing was made:

Total assets in original statement were \$3,311,870, which, when divided, brought this result, viz: Active Assets, \$1,880,519.78.²¹ Silent assets, \$906,066.78. Assets without value, \$525,283.44, total, \$3,311,870.²²

The liabilities, consisting mostly of the Trustee-in-Trust's notes of different denominations, and bearing interest at 10%, 8%, 7%, 6% and 5%, being[,] as liabilities generally are, direct or active, and amounting to \$1,797,891.38, were deducted from the active assets, viz. \$1,880,519.78, leaving a balance of active assets amounting to \$82,628.40.²³ Adding \$305,709—dollars of tithes (grain[,] produce[,] etc[.]) on hand in the stakes of Zion—made a total of \$388,337.40,²⁴ which represented the surplus, or financial worth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints February 18, 1899. When it is explained that the tithes on hand at that time, namely \$305,709, if sold on the market, would have realized possibly not more than 50% of their book value, viz: \$152,854.50, making the

21. The dollar figure here is from Clawson's recapitulation done in 1901. The previous figure in 1899 was recorded as being \$1,878,119.78. See 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), 29, 353.

22. This figure is also from Clawson's recapitulation in 1901. The 1899 figure was \$3,309,470 (see *ibid.*, 29).

23. The 1899 figure was \$80,228.40 (see *ibid.*, 29, 353).

24. Using Clawson's 1899 figures, this amount was \$385,937.40 (see *ibid.*, 29).

surplus or net worth of the Church, \$235,482.90,²⁵ it will be quite apparent that the church was dangerously near bankruptcy.²⁶

The original statement, under the foregoing analysis, was found to be misleading. President Snow was particularly pleased to get the information disclosed by the report as it put him in close touch with the real financial status of the Church.

The financial condition of the church at that time was due in part to the stringency of the times, and in part to the fact that the Latter-day Saints had grown somewhat indifferent to the Law of Tithing. They were paying possibly not more than 25% of the 10% of their annual interest instead of 100% of said annual interest, as required by the law of God.

Shortly after learning the exact condition of the Church, President Snow was inspired to take steps for funding the indebtedness of the Trustee-in-Trust, in part, by issuing an eleven year church bond for \$1,000,000.00. In addition to this, the Trustee-in-Trust was obligated for \$797,891.38 direct indebtedness, and \$1,568,954.29, contingent indebtedness. Said contingent indebtedness consisted, in part, of 1500 bonds of \$1000.00 each, amounting to \$1,500,000 of the Pioneer Electric Power Company, guaranteed by the Trustee-in-Trust. Following is a copy of a notation made at this time: "Should the Pioneer Electric Power Company fail to meet its obligations, the Trustee-in-Trust would then become liable for payment of said bonds, but in the opinion of the Auditing Committee, \$500,000 could be realized from the sale of the Power Plant."

Thus it will appear that the situation was quite serious, as the Trustee-in-Trust was liable for these combined obligations amounting to \$3,366,475.67.²⁷ Deducting the entire active assets of the Church at that time, viz. \$2,033,369.78, left a balance of indebtedness of \$1,333,475.89,²⁸ with no assets to meet it, except the \$500,000 that might have been realized by the sale of the Pioneer Electric Power Plant. Even with this deduction the Trustee-in-Trust would have been obligated for \$833,475.89, providing of course the guaranteed indebtedness had become direct indebtedness and the Trustee-in-Trust had been forced to liquidate. It would have been a clear case of bankruptcy but in the providences of the Lord, the possible did not happen.

The Lord at this juncture further inspired President Snow to give to the Church a new revelation, as it were, dealing with a very familiar sub-

25. This amount was \$233,082.90 in 1899 (see *ibid.*).

26. For further insight on church finances, see Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power*, 195-225; and D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Finances from the 1830s to the 1990s," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 25.

27. \$3,336,845.67 in 1899 (Larson, *Ministry*, 29).

28. This indebtedness total matches if using the 1899 totals before the recapitulation in 1901 (see *ibid.*, 29, 353).

ject—namely, the Law of Tithing. The President visited the various stakes of Zion in company with one of his counselors and brethren chosen from among the Twelve and others, and delivered his message. He said, in part, among other things, that the Lord was not well pleased with his people for they had failed and were failing to properly obey this divine law. He also said that if they turned away and wholly neglected it the Lord would reject them as a Church and send hornets among them to drive them out of the land. In fact, the land could only be sanctified and become the land of Zion by observance of this law.²⁹

Later, a solemn assembly was called to meet in the Salt Lake Temple. There were present the First Presidency and Twelve, and general authorities and about 700 presidents of stakes and bishops of wards.³⁰ They spent the whole day in the Temple in meeting. Each of the Presidency and the Twelve and general authorities was called upon to speak and was limited to the text assigned, namely "Tithing."

At the final meeting in the afternoon an expression by vote was taken, and all present covenanted that they would pay their tithing and would urge others to do the same. There was a wonderful outpouring of the spirit of the Lord upon the assembly during the entire day.

Not the least interesting occurrence of this memorable occasion was a Prayer Circle, composed of the First Presidency, the Twelve, the First Council of Seventy, and the Presidents of Stakes, which met in the Celestial Room. President George Q. Cannon³¹ was voice at the altar leading in prayer. This was the largest Prayer Circle ever held in this generation, or, perhaps, in any other.³²

At one of the meetings during the day, in the general assembly, President Cannon said that among those present there were literal descendants of the Lord Jesus Christ.³³ After he sat down President Snow arose and said that the statement of President Cannon was verily true, that the

29. See Bell, "The Windows of Heaven Revisited."

30. "There were about 700 present, as follows, the First Presidency, Twelve, First Seven Presidents of Seventies, Presiding Patriarch, Presiding Bishopric, presidency of stakes, the bishops of wards, stake presidencies of Y.M.M.I.A., Y.L.M.I.A., Relief Society, and Sunday Schools, and a few others" (Larson, *Ministry*, 70).

31. George Quayle Cannon (1827-1901) was sustained as an LDS apostle in 1859 but was not ordained until 1860. He served as assistant counselor to the First Presidency (without being set apart), assistant Trustee-in-Trust, and first counselor in the First Presidency to the third church president, John Taylor, and fourth church president, Wilford Woodruff.

32. See D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," in *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105.

33. "[T]here are those in this audience who are descendants of the old 12 Apostles and, shall I say it, yes, descendants of the Savior himself. His seed is represented in this body of men" (Larson, *Ministry*, 72).

literal seed of the Savior was to be found among those there assembled.³⁴ This surprising announcement confirmed in the mind of the writer the scripture which reads in part, "Hid with Christ in God."³⁵ The descendants of the Savior thus referred to were not known to those present by name (at least their names were not given) so that it might properly be said that they were indeed hid with Christ in God.

This new revelation on Tithing, or, more properly speaking, revival of the revelation already given, aroused the saints and brought good results. There was a marked increase in the payment of tithes.

One day early in President Snow's administration, and after I had become perfectly familiar with the church finances, I said to the President: "Would you like to know when the Church will be freed from debt? If so, I can tell you." He answered: "Yes, Brother Clawson, I would indeed be glad to know." "Well," I replied, "if present favorable conditions continue, the church will be relieved of its indebtedness by the close of the year 1905, or at least, will be able to pay every dollar it owes."

President Snow appeared delighted and said in substance, ["If this prediction comes true, the Salt Lake Temple will be thrown open to the Church authorities, will be illuminated throughout, and we will celebrate the occasion by a jubilee of rejoicing such as the church has seldom seen.["]

My prediction came true, for at the close of the year 1905, the surplus or worth of the church had grown from \$388,337.40³⁶ Feb. 18, 1899, to \$4,284,842.52, and the church was in a position to pay off its entire indebtedness, viz. balance due on church bonds, \$205,965, and bills payable, \$29,918, total \$235,883. This announcement which I was pleased to make at a meeting of the Presidency and Twelve at that time gave the greatest satisfaction.

President Snow did not live to carry out his proposed Temple celebration, however. His death occurred October 10th, 1901, four years previous.

One day shortly after having prepared the statement of Feb. 18, 1899, I told President George Q. Cannon, who was alone at the time in his office, that the report prepared by the Chief Clerk under the direction of the late President Woodruff, setting forth the Church assets, amounting to \$3,311,870,³⁷ to be used in the East for the purpose of negotiating a loan was quite misleading. The assets were in possession of

34. "President Snow arose and said that what Brother Cannon had stated respecting the literal descendants among this company of the old apostles and the Savior himself is true—that the Savior's seed is represented in this body of men" (Rudger Clawson, "Memoirs of the Life of Rudger Clawson Written by Himself," Rudger Clawson Collection).

35. Col. 3:3.

36. See n24.

37. See n22.

the Church it is true, but conveyed a wrong impression. I told him further that had they been accepted at their face, or book value, it would have resulted in great embarrassment to the Presidency. As a matter of fact, of the \$3,311,870³⁸ in assets, \$906,066.78 were silent (not marketable), \$525,283.44 were listed in my report as of no value, leaving \$1,880,519.78³⁹ in active assets. And I further added that when the church liabilities of \$1,797,891.38 were deducted from the active assets, there remained only an excess of assets amounting to \$82,628.40.⁴⁰ Adding tithes in the stakes, viz. \$305,709, gave a total surplus, or asset, value of \$338,337.40,⁴¹ instead of \$3,311,870.⁴²

President Cannon seemed greatly surprised, and said he could hardly believe it. I thereupon sat down with him and went over my report item by item. At the conclusion he said that he could not question the correctness of a single entry, and added that in his opinion it was the most complete and thorough financial report that had ever been made in the Church, up to that time.

Pres. Snow was very greatly worried over the contingent indebtedness herein before referred to, namely, the Trustee-in-Trust's (Pres. Wilford W. Woodruff's) guarantee of the payment of the 1500 (\$1000.00 each) \$1,500,000 bonds of the Pioneer Power Plant. So great was his anxiety, that he sent LeGrande Young,⁴³ Church Attorney, and Robert Campbell, Secretary of the Utah Power and Light Company, to New York to negotiate a release of the said guarantee.⁴⁴

Mr. Bannigan,⁴⁵ who had advanced the money and who now held the bonds, positively refused to grant the release as the guarantee of the Trustee-in-Trust gave the bonds in his judgment a value that they would not otherwise have had—a 100% value. After Mr. Bannigan's death, which occurred soon after the brethren returned home, they were again sent to New York to negotiate with the Trustees of the Bannigan Estate for the release of the guarantee.

This time they succeeded. For a consideration of \$200,000 the guaran-

38. See n22.

39. See n21.

40. See n23.

41. See n24.

42. See n22.

43. LeGrande Young (1840-1921) was a judge in the Third District Court and opened the first term of the district court in Utah, served as a city councilman for two terms, and was the lawyer for several prominent businesses, including the LDS church, where he also served as a member of the Third Quorum of Seventies.

44. Clawson's diaries state that President George Q. Cannon also accompanied them on this trip to Boston, not New York (Larson, *Ministry*, 69).

45. Also spelled "Banigan" (see *ibid.*).

tee was surrendered and later delivered to President Snow.⁴⁶

He thereupon called his counselors and the Twelve into his office and holding up the guarantee of \$1,500,000 with a triumphant smile, touched a lighted match to it, and in a moment this scrap of paper that had given him and his brethren so much anxiety, was incinerated [sic]. The brethren felicitated the President on this happy turn of affairs, and felt thankful to the Lord that he had removed this contingent heavy obligation.

It will be of interest to the reader to learn that the Bonds of the Pioneer Electric Power Plant did not default, but that the plant was taken over by the Utah Light and Railway Company,⁴⁷ and that the bonds, some of which were held and owned by the Trustee-in-Trust, and which at one time were of doubtful value, later became an active asset of the Church. President George Q. Cannon said upon several occasions that such would be the case, but did not live to see the fulfillment of his prediction.

During President Snow's administration, from Sept. 13, 1898 until the day of his death, Oct. 10, 1901, I went no further than to prepare reports for the Presidency from the Trustee-in-Trust's books, under the methods then in vogue, but early in November, 1901, I reminded Pres. Joseph F. Smith that the books of the Trustee-in-Trust have never been closed, as was usually the case in all properly kept accounts. I added that owing to this policy, many of the accounts showed very large balances. As for example: There were ~~often~~ accounts showing balances as follows: Defense account, \$305,511.07; Pioneer Electric Power Company, \$416,346.68; Salt Lake Temple Expense, \$150,937.44; Poor account, \$436,703.67, interest account, \$301,257.81, St. George Temple, \$226,268.48; Manti Temple, \$207,604.79; Logan Temple \$130,105.90; Presiding Bishop's Office, produce tithing, \$2,087,376.41; Bishop's General Storehouse produce tithing, \$1,971,514.67; cash tithing account, \$2,627,588.45; dividends, \$238,891.48; suspense account, \$471,664.53, making a total of \$9,571,771.38.

There were numerous other open accounts of long standing, but with smaller balances than were shown in the foregoing list. I told President Smith the books should be closed into a Balance Account, the debit side of which would show the assets of the Church and the credit side, the liabilities. The difference between the debit side and the credit side would be the surplus (or worth) of the Church, providing, of course, that the debit side exceeded in amount the credit side. Following this the books

46. "[T]he Banigan Estate ... would surrender the guarantee upon condition that the Church pay \$25,000.00 in 30 days, \$200,000 in one year [at 5 percent interest] and guarantee 5% [2 percent] interest on \$250,000.00 bonds for 10 years" (see *ibid.*).

47. The Pioneer Electric Power Plant went into the consolidation known as the Utah Light and Power Company. It later merged into the Utah Light and Railway Company. (See *ibid.*, 69, 691.)

for the ensuing year would then be opened from said balance account. With such a plan, each year thereafter the books would be closed and the final result carried to the surplus account. The surplus account would then be like a barometer, it would show year by year either an increased surplus or a decreased surplus, growing out of the annual Revenues and Expenses of the Church.

Finally, President Smith said to me: "Brother Clawson, I would like you to go ahead and close the books in the manner suggested."

I replied that it appeared to me to be a very great undertaking, but that I would endeavor to do it, provided the First Presidency would agree on the ledger when the work was completed. To this suggestion the President assented.

Later this matter came up for consideration in the Council of the First Presidency and Twelve, as will be seen from the following excerpt taken from the Council minutes of December 12, 1901:

"Brother Clawson now presented and read a report of the auditing committee, composed of himself, and Brother Reed Smoot.

"Brother John Henry Smith moved that the report be received and recorded in book form. Seconded and carried.

"Following this report, Brother Clawson criticized the manner in which the books of the President's Office had been kept, and made pertinent suggestions, which resulted in the following resolution expressing the sense of the meeting: That the books of the Trustee-in-Trust be closed December 31, 1901, and a new set opened Jan. 1, 1902, under the immediate direction and supervision of Brother Rudger Clawson, Chairman of the Auditing Committee, and that the methods employed in keeping the accounts, as well as the titles by which the accounts are known, shall be under his direction, subject to the approval of the First Presidency,

(signed) George F. Gibbs,
Clerk of the Council."

Under the authority given me, I proceeded to close the books of the Trustee-in-Trust and finished the work by the end of the year. The balance (debit side) showed assets amounting to \$1,819,608.74, and liabilities (credit side) amounting to \$1,240,452.65, leaving a difference of \$579,156.09, which represented a surplus. The foregoing surplus, however, did not cover the entire surplus, or exact worth of the church at that time, for the reason that something over \$721,000.00 worth of real estate and other items had not been brought into the Trustee-in-Trust's ledger, having strayed away. Such items for instance as follows did not appear on the Trustee-in-Trust's ledger, but were afterwards entered, viz: Tithing

office and yard, \$175,000; Church farm, \$113,400; Social Hall, \$15,000, Historian's office, \$17,500, Sugar plantation, Hawaii, \$100,000, Salt Lake and Los Angeles Ry. bonds, \$150,000, Saltair Beach Bonds, \$100,000, U. L. and Ry. Co. bonds, \$39,000, sundry other items, \$11,265.30, total \$721,165.30. The total assets Dec. 31, 1901, were \$2,540,774.04, with liabilities of \$1,240,452.65, leaving a surplus of \$1,300,321.39. (See annual report of Dec. 31, 1901).⁴⁸

When the work of closing the books was finally done, I took the ledger into the President's office. The Presidency looked it over carefully and made the following notation across the face of the Balance account:

"The closing of this Ledger, as set forth in the above Balance Account, approved, Feb. 28, 1902.

(signed) Joseph F. Smith,
John R. Winder,
Anthon H. Lund,
First Presidency.["]⁴⁹

In taking supervision of the books of the Trustee-in-Trust, and while making out annual reports, I encountered a rather serious difficulty, in the fact that there was a lack of harmony between the books of the Presiding Bishopric and those of the Trustee-in-Trust, inasmuch as the accounts of the Presiding Bishop's Office were kept on the basis of a fiscal year and the books of the Trustee-in-Trust on the basis of a calendar year. It was therefore very difficult to dovetail the accounts of one office into those of the other in these annual reports. By direction of the First Presidency, on my suggestion, the Presiding Bishopric adopted a calendar year, and thus further difficulty in that particular was obviated.

It is also worthy of note that the two offices were running independently of one another so far as the accounting was concerned, so that I got the data relating to the Presiding Bishop's Office for the general annual report from reports furnished by the Presiding Bishop to the Trustee-in-Trust. It was important and necessary that the sum total of the accounting in the Presiding Bishop's Office, as well as in the Deseret Evening News business, which was also owned and controlled by the

48. The totals for 1901 are recorded after the recapitulation done in 1902 (see *ibid.*, 367-68, 398).

49. "After careful and thoughtful examination, the Presidency wrote their approval across the Balance account sheet in the ledger, as follows: 'Approved—Joseph F. Smith, Jno. R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund, First Presidency.'

"Since [then] the books of the Trustee-in-Trust have been closed annually and the net result of the business of the Church appears in the Surplus account" ("Memoirs of the Life of Rudger Clawson Written by Himself").

Trustee-in-Trust, should be brought into the Trustee-in-Trust's ledger. This was done under my direction. Thereafter the Trustee-in-Trust's books covered the entire financial interests of the Church, from which the exact status, or worth, of the Church could be shown at any time.

After I left for Europe, Arthur Winter⁵⁰ was installed as Chief Clerk of the Trustee-in-Trust, with Carl Carlson⁵¹ as his assistant. These brethren are very competent accountants. I feel that it is not exaggeration to say that the books of the Trustee-in-Trust, as also the books of the Presiding Bishopric, are being kept as accurately and scientifically as the books of any mercantile or other business in the land. In proof of this statement, I take pleasure in quoting from one of a number of similar reports made by the Church Auditing Committee, as follows:

"March 24, 1923,

Messrs Henry Rolapp,
John C. Cutler,
Peter G. Johnston,
Church Auditing Committee,
City,

"Dear Brethren:

"I am pleased to report that I have audited the Financial Accounts of the Trustee-in-Trust's Office, and also the Presiding Bishop's Office, checking the entries month by month, for the year 1922, also the annual financial reports.

"The bookkeeping in these two important offices is up to date in every particular and the work is accurate and reliable. The present value, or financial worth, of the Church, is clearly defined.

Your brother,
(signed) Rudger Clawson,
Auditor."

50. Arthur Winter (1863/4-1940) was secretary in the office of the First Presidency from 1907 and was later appointed as chief clerk until his death. He also served as secretary and treasurer of the LDS Church Board of Education.

51. Carl Hyrum Carlson (1892-19??) was born in Logan, Utah, and moved to Idaho in 1927 to serve as bishop over the Preston 1st Ward and was later appointed as second counselor in the Franklin Stake presidency.

"President Heber J. Grant and Counselors,

"Dear Brethren:

"We are happy to report that the account books of the Trustee-in-Trust's Office and the Presiding Bishop's are in excellent condition.

"They have been checked in detail each month throughout the year, all the entries being found correct and the accounts accurately recorded. The annual financial reports of the two offices have also been audited. They afford a comprehensive reflex of the financial operations of the Church during the year 1922, and give evidence of having been prepared with extreme care and intelligent attention to necessary detail.

"From these reports it is a distinct pleasure to note that all of the loans made to the Sugar industry have been entirely repaid, and that the Church has discharged all its debts resulting from such advances. We sincerely congratulate you on the accomplishment of this very desirable result in so short a time.

"Respectfully submitted,

"Your brethren,

(signed) Henry H. Rolapp,
John C. Cutler,
Peter G. Johnston,
Church Auditing Committee."

To a College Friend Killed by a Drunk Driver

Carol Clark Ottesen

In those days
we all wanted a man
to cover our shame, the nakedness
of being a woman alone.
A degree yes unless
The Knight came

to carry us to Camelot
where breasts were always firm, ample
like yours maybe I could get a man
who would love me for my mind.

We laughed at *Pride and Prejudice* never
quite seeing them as us
studying as if it mattered more than
someone loving us forever

then when Your Knight drove up in his old Ford
and ran over your illusions you
married the lone and dreary world
with your beautiful body had seven kids, got fat laughed
at contradiction like this was your dream come
truer than we ever thought.

Then you were ready for the drunk he
got your body but not
the you that knew

to get a man is nothing
to keep a man to have someone
who after years of ordinary clings to your hem as you leave
for just one last touch of Camelot
is all.

Joseph Smith's Interpretation of Isaiah in the Book of Mormon

David P. Wright

THE BOOK OF MORMON (hereafter BM), which Joseph Smith published in 1830, is mainly an account of the descendants of an Israelite family who left Jerusalem around 600 B.C.E. to come to the New World. According to the book's story, this family not only kept a record of their history, which, added upon by their descendants, was to become the BM, but also brought with them to the Americas a copy of Isaiah's prophecies, from which the BM prophets cite Isaiah (1 Ne. 5:13; 19:22-23). Several chapters or sections of Isaiah are quoted in the BM: Isaiah 2-14 are cited in 2 Nephi 12-24; Isaiah 48-49 in 1 Nephi 20-21; Isaiah 49:22-52:2 in 2 Nephi 6:6-7, 16-8:25; Isaiah 52:7-10 in Mosiah 12:21-24; Isaiah 53 in Mosiah 14; and Isaiah 54 in 3 Nephi 22. Other shorter citations, paraphrases, and allusions are also found.¹

The text of Isaiah in the BM for the most part follows the King James Version (hereafter KJV). There are some variants, but these are often insignificant or of minor note and therefore do not contribute greatly to clarifying the meaning of the text. The BM, however, does provide interpretation of or reflections on the meaning of Isaiah. This exegesis is usually placed in chapters following citation of the text (compare 1 Ne. 22; 2 Ne. 9-10; 25-33; Mosiah 12:25-31; 3 Ne. 23:1-5), though occasionally it is interspersed in the citation (2 Ne. 6:6-18; 26:15-27:35). It is noteworthy because, instead of laying out the original historical meaning of Isaiah, it re-applies the text to the time of Joseph Smith and to the course of Jewish and Christian history up to his time.

This study of Isaiah in the BM will first briefly examine the source of the BM Isaiah text with a recommendation for a historical approach to the

1. For comprehensive lists of Isaiah passages cited or paraphrased in the BM, see Monte S. Nyman, *Great Are the Words of Isaiah* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 259-81; John Tvedtnes, *The Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon*, FARMS Preliminary Report (Provo, UT: FARMS, 1981), 6-19.

study of the text. Then, using this approach, it will explore two examples of the BM's interpretation of Isaiah, one where the interpretation follows the citation and one where the interpretation is interwoven with the Isaiah text.

THE DEPENDENCE OF BM ISAIAH ON THE KJV

The BM Isaiah text derives directly and without mediation from the KJV. The evidence for this conclusion, summarized, includes the following:²

(1) A basic fact that cannot be overlooked is that the BM Isaiah reproduces the KJV of the text literally except for a few words or phrases here and there. If the BM Isaiah were a translation, one would expect to find synonymous but not identical wording, as between different modern translations of the same passage of the Bible.

(2) There is a focus on changing words which are italicized in the KJV, which shows direct working with that text.³ Only 3.6 percent of the words in the main Isaiah chapters cited in the BM are italicized in the KJV; 40 percent of these, however, are missing in the BM Isaiah citation. Many of the variants at italicized words do not change the meaning at all (compare 2 Ne. 17:22 || Isa. 7:22). Sometimes a mechanical striking of an italicized word creates ungrammatical or unclear English (compare 2 Ne. 8:18 || Isa. 51:18).

(3) The BM Isaiah preserves numerous obscure, problematic, and erroneous translations of the KJV. For example, the phrase "Surely, your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay" in KJV Isaiah 29:16, and found by 2 Nephi 27:27, cannot be correct. A better translation (with the rest of the saying included to show the context) would be: "How perverse of you (or: You turn things upside down)! Can the potter be considered as the clay? Can a work say of its maker, 'He did not make me,' and can what is formed say to the one who formed it, 'He has no (creative) intelligence?'" (See also notes 18, 20, and 21.)

(4) Some variants in the BM are inconsistent with and therefore show an ignorance of Hebrew language and style, and some even depend upon the ambiguity of the English language. For example, the phrase "for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty" in the KJV Isaiah 2:10 con-

2. This evidence is developed in detail and with numerous examples in my "Isaiah in the Book of Mormon ... and Joseph Smith in Isaiah" (1996), available at <http://members.aol.com/jazzdd/IsaBM1.html>.

3. The KJV translators had a very literalistic concept of translation; when the original Hebrew (or Greek for the New Testament) did not have an exact corresponding word for an English word which was necessary for the translation to make sense, the English word was put in a different font; italics were early on used to represent these words.

sists of two conjoined phrases introduced with the preposition "for," which properly renders the Hebrew *mippenei*, "because of." 2 Nephi 12:10 converts these to a verbal clause: "for the fear of the Lord and the glory of his majesty shall smite thee." Here English "for" changes its function and becomes a conjunction. This variant, however, would require an entirely different underlying Hebrew word (such as *ki* "because"). The polysemy (multiple meanings) of the English word is part of what facilitates this variant in the BM text, i.e., the BM variant is based on the English text.

(5) Many "plusses" in the BM Isaiah (elements lacking in the KJV or Hebrew Isaiah) appear to be secondary expansions (compare especially 2 Ne. 6:17 over against its other parallels 1 Ne. 21:25 and Isa. 49:25). These are often signaled by words and phrases such as "yea" (compare 2 Ne. 12:5 || Isa. 2:5), "for" (as an explanatory conjunction; compare 2 Ne. 23:22 || Isa. 13:22), "it shall come to pass" (compare 2 Ne. 24:3-4 || Isa. 14:3-4), or by their providing clarification or definition (1 Ne. 21:1 || Isa. 49:1). The secondariness of these variants points to their lateness; this is consistent with derivation of the BM Isaiah from the KJV.

(6) The BM portrays its Isaiah text as deriving from no later than about 600 B.C.E., when the character Lehi left Jerusalem. Yet it cites several chapters from Second Isaiah (Isa. 40-55), whose temporal perspective can only be satisfactorily explained by assuming that these chapters were written around the time Cyrus conquered Babylon (539 B.C.E.). Note that (a) the people have recently suffered (past tense) destruction;⁴ (b) Mesopotamia is the place of captivity, and the Babylonians are (present tense) the enemy quickly fading from the picture;⁵ (c) the temple and cities, including Jerusalem, have been destroyed (past tense) and need rebuilding (in the future);⁶ (d) release from Babylonian captivity is imminent (present-future tense);⁷ (e) Cyrus the Persian king is (present tense) the political leader who will effect the release;⁸ (f) the chapters look forward to bounteous blessing upon return from Babylon (future tense).⁹ What further indicates a date of around 539 B.C.E. for these chapters is that historical events are seen with relative precision up to the time of Cyrus, whereas, afterward, the picture is ideal and does not match historical reality after the time of Cyrus. The ideas and perspectives of these chapters of Isaiah, moreover, fit perfectly between the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, on the one hand, much of which come from or pertain to the first part of the sixth century B.C.E. and deal with the exile of the Judeans, and the

4. Isa. 40:1-2; 42:22-25; 43:26-28; 47:6-15; 48:3-4; 49:14-21; 51:19; 54:7-8.

5. Isa. 43:14; 46:1 [the gods of Babylon]; 47:1-15; 48:14, 20.

6. Isa. 40:1-2, 9-11; 41:27[?]; 44:26-28; 45:13; 49:8, 14-21; 51:3, 17-23; 52:1-10; 54 *passim*.

7. Isa. 43:5-8; 45:13; 48:20; 49:9-12, 22-26.

8. Isa. 44:28; 45:1-13; implied in 41:2, 25; 46:11; 48:14 (see below).

9. Isa. 44:1-5; 48:17-19; 49:20-23; 54:1-5, 9-10, 14 and *passim*.

books of Haggai and Zechariah 1-8, on the other hand, which come from the end of that century and speak of events just after the return from Mesopotamia, such as rebuilding the Jerusalem temple. Second Isaiah in the BM is most easily explained through Smith's dependence on the KJV.

(7) Proofs for the antiquity of the BM Isaiah text are wanting or indecisive. The best piece of evidence that has been advanced for the antiquity of the text is the similarity of the BM's version of Isaiah 2:16 to the reading of the Greek Septuagint and Aramaic Targum translations. The KJV, following the Hebrew, reads: "And upon all the ships of Tarshish." 2 Nephi 12:16 reads: "And upon all the ships of the sea, and upon all the ships of Tarshish." The Greek reads "And upon every ship of the sea," and the Aramaic reads "And upon all those who go down in ships of the sea." These seem to support the BM's reading of "ships of the sea." One problem with this evidence is that the ancient translations are not exactly the same as the BM. They are merely translating "Tarshish" as "sea," a translation tendency found throughout the Aramaic Bible. They do not have a second clause with "Tarshish" as in the BM. Moreover, the understanding of the "ships of Tarshish" as "ships of the sea" was widely publicized in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Bible commentaries. John Wesley, in comments on Isaiah 2:16 published in his *Explanatory Notes* (Bristol, England, 1765), notes: "V. 16 Tarshish—The ships of the sea, as that word is used. ..." ¹⁰ William Lowth, in his *Commentary on the Prophets* (London, 1727), noted that "'ships of Tarshish' signify in Scripture any trading or merchant ships. Accordingly, here the Septuagint render the words, 'ships of the sea,' as our old English translation does, Psal. xlviii 6." ¹¹ Wesley's comment is essentially reproduced in Matthew Poole's *Annotations* (Edinburgh, 1801), ¹² and Lowth's comment is cited in John Fawcett's *Devotional Family Bible* (London, 1811) ¹³ and in the many editions of Thomas Scott's *Holy Bible ... with Original Notes* (Philadelphia, 1810-12; New York, 1812-15; Boston, 1823-24; 1827). ¹⁴ Joseph Smith could have become familiar with this translation "fact" through reading such

10. John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes Upon the Old Testament*, Vol. 3 (Bristol, Eng.: William Pine, in Wine Street, 1765; Reprint: Salem, OH: Schmul Publishers, 1975), 1,953.

11. William Lowth, *Commentary Upon the Old and New Testaments: The Prophets*, Vol. 4 (London: Samuel Bagster, 1809 [original 1727]), 12.

12. Matthew Poole, *Annotations Upon the Holy Bible*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Thomas and John Turnbull, 1801), 773 (Reprint: *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, Vol. 2 [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, [n.d.]], 331.

13. John Fawcett, *The Devotional Family Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments*, Vol. 2 (London: Suttaby, Evance, & Co. and R. Baldwin, 1811), at 2:16.

14. Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, with Original Notes, Practical Observations, and Copious References* (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1810-12; other editions: New York: Whiting and Watson, 1812-15; Boston: 1823-24; 1827); see at 2:16.

works or, more likely, through hearing sermons or conversations based on such sources.

The foregoing observations only sample the evidence that could be adduced. When examined in its full extent (see note 2), it shows clearly that the BM Isaiah text depends directly on the KJV. The alternative claim that the BM is a translation but follows the KJV when the KJV is correct cannot be maintained since this cannot explain the preoccupation with italicized words, variants based on English polysemy, inconsistencies with Hebrew language and style, and the persistence of KJV translation errors in the BM. The proper place to start in understanding Isaiah in the BM is, therefore, to see the KJV as its source and, with this, to see Joseph Smith as the one who introduced the variants that do exist, as well as the one responsible for the interpretations that follow or are sometimes interspersed with the citation of Isaiah in the BM text.¹⁵

Recognition of whence the BM Isaiah text and its interpretation derives calls for a broader and more historically aware approach to the text than is usually found in traditional discussions. The approach should first seek to determine the original sense, significance, and meaning of a given passage from Isaiah in its historical context insofar as this is possible. It should then examine Joseph Smith's interpretation of the text, and see how he has transformed its meaning, how he has "likened" the passage, a term he often uses in the BM of how Isaiah is analogically interpreted (1 Ne. 19:23-24; 2 Ne. 6:5; 11:2, 8), to his situation and view of history. Ideally, the examination of Smith's interpretation will compare the views of expositors of Isaiah in America and the British Isles up to his

15. For earlier arguments that Joseph Smith is responsible for the interpretation of Isaiah in the BM, see George D. Smith, "Isaiah Updated," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Summer 1983): 37-51, and the exchange between Smith and William Hamblin in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Spring 1984): 407. For Joseph Smith's authorship of the BM, see the papers and their bibliographies in Brent Metcalfe, ed., *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993). See the FARMS response to this book, *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon*, Vol. 6 (ed. Daniel C. Peterson; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1994), and the reviews of both the Metcalfe and FARMS volumes: Stephen Thompson, "'Critical' Book of Mormon Scholarship," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Winter 1994): 197-206; Todd Compton, "Christian Scholarship and the Book of Mormon," *Sunstone* 19 (Sept. 1996): 74-81. For critical studies of Joseph Smith's "ancient" scripture since the Metcalfe volume, see Ronald V. Huggins, "Did the Author of 3 Nephi Know the Gospel of Matthew?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 30 (Fall 1997): 137-48; Ronald V. Huggins, "Joseph Smith's 'Inspired Translation' of Romans 7," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Winter 1993): 159-82; Brent Lee Metcalfe, "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions about Book of Mormon Historicity," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Fall 1993): 153-84; Stephen E. Thompson, "Egyptology and the Book of Abraham," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Spring 1995): 143-60. See also the works cited in notes 16, 26, 35, and 52.

time.¹⁶ This approach will be sampled in an abbreviated fashion in what follows.

TEXT CITATION WITH CONSEQUENT INTERPRETATION:
ISAIAH 48-49 (|| 1 NEPHI 20-21) AND 1 NEPHI 22

Joseph Smith cites Isaiah 48-49 in 1 Nephi 20-21 and then offers an interpretation in 1 Nephi 22. In this latter chapter he goes beyond the original sense of the Isaiah chapters and, focusing on the theme of the return of Israel to its land, describes how this will occur in his age. Our first concern, however, is to look at the original sense of Isaiah 48-49.¹⁷ (In the following, the translation of the Bible cited is sometimes the KJV's and sometimes my own, as clarity requires.)

Isaiah 48-49 in Their Original Context

These chapters are part of Second Isaiah (chaps. 40-55) that deal in the main with the situation of the Judeans in Babylon around 540 B.C.E. Their historical perspective was summarized in the previous section of this essay (observation 6) and should be kept in mind as they are discussed in what follows.

48:1-11: After beginning with a criticism of the hypocrisy or unworthiness of the prophet's sixth-century B.C.E. audience (vv. 1-2), the passage moves on to declare that Yahweh, Israel's God, has brought to pass the "former things" that he announced in the past (vv. 3-6a), and that he has begun to do "new things," which he did not announce (vv. 6b-8). In the larger context of Second Isaiah, and vv. 12-16 that follow, the "former things" and "new things" are related, perhaps respectively, to the de-

16. For these, see notes 10-14 and the fuller list in Mark Thomas, "A Mosaic for a Religious Counterculture: The Bible in the Book of Mormon," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (Winter 1996): 54n11.

17. For interpretations of the text in its original context and the context of Second Isaiah, see Richard J. Clifford, "Isaiah 40-66," *Harper's Bible Commentary*, ed. James L. Mays et al. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 571-96; Chris Franke, *Isaiah 46, 47, and 48: A New Literary-Critical Reading* (Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 3; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994); John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (Anchor Bible Commentary 20; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968); Carroll Stuhlmueller, "Deutero-Isaiah [chaps. 40-55] and Trito-Isaiah [chaps. 56-66]," *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown et al. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 329-48; Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969); R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (New Century Bible; London: Marshall, Morgan, & Scott, 1975); R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Press, 1983); Christopher North, *The Second Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964); H. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

struction of Judah by the Babylonians and Cyrus' conquest of Babylon and impending release of the Judeans to return from Mesopotamia to their lands. Even though the people are being benefitted here, they are criticized throughout vv. 1-11. Yahweh's actions are mainly to guard his holy reputation, to protect his name (vv. 9-11) which forms a counterpart to the theme of name in vv. 1-2.

48:12-16: These verses develop the theme of the "new things" that Yahweh is performing (vv. 12-14a). The context seems to abruptly shift in 14b, but this still relates to the context of God's new acts. The verse speaks of an individual whom God loves and who performs his (God's) pleasure against Babylon and the Chaldeans (14b). This unspecified individual is Cyrus. His place in the redemptive history of Second Isaiah is clear from chapters 44-45 where he is specifically named. There, Yahweh calls him his shepherd, who "shall fulfill all his (God's) pleasure" (44:28). The term "pleasure" here is the same that the individual will perform in 48:14 (Hebrew *hefets*). Chapter 45 continues the description of Cyrus' position as God's anointed one, who will subdue nations (compare v. 1). This matches the military victory of the individual in 48:14. God ensures Cyrus' success in 45:1-3 and similarly prospers the individual in 48:15.

48:17-22: Yahweh is called "Redeemer" and the "Holy One of Israel" (v. 17), divine appellations found throughout Second Isaiah. The title Redeemer refers to the deity's rescuing the people out of political bondage; the title Holy One of Israel is a reflection of the high reputation that the deity deserves and seeks to maintain. Against the backdrop of criticism earlier in the chapter, vv. 18-19 are an indirect call to righteousness, which state that if the people had been obedient, they would have had peace and that their posterity would be numerous. After this call, the people are instructed to act. They are to leave Babylon and to declare that Yahweh has redeemed his people. The redemption is implicitly compared to the exodus from Egypt (see below on 49:7-13), where God led the people through the desert and brought water from the rocks. The chapter then ends with the isolated dour note that there is no peace or safety for the wicked (the Babylonians? the Judeans?).

49:1-6: This is one of four passages which describe a servant of Yahweh that stand out contextually from the rest of Second Isaiah (see also 42:1-4; 50:4-9; and 52:13-53:12). These passages may come from an author different, and later, than the one responsible for the bulk of Second Isaiah. The identity of the servant is not clear. While 49:3 identifies the servant as Israel, 49:5-6 describe the servant's works as being for the benefit of Israel: "to restore Jacob to him (i.e., to God), and that Israel be gathered to him"¹⁸ ... you are my servant ... to establish the tribes of Jacob, to restore

18. The KJV and BM parallel have a negative clause here: "Thou Israel be not gathered." The "not" *lo*, however, should be read instead as *lo* "to him."

the preserved of Israel" (vv. 5-6).¹⁹ Therefore the servant must be other than Israel. The word "Israel" in 49:3 may be a later addition, assimilating the passage to the other instances where Israel is called Yahweh's servant (41:8, 9; 44:1, 2, 21; 45:4; 48:20).

The main alternative to viewing Israel as the servant in these poems is viewing the servant as an individual. If we assume the servant in all four servant passages is the same, a relatively detailed picture of his duties and career emerges. This person is a prophetic figure, called by and subordinate to Yahweh (42:1; 49:1-3). He aids in restoring Israel to its land (49:5-6) and is given a further responsibility toward foreign nations (42:1-2, 4; 49:6; 52:15). He is subdued, reticent, and submissive, even to attackers (42:2; 50:6; 53:7-8, 9). The last and longest passage describes his hapless fate: he is not attractive and has some physical debility, apparently caused by sickness and inflicted on him by Yahweh, which is disfiguring enough to startle people (52:14-15;²⁰ 53:2-4, 6, 10). This debility is interpreted as the individual's suffering for the people's sins (53:4-6, 10-12), an idea that differs from views elsewhere in the Bible that individuals are to suffer for their own sins (compare Ezek. 18) and that suffering is due to one's own sin (compare the comments of the friends of Job). The servant is persecuted; this eventually leads to his death and is part of his expiatory suffering (53:7-9). The downward spiral is complete when he is buried "with the wicked and with evil doers" (53:9).²¹ There is some difficulty in the verse that follows this report, since it seems to say that if the servant gives himself as a "guilt offering," he will see (i.e., "beget") offspring and live long, situations that pertain to mortal life (53:10). The passage says nothing about a resurrection of the individual (in v. 9 he is left in the grave), a belief that is, by all evidence, a late development in the theology of the Hebrew Bible.²² Nor is there an indication that the servant's death in vv. 7-9 is to be taken figuratively, that he was saved at the last moment, or that it was only a near-death experience. The contradiction between v. 10 and the foregoing is so great as to make one suppose that vv. 10-12 may be an addition to the previous verses, and that they seek to reinterpret the tradition of the servant.

If the servant is an individual, it is reasonable to think that the one who added the four servant passages to Second Isaiah intended them to

19. The verbal infinitives in these verses seem to refer to the work of the servant; compare 42:6-8.

20. The KJV translation "sprinkle" in v. 15 (also found in 3 Ne. 20:45) is certainly incorrect; the verb may mean something like "startle"; compare the larger context of vv. 14-15.

21. "And he made his grave ... with the rich ('*asir*') should probably be corrected, by adding one Hebrew letter, to "And he made his grave ... with the evil doers ('*osei ra*')." The BM (Mosiah 14:9) retains the KJV/Masoretic Hebrew "rich."

22. Compare Robert Martin-Achard, "Resurrection (OT)," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5:680-84.

refer to Second Isaiah himself. Much of Second Isaiah's prophecy elsewhere is devoted to preparing the Judeans to leave Babylon and return to their land or to addressing the fortunes of their land, duties of the servant elaborated in the next verses of chapter 49.

49:7-13: These verses are not strictly part of the foregoing servant passage, but nonetheless provide an elaborative sequel. Two other of the servant passages have such sequels (42:5-9; 50:10-11), and two of the sequels are capped with a short hymn of praise, including the present case (42:10-12; 49:13). The despised servant (v. 7; compare 52:13-53:12) was chosen at a propitious moment, probably meaning when Cyrus came to power over Babylon (v. 8). This calling has two aspects (vv. 8-9): (a) to establish the land and apportion desolate inheritances (which recalls 49:5-6) and (b) to tell those in exile (the "prisoners" and "those that are in darkness") to leave Babylon and return to their land (compare the similar metaphors in 42:6-7). In accord with the first of these aspects, Second Isaiah often promises Jerusalem and the land of Judah restoration and prosperity (40:2, 9-11; 44:26-28; 49:14-26 [see below on this]; 51:16-23; 52:1-10; 54:1-17; compare 41:27). In accord with the second of these, Second Isaiah instructs the exiled Israelites to leave Babylon (48:20-21 [on this, see above]; 52:11-12).

Mention of freeing the people leads to a description of the favorable conditions under which the people will return to the land (vv. 10-12). This includes God's preparing a road for the people's return, a motif found elsewhere in Second Isaiah, and sometimes compared to the exodus from Egypt (40:3-4; 42:16; 43:16-21; compare 41:17-19; 48:21; 50:2; 51:10-11).

49:14-21: This section is the first of a number of longer passages (see also 51:16-23; 52:1-10; 54:1-17) in the latter half of Second Isaiah devoted to consoling Zion, which in the Hebrew Bible refers to Jerusalem and, at times, the land of which Jerusalem is the capital. Zion is God's unforgettable child, to whom her children will quickly return (vv. 14-17). The land's population will be so numerous that her formerly desolate places will be overcrowded (vv. 18-20). "Where did these come from?" Zion asks (v. 21). God answers that he is raising a "standard" or banner to the foreign nations; they will then bring back Zion's children (vv. 22-23; the pronouns "you [thou/thee]" and "your [thy]" in vv. 22-26 are feminine singular and refer to Zion). The raising of the banner is a metaphor from military practice, where it is a signal for warning people of attack and for moving troops or rallying them (Isa. 5:26; 13:2; 18:3; Jer 4:6, 21; 51:12, 27). Here it signals the start of the return from Babylon.

The text at this point asks whether weak captives can be freed from their powerful captors (v. 24). The instinctive answer is, no. But in this case, Yahweh, implicitly more powerful than all captors, will contend

with Zion's adversaries, and thus deliver her children (v. 25). The image turns vicious: God will make Zion's oppressors fight with each other (v. 26). Thus all will know that Yahweh is the one who has saved and redeemed his people (v. 26). The attitude toward the nations in vv. 24-26 seems to contradict the positive picture in vv. 22-23; the two passages may have been formulated independently and then later placed together.

Joseph Smith's Interpretation of Isaiah 48-49

The chapters of Second Isaiah are originally and primarily concerned with the events of the sixth century B.C.E.: the deportation of Judeans to Babylonia and their return; though, to be sure, in the hopes for blessing, there a sense is conveyed that these will be comprehensive and apply to all God's chosen people. Smith makes this comprehensiveness explicit in 1 Nephi 22 by specifying the diverse groups of Israel throughout the world who will be affected. With this he bestows on the prophecies a new chronological horizon: they are to be finally fulfilled in his own age. Certain assumptions operate implicitly in this revisioning of the meaning of the Isaiah chapters. Smith believes that prophets' words always come to pass. Though many Judeans returned to their land and rebuilt Jerusalem and the temple in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.E., the ideal blessings in Second Isaiah never materialized. Hence, for Smith, they remained to be fulfilled. When would they be fulfilled? In Smith's time, for he also believed he was living in the "last days," the period just prior to the return of Jesus. All the prophetic promises about the return of the Israelites to their land were to be fulfilled at this time. These perspectives led Smith to deal mainly with Isaiah 49:22-26, which, more directly than other verses in chapters 48-49, treat the return of the exiled people to their land. (He probably also gives them the most attention since they come at the end of the two chapters cited and are thus fresh in his mind.)

He begins with the fundamental question of whether the promises of gathering are "temporal" and "according to the flesh" or only "spiritual," i.e., literal or just symbolic (1 Ne. 22:1-3, 27, compare 18, 22). He says that they are, in fact, literal. This was a hermeneutical question for English readers of Isaiah in the nineteenth century. It was addressed, for example, in the Reverend Dr. John Smith's (no relation to Joseph) 1804 tract "A Summary View and Explanation of the Writings of the Prophets," of which Adam Clarke cites a substantial portion in the preface to his commentary on Isaiah.²³ In this exposition the Reverend Smith says that "the

23. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments; with a Commentary and Critical Notes: Volume IV: Isaiah to Malachi* (Nashville: Abingdon, n.d. [preface date 1823]), cited on 7-13.

same prophecies have frequently a double meaning; and refer to different events, the one near, the other remote; the one temporal, the other spiritual, or perhaps eternal."²⁴ Notice that Joseph Smith uses some of the same terminology—"temporal" and "spiritual"—that John Smith uses.²⁵

After setting down this basic hermeneutical perspective, Joseph Smith addresses the extent of Israel being included in the promises of the Isaiah chapters. As the subject of the promises, he specifies four subgroups of Israel, who, in his view, were scattered throughout the world and throughout history up to the early nineteenth century.

(1) He deduces that "it appears that the house of Israel, sooner or later, will be scattered upon all the face of the earth" (22:3). This conclusion, which shows a sensitivity to the historical perspective of Second Isaiah, which presumes but does not prophesy of the dispersion of Israel, introduces the referent of "house of Israel" as the object of the prophecies. This implicitly includes the Israelites who, from the context of the BM story, were still living in the land of Israel. The next chapter of the BM refers to the "scattering" of this group when it notes that God informed Nephi's father Lehi that "Jerusalem is destroyed" (by the Babylonians; 2 Ne. 1:4).

(2) The term "house of Israel" in 1 Ne. 22:3 also includes other groups. One of these groups is "more part of all the tribes [that] have been led away" which have been "scattered to and fro upon the isles of the sea; and whither they are none of us knoweth" (1 Ne. 22:4). These are the so-called "ten lost tribes."

(3) The text, speaking of the promises of Isaiah 49:22-23, says "it meaneth us in the days to come" (1 Ne. 22:6). The pronoun "us" refers to the descendants of the family of Nephi, who in Smith's view were the native American Indians (so, for example, the implication of 1 Ne. 22:7; see below). That the Indians were Israelites in some way was a common speculation of Smith's time.²⁶

(4) Smith also says that "these things (in the Isaiah citation) have been prophesied ... concerning all those who shall hereafter be scattered and be confounded, because of the Holy One of Israel; for against him will they harden their hearts, wherefore, they shall be scattered among all nations and shall be hated of all men" (1 Ne. 22:5). This refers to what

24. John Smith in Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible*, 12 (italics in original).

25. On the bifurcation between "temporal" and "spiritual" interpretation in the BM and the nineteenth-century commentators, compare Thomas, "A Mosaic for a Religious Counter-culture," 62-67. Compare Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews or the Tribes of Israel in America* (Poultney, VT: Smith & Lutz, 1825), 259: he contrasts "mystical" and "literal" fulfillment of prophecy.

26. Compare Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986).

from his traditional Christian perspective is the Jews' rejection of Jesus. The BM elsewhere, and as part of an interpretation of several other chapters cited from Isaiah (2 Ne. 12-24 || Isa. 2-14), develops in detail the theme of the Jews' rejection of Jesus and their consequent exile for this, and eventual reconciliation (2 Ne. 25:9-19): the Jews will first be exiled to Babylon (v. 10), then return (v. 11), later they will reject the "Only Begotten of the Father ... because of their iniquities, and the hardness of the hearts, and the stiffness of the necks" (v. 12), they will crucify him and he will be resurrected (vv. 13-14), Jerusalem will be destroyed (v. 14), "the Jews shall be scattered among all nations" (v. 15), and then, after "the space of many generations," they shall eventually "be persuaded to believe in Christ" (v. 16), in which event the BM is to play an integral and effective role (v. 18). From this it is clear that the group intended in 1 Nephi 22:5 is the Jewish diaspora after 70 C.E., when Jerusalem was captured by the Romans.

Just as Smith specifies the scope of those to be saved, so he specifies who will provide salvation. 1 Nephi 22:6 picks up on many of the words and phrases of 49:22-23 and speaks of the gathering and the nations' agency in this (the language from Isaiah 49 is in boldface type with the Isaiah verses in parentheses):

Nevertheless, after they (i.e., the house of Israel) shall be **nursed** (23) by the **Gentiles** (22), and the Lord has **lifted up his hand upon the Gentiles** (22) and **set them for a standard** (22), and their **children** (17, 20, 21, 25) have been **carried in their arms** (22), and their **daughters** have been **carried upon their shoulders** (22) ...

Two ideas have been significantly transformed here from Isaiah 49. First, "nursing" becomes a chief governing verb and concept, as opposed to the KJV Isaiah 49 where it is incidentally mentioned in the nominal description of "nursing" or foster parents; second, in the BM passage God will lift up his hand upon the gentiles and set them for a standard as opposed to Isaiah 49 where the hand and the standard are a signal to the gentiles.

In this inventive rereading of the text, the gentiles are no longer just agents of conveying the Israelites to their land, but now take center stage as the standard themselves and those who nurse the Israelites. Smith tells us who these gentiles are: "it meaneth that the time cometh that after all the house of Israel have been scattered and confounded, that the Lord God will raise up a mighty nation among the Gentiles, yea, even upon the face of this land" (1 Ne. 22:7). This mighty nation is the United States.

Finding America in the Old Testament prophecies was not an unusual interpretive move in the nineteenth century. Ethan Smith (again, no direct relation to Joseph), who in 1825—five years before publication of the BM—argued in the second edition of his *View of the Hebrews* that the

American Indians were descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes and should be included in the promises made in the Old Testament prophecies of restoration, believed that Isaiah 18, for example, addressed the "Christian people of the United States of America."²⁷ One of his considerations was that "Some of the greatest and best of divines have thought it would be strange, if nothing should be found in the prophetic scriptures having a special allusion to our western world." Ethan Smith then goes on to discuss other prophetic passages that refer to the gathering of lost Israel from America, and makes the following conclusion:

Such promises of the restoration of Israel from *far countries*, from the *west* or the *going down of the sun*, from the *coasts of the earth*, from the *ends of the earth*, from *isles afar*, their being brought in *ships from far*, making their way in the sea, their path in the mighty waters; these expressions certainly well accord with the ten tribes being brought from America. And such passages imply an agency by which such a restoration shall be effected. Where shall such an agency be so naturally found, as among a great Christian people, providentially planted on the very ground occupied by the outcast tribes of Israel in their long exilement; and who are so happily remote from the bloody scenes of Europe in the last days, as to have leisure for the important business assigned?²⁸

The answer to the rhetorical question is, of course, America. Joseph Smith's interpretation in the BM is solidly in the tradition out of which Ethan Smith writes.

The United States has both negative and positive aspects associated with it in 1 Nephi 22. On the one hand, "by them shall our seed be scattered" (1 Ne. 22:7), i.e., the American Indians are to be removed and relocated by the U.S. government. Hence the theme of scattering is developed beyond the basic issue of dispersal from Jerusalem. This passage, by the way, shows that Joseph Smith considered the Native Americans of North America to be descendants of the BM founding families.

On the other hand, the United States, the "standard,"²⁹ will provide the context for God's "marvelous work," which is primarily the BM.³⁰ This work "will be of great worth unto our seed" (1 Ne. 22:8). The text says that in the prophecy this work "is likened unto their (the Indians') being nourished by the Gentiles and being carried in their arms and upon

27. Ethan Smith, *View*, 228; see 227-50.

28. *Ibid.*, 235 (the originally italicized words cite phrases from scripture).

29. Scott (*Holy Bible*, on Isa 49:22, 23) takes the standard as including "the preaching of the Gospel" and Fawcett (*Devotional Family Bible*, on Isa 49:22) takes it as the "ministry of the word."

30. Compare 2 Ne. 25:17-18, 26; 29:1ff.; 3 Ne. 21:9-11; 28:32-33; and see D&C 4:1; 6:1; 11:1, 12:1; 14:1.

their shoulders" (v. 7). Observe how "nursing" has been transformed into "nourishing" (perhaps a play with the English word) and becomes a primary activity of the gentiles. The text then goes on to say that not only the Indians will benefit, but "it (i.e., the marvelous work, the BM) shall also be of worth unto the Gentiles; and not only unto the Gentiles but unto all the house of Israel, unto the making known of the covenants of the Father of heaven unto Abraham" (v. 9).

The benefits of the BM—a scriptural work—for the Indians resonates with Ethan Smith's exhortation to non-Native Americans to teach the Bible to the Indians. Among other things, note the concern about teaching the Indians about matters involving Abraham:

Remember then your debt of gratitude to God's ancient people for the word of life. Restore it to them [the Indians, who are Israelites] ... Learn them to read the book of grace. Learn them its history and their own. Teach them the story of their ancestors; the economy of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. ... Elevate them ... by showing them ... what is yet to be done by the God of their fathers. ... Inform them that by embracing this true seed of Abraham [i.e., Christ], you and multitudes of other Gentiles, have become the children of that ancient patriarch.³¹

After laying out who will be gathered and who will be an agent of gathering, Joseph Smith goes on to take into account the negative verses at the end of the Isaiah citation (Isa. 49:24-26). The object of this critique, for Smith, is the "great and abominable church, which is the whore of all the earth," i.e., those who are opposed to God's miraculous restoration activities. He takes the reciprocal conflict of the last verse of Isaiah 49 to mean that elements of the abominable church will fight among themselves, "and the blood of that great and abominable church ... shall turn upon their own heads; for they shall war among themselves, and the sword of their own hands shall fall upon their own head, **and they shall be drunken with their own blood**" (1 Ne. 22:13), the bold-type clause being a citation from the Isaiah verse. In Smith's view, as presented in the BM, the great and abominable church includes a wide range of individuals and organizations. Often it is described as the organized Christianity of Smith's day (1 Ne. 13-14). But this "whore of all the earth" (compare 1 Ne. 14:9-10) also "includes all who fight against Zion," which can include Jews as well as gentiles (2 Ne. 10:16). Zion fighters are condemned in 1 Ne. 22:14, 19; this may in part pickup on the Zion theme in Isaiah 49:14. But if so, it should be noted that in the BM Zion has a broader meaning than just Jerusalem and its land. It includes the land of the New World Is-

31. Ethan Smith, *View*, 249. On pp. 254-55 he discusses the *covenant* obligations that pertain to the Israelites.

raelites (2 Ne. 10:10-14) as well as the Old World Zion, and also appears to have a broader metaphorical meaning referring to God's works and plans and his church or people (2 Ne. 6:12-13; 26:29-31). The last meanings are similar to the view of pre-BM commentaries that Zion in chapter 49 refers to the Christian church.³²

In addition to the mention of the great and abominable church and those who fight against Zion, Smith also mentions nations that war against the house of Israel (1 Ne. 22:14) and the wicked in general (vv. 15, 16). These most likely fall under the rubric of the great and abominable church. The mention of the nations in particular, however, may have been due to the political theme of the Isaiah chapters, and the mention of the wicked may arise from the statement in 48:22: "There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked." The last verse of the interpretation provides a contrast: "... Behold, all nations, kindreds, tongues and people shall dwell safely in the Holy One of Israel if it so be that they will repent" (1 Ne. 22:28). The wicked are charted for destruction (v. 22), but the righteous will be "preserved" (v. 17). The latter term and theme may have been partly influenced by the phrase "preserved of Israel" in Isaiah 49:6.

Comparable to Joseph Smith's condemnation of the "great and abominable church" is Ethan Smith's denunciation of European, or European-based, Christianity and institutions. In the passage, cited above, where he indicates that America is the agent of the lost tribes' restoration, he speaks of bloody scenes about to occur in Europe. Later he speaks of America as a land "so distant from the seat of anti-christ and of the judgments to be thundered down on old corrupt establishments in the last days. ... this land of liberty is beginning to feel her distinguishing immunities compared with the establishments of tyranny and corruption in the old continent."³³ Similar to Ethan Smith's view here, Joseph Smith sees America as a land of promise (1 Ne. 2:20; 4:14; 12:1, 4; 13:14; etc.), even a Zion, as observed earlier. Set in opposition to the marvelous work among the gentiles in America is the devil's "great and abominable church." Joseph Smith here again shares and develops within the BM a view of some of his contemporaries.

In his principles for interpreting the prophets, the Reverend John Smith included a short summary of "prophecies still future" which is remarkably similar to the outline of Joseph Smith's interpretation of Isaiah 48-49. In his view, these prophecies indicated that "the Jews will be gathered from their dispersions, restored to their own land, and converted to Christianity; that the fulness of the Gentiles will likewise come in; that Antichrist, Gog and Magog, and all the enemies of the Church will be de-

32. Poole, *Annotations*, on 49:14-21; Scott, *Holy Bible*, on 49:14-16, 17, 18-21; Fawcett, *Devotional Family Bible*, on 49:14, 18, 19.

33. Ethan Smith, *View*, 245.

stroyed. ..."³⁴ Joseph Smith's interpretation of Isaiah 48-49 touches on each of these points. This shows that, to a significant extent, he is echoing what some of his contemporaries thought about the meaning of Isaiah. But some elements of Joseph's interpretation are exceptional. Most notably, he sees an implicit reference to the BM in Isaiah 49. Another distinction is the contextualization of the interpretation in antiquity; this is what sixth-century B.C.E. Nephi has to say about Isaiah. Thus Joseph Smith makes a bidirectional anachronistic exchange of ideas: (a) he applies the prophecies that ideally speak of events that were to occur in the sixth century B.C.E. to the far future, the nineteenth century C.E.; at the same time (b) he casts the questions and the mode of prophetic interpretation of the nineteenth century C.E. back into the sixth century B.C.E. so that it becomes the way the ancient Nephites read the text. This produces a mirrored harmony between past expression and modern interpretation.

INTERWOVEN INTERPRETATION: ISAIAH 29 AND 2 NEPHI 26-27

Just as Joseph Smith read the fulfillment of Isaiah 48-49 as pertaining to his time and situation, so he reads Isaiah 29 in 2 Nephi 26-27, and a theme of his exegesis of Isaiah 48-49 reappears: Isaiah 29 speaks of the BM. This, in fact, is one of two prophetic passages from the Old Testament that for Joseph Smith predicted clearly the coming forth of the BM, the other being Ezekiel 37:15-20.³⁵ The sample of exegesis in 2 Nephi 26-27, however, is different from that in 1 Nephi 22: here interpretation is interwoven with the citation of the text. This allows a more detailed, point-by-point, explanation, and with this, a reformulation of the Isaiah text. Since Smith makes the whole of the passage refer to the coming forth of the BM, a concern unique to him, there are no significant parallels (to my knowledge) to his interpretation of Isaiah 29 in the biblical commentaries of his age, in contrast with the situation that exists in his interpretation of Isaiah 48-49.

Isaiah 29 in Its Context

While Isaiah 48-49 come from the sixth century B.C.E., the bulk of

34. John Smith in Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible*, 8.

35. The Ezekiel passage is probably alluded to in 1 Ne. 13:41; 2 Ne 3:12 (note the connection of the Nephites with the tribe of Joseph in the chapter, v. 4); and 29:8. D&C 27:5 (1830) makes clear allusion to it. Smith may not cite the passage in an obvious way in the BM since Ezekiel, even from a traditional perspective, would post-date the departure of Lehi's family from the Old World. On the passage and the BM, see Brian E. Keck, "Ezekiel 37, Sticks, and Babylonian Writing Boards: A Critical Reappraisal," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23 (Spring 1990): 126-38.

Isaiah 29 appears to reflect historical concerns of the eighth century B.C.E., the period of the prophet Isaiah (for possible exceptions, see below).³⁶

Isaiah 29:1-5b: In these verses Jerusalem is under siege. The context is possibly that of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E., as described in the historical chapters of Isaiah (36-38 || 2 Kgs. 18:13-19:37).³⁷ The line that says "it shall be to me as Ariel" (v. 2) might be understood as "it shall be to me as an altar hearth," since the term also has this meaning (Ezek. 43:15, 16). This would figuratively refer to the destruction that could result from the attack.

Verses 5b-8 show that the siege was not successful (see below), hence the figures in v. 4 which seem to indicate the city has succumbed to the attack have to be taken metaphorically. The city's population in v. 4 is compared to ghosts in the underworld, the place of the dead in the Hebrew Bible.³⁸ "You will speak deep from the earth, your speech will be low out of the dirt, your voice will be like a ghost from the earth, your speech will twitter from the dirt." The twittering of ghosts is found in Isaiah 8:19 in a negative context; ghosts or people who use ghosts as a source of information are otherwise condemned in the Bible (Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27; Deut. 18:11; 1 Sam. 28:3-9; 2 Kgs. 21:6 || 2 Chron. 33:6; 2 Kgs. 23:24). Thus the picture painted is not one of declaring inspired words, but of weakness and being placed in dire straits.

Isaiah 29:5c-8: The siege against Jerusalem is suddenly and miraculously brought to an end. This is probably to be correlated with the miraculous cessation of attack by the Assyrians (compare Isa. 37:33-38 || 2 Kgs. 19:35-37). The attack, from the attackers' point of view, is like a dream where one eats or drinks but is not filled. The agent of the reprieve is God.

Isaiah 29:9-16: Isaiah's responsibility is to a recalcitrant people, and the rhetoric of his divine commission in chapter 6 paints them as unrepentant. Isaiah is there told to say to the people: "Indeed listen, but do

36. On this chapter and First Isaiah, see Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (New Century Bible; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980); Joseph Jensen and William H. Irwin, "Isaiah 1-39," *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown et al. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 229-48; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39* (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974); Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39* (Interpretation Commentary; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993); Gerald T. Sheppard, "Isaiah 1-39," *Harper's Bible Commentary*, ed. James L. Mays et al. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 542-70; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Forms of the Old Testament Literature 16; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996); Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39* (Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament X/1-3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982).

37. For critically reading the events of these chapters as a single event, see Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings* (Anchor Bible 11; [New York]: Doubleday, 1988), 223-51.

38. See Theodore J. Lewis, "Dead, Abode of the," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 2:101-105.

not understand; indeed look, but do not comprehend"; God then tells Isaiah directly to "Make that people's mind heavy, stop its ears, and close its eyes, lest when they look with their eyes, and listen with their ears, they comprehend, repent, and are saved" (6:9-10; compare 28:11-12). Chapter 29 similarly tells the people to be stupefied and blind (v. 9) and explains that God has spread over them a "spirit of deep sleep, [he] has shut your eyes, the prophets, and covered your heads, the seers" (v. 10).

This blindness and repression of revelation is compared in a simile to a document which is sealed. This probably refers to the practice in biblical antiquity of rolling or folding a document, wrapping it with string, and affixing a clay seal to prevent tampering (compare 1 Kgs. 21:8; Jer. 32:10-14). The simile emphasizes the lack of legibility or accessibility in two ways: a person who knows how to read cannot read it because the document cannot be opened, and a person who does not know how to read cannot read the document at all, sealed or open. This simile is not a prophecy, but simply a figure of speech to emphasize the spiritual blindness of Isaiah's people already set out in vv. 9-10. The simile makes perfect sense in the Isaiah context and therefore appears to be its original formulation.

The theme of spiritual incorrigibility continues in vv. 13-14. The people have been hypocritical, honoring God with their lips, but not with their hearts. The result is that the deity is going to do something miraculous (v. 14a; KJV's "marvelous work and a wonder"). This miraculous act is not necessarily positive in view of the previous and immediately following verses (compare also vv. 20-21); it may be a punishment (compare the use of the same Hebrew term to refer to extraordinary punishments in Deut. 28:59).

Verse 15 begins a new subsection reprimanding the people. Some seek to hide their plans from Yahweh. They claim no one sees them. God responds: "How you turn things around! Can the potter be considered (equal to the) clay? Can what is made say to the one who made it 'He did not make me'? Can the vessel formed say to his shaper 'He has no creative talent?'" (v. 16; on this verse, see first section above, point 3).

Isaiah 29:17-24: Blessing, in striking contrast to the foregoing, is now promised for the people. This passage may come from a period later than the first part of the chapter. Certain themes in vv. 17-24 can be related to, and perhaps even were developed from, elements earlier in the chapter: (a) "Tyrants" (*'arits*, v. 20), a term mentioned in v. 5, will cease along with other troublemakers. (b) The deaf will be able to hear even "written words" and the blind will see even in darkness (v. 18; compare Isa. 35:5). The term "written words" does not clearly refer to the document of v. 11; the phrase is indefinite "words of a book." Nevertheless, this may be said to develop the theme of not being able to read in vv. 11-12. The words com-

prehended are apparently the prophetic words of v. 10.³⁹ (c) Those who err will have prudence (*binah*, v. 24). This counters the failure of the prudence of the wise in v. 14.

Inasmuch as certain themes seem developed in vv. 17-24 from vv. 1-16, it is possible that the whole blessing of vv. 17-24 responds to and seeks to interpret what the miraculous act of v. 14 involves. This is a wide-ranging blessing, including agricultural, moral, legal, political, national, and spiritual matters. Thus, though perhaps originally negative, the miraculous act becomes something positive, except of course for the punishment of the wicked in vv. 20-21.

Joseph Smith's Interpretation of Isaiah 29

Chapters 25-27 of 2 Nephi are presented as a continuous interpretive discourse of Nephi coming after the citation of Isaiah 2-14 in 2 Nephi 12-24. Isaiah 29 is cited in the middle of this larger interpretive discourse. The citation begins in 2 Nephi 26:15-16, 18 (=Isa. 29:3-5), without introduction or indication of source, in the middle of a predictive delineation of events relating to the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Smith does not read these verses according to their original context referring to a siege of Jerusalem, but takes them to refer to the afflictions God will impose on the descendants of Nephi and his family.

Of particular note in these first cited verses is that the speaking from the underworld in Isaiah 29:4 is understood to refer to the BM record kept by Nephi and his descendants: even though they are destroyed (and this destruction is to come suddenly; compare 2 Ne. 27:18 and Isa. 29:5), they will "speak unto them out of the ground, and their speech shall be low out of the dust, and their voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit; for the Lord God will give unto him power, that he may whisper concerning them, even as it were out of the ground ... They shall write the things which shall be done among them, and they shall be written and sealed up in a book" (2 Ne. 26:16-17; compare 27:13). Thus a passage, which in its original context had a completely negative connotation—in terms of suffering and the ghostly metaphors used—becomes a prophecy of blessing and revelation.

After a digression to other matters, the interpretive citation of Isaiah 29 resumes at the beginning of 2 Nephi 27. In a contextual reading of Isaiah 29, the subject of the visitation in v. 6 is Jerusalem. Smith ignores the context and gives the subject a new referent: "all the nations of the Gen-

39. In fact, the terms "prophets" and "seers" in v. 10 may be additions; if so they may come from the author of v. 18, who would seek to clarify just what the metaphor of God's shutting eyes and heads means in v. 10.

tiles and also the Jews, both those who shall come upon this land and those who shall be upon other lands, yea, even upon all the lands of the earth, behold, they will be drunken with iniquity and all manner of abominations" (2 Ne. 27:1). In sum, all the evil people on earth are those who "shall be visited of the Lord of Hosts" (2 Ne. 27:2; compare the gloss "all ye that doeth iniquity" in 2 Ne. 27:4). This visitation, moreover, is to take place in the last days, i.e., near Smith's time (2 Ne. 27:1). The broadening of the subject of prophecy and contemporizing it with Smith's time is consistent with the BM interpretation of Isaiah 48-49, seen above.

The major innovation in Smith's interpretation of Isaiah 29 is turning the simile of a sealed book in vv. 11-12 into a *prediction* of the BM and relating it to an experience that his aid and supporter Martin Harris had with Charles Anthon, a professor of classical studies and literature at Columbia College, from 1820 until his death in 1867.⁴⁰ According to the 1839 Manuscript History,⁴¹ in February 1828, Harris took a copy of characters which Smith was to have copied from the gold plates, from which the BM was to have been translated. He went to New York and presented the transcript to Anthon. The account claims that Anthon pronounced a translation of some of the characters a correct translation from Egyptian, and upon viewing untranslated characters of the transcript, "he said that they were Egyptian, Chaldeak [sic], Assyriac [sic], and Arabac [sic]; and he said they were true characters." Harris says Anthon gave him a certificate verifying the accuracy of the translation, but when finding out that the gold plates were obtained by revelation from God, he tore up the certificate. Then he said, according to Harris, "that if I would bring the plates to him, he would translate them. <I informed him that part of the plates were sealed, and that I was forbidden to bring them. he [sic] replied 'I cannot read a sealed book' .>"⁴²

The last part of this citation in angle brackets is an insertion into the original manuscript. But the idea expressed is not a late development. In the first history of the events of the early church, written in 1832, the connection with Isaiah 29 is fully developed:

40. On this event, see Stanley B. Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems," *BYU Studies* 10 (1970): 325-52. The so-called "Anthon Transcript" with columns of characters with a circular figure, and a statement supposedly from Smith on the back identifying the characters as those taken to Anthon (e.g., Dean C. Jesse, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984], 223-26), is a Mark Hofmann forgery.

41. Dean C. Jesse, *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 284-86; published in the *Times and Seasons* 3 (May 2, 1842): 773; a "corrected" edition appears in Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1951), 1:19-20, and the Pearl of Great Price, JS-H 2:64-65.

42. Jesse, *Papers*, 285.

<he> [Martin Harris] immediately came to Su[s]quehanna and said the Lord had shown him that he must go to new York City with some of the c[h]aracters so we proceeded to copy some of them and he took his Journey to the Eastern Cittys and to the Learned <saying> read this I pray thee and the learned said I cannot but if he would bring the plates they would read it but the Lord had fo[r]bid it and he returned to me and gave them to <me to> translate and I said I-said [I] cannot for I am not learned but the Lord had prepared ~~speetticke~~ spectacles for to read the Book therefore I commenced translating the characters and thus the Prop[h]icy of Is<ia>ah was fulfilled with is written in the 29 chapter concerning the book⁴³

In his own reports, found in letters to E. D. Howe (1834) and T. W. Coit (1841),⁴⁴ Anthon admits to the meeting with Harris, but he says he thought the transcript was a fraud from the beginning, denies any real connection with Near Eastern languages, describes in detail the extraordinary facts surrounding the BM's origin and translation related by Harris, and says he warned Harris about being duped. He does not mention anything about the book being "sealed" or anything connectable with Isaiah 29, though in the Coit letter he says that, although he has not paid much attention to Mormonism, "I have often felt a strong curiosity to become an auditor [of Mormon sermons], since my friends tell me that they frequently name me in their sermons, and even go so far as to say, that I am alluded to in the prophecies of scripture!"⁴⁵

It is reasonable, after a critical reading of Anthon's letters together with Smith's and Harris' reports and with several other second-hand accounts that go back to the time not long after the event,⁴⁶ to conclude that Anthon, though properly skeptical from the beginning, found the characters intriguing, speculated openly before Harris about the their possible language connections, and asked Harris to bring the original record from which they were taken. He may have given Harris his guarded opinion in writing.⁴⁷ Harris then told him some of the strange facts associated

43. Ibid., 9 (boldface material is from Joseph Smith's own hand, otherwise it is in the hand of his scribe, Frederick G. Williams; angle brackets indicate addition to original manuscript; square brackets are modern editorial insertions for clarity).

44. Reprinted in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1965 [orig. 1957]), 1:102-107.

45. Ibid., 1:107.

46. See Kimball, "Anthon Transcript," 342-44. For another piecing together of what may have happened, see Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 77.

47. Anthon is contradictory on this matter; in the Howe letter he denies giving a written report, but in the Coit letter he says he gave Harris a document. In the latter letter he says that he gave the note to Harris to warn him and others of the fraud, but interestingly when he recalls what he wrote, it had a much more limited scope: "The import of what I wrote was, and far as I can now recollect, simply this, that the marks in the paper [i.e., the transcript] appeared to be merely an imitation of various alphabetical characters, and had, in my opinion, no meaning at all connected with them." This is quite reserved if Anthon considered the matter bunk from the beginning. It may indicate that he expressed a more positive opinion before he found out about the mystical aspects of the BM.

with the BM's origin and translation and that he could not bring the original. Anthon then came to the conclusion that Harris had certainly been duped and warned him.

Harris may have been happy to ignore the warning, being satisfied with Anthon's speculation about the possible language connections of the transcript, as well as Smith's apparent ability to produce a translation while Anthon could not. As one report which goes back to the time soon after the event says: "Martin returned from his trip east satisfied that 'Joseph' was a 'little smarter than Professor Anthon'."⁴⁸

Harris may have also been happy to ignore any unfavorable judgments that Anthon may have given since the event soon became seen as a fulfillment of the "prophecy" of Isaiah 29:11-12. It is unlikely that, when Harris left for Anthon, either he or Joseph had this passage in mind; i.e., they were not trying to fulfill prophecy. Harris's intent was apparently simply to determine if Smith was a fraud. The event, however, was shortly connected with the prophecy and written into 2 Nephi 27. The books of 1 and 2 Nephi were produced in June-July 1829.⁴⁹ This means that within a year and about four months after Harris's visit to Anthon, Smith came to view the event as the fulfillment of the passage from Isaiah 29. If speculation is permitted, it can be imagined that Smith, who had a significant knowledge of scripture for one unschooled, might have made the association with the biblical chapter as soon as Harris reported that learned Anthon said he could not read or translate the characters.

In any case, 2 Nephi 27—which turns out to be the earliest confidently datable document pertaining to the Harris-Anthon meeting and should be used by historians to help cast light on the pair's discussion—shows that the connection with Isaiah 29:11-12 came relatively quickly. Smith's main novelty, as already noted, was reading the passage as a predictive prophecy. Observe this reorientation in 2 Nephi 27:

⁶And it shall come to pass that the Lord God shall bring forth unto you the words of a book ...; ⁷... and ... the book shall be sealed. ... ⁹... the book shall be delivered unto a man [i.e., Smith]. ... ¹⁰But the words which are sealed he shall not deliver, neither shall he deliver [publicly] the book. ... ¹⁵... God shall say unto him to whom he shall deliver the book: Take these words which are not sealed and deliver them to another [i.e., Harris], that he may show them unto the learned [i.e., Anthon], saying: Read this I pray thee. And the learned shall say: Bring hither the book, and I will read them. ¹⁷And the man shall say: I cannot bring the book, for it is sealed. ¹⁸Then shall the learned say: I cannot read it. ¹⁹Wherefore it shall come to pass, that the Lord God will deliver again the book and the words thereof to him that is not learned; and the

48. John H. Gilbert, cited in Kimball, "Anthon Transcript," 342.

49. Brent Metcalfe, "The Priority of Mosiah: A Prelude to Book of Mormon Exegesis," 413, and passim in Metcalfe, *New Approaches*.

man that is not learned shall say: I am not learned.²⁰ Then shall the Lord God say unto him: The learned shall not read them, for they have rejected them, and I am able to do mine own work; wherefore thou shalt read the words which I shall give unto thee.

Besides giving the Isaiah material a future orientation, note how these verses further expand the original sense of the Isaiah passage: (a) The subject who delivers the document in Isaiah 29:11 is indefinite and apparently unimportant. In 2 Nephi 27, two subjects are specified and are absolutely necessary to the context: God delivers the book to the unlearned individual (i.e., Smith; vv. 6, 10, 15, 19), and the unlearned individual delivers the words to Harris (v. 15). (b) In Isaiah the "book" is what is given to the learned person (notice the singular referents *'oto* "it" and *hatum hu* "it is sealed" in v. 11), whereas in 2 Nephi 27:15 only the "words" (i.e., the transcribed words) are given. (c) 2 Nephi 17:15 adds the intermediate stage of delivering the words to Harris who will in turn take them to Anthon. (d) 2 Nephi 27:15-18 add a stage to the confrontation with Anthon: it has him asking for the book and Harris saying he cannot bring it because it is sealed. Only then does Anthon say he cannot read the book. In the earliest historical reports outside the BM, including Anthon's letters, the book's being sealed is not reported as the reason for Harris's not being able to bring it, but rather divine restrictions about who may handle and view it. (e) Isaiah 29:11-12 say simply that the document is sealed. 2 Nephi 27 changes this so that only part of the document is sealed (compare v. 15). (This, by the way, contradicts the learned's claim not to be able to read a sealed book; he should be able to read some of it.) (f) The delivery of the book to the unlearned in Isaiah 29:11-12 comes *after* the delivery to the learned, whereas in Smith's history he is given the record *before* delivery to the learned (2 Ne. 27:9, 15). The delivery to Smith after delivery to Anthon is then made a *second* delivery, accompanied by the adverb "again" (v. 19). A problem accompanying this revision is that the book was never at this point taken from Smith so that it might be redelivered to him. (g) The Isaiah verses give no indication that the unlearned will read the document. In 2 Nephi 27 (passim), the unlearned reads and translates.

The revisions required to make the Isaiah passage fit the Harris-Anthon encounter show that originally it had a significantly different meaning. Smith has readapted the passage to reflect his interests and experiences.

The rest of the 2 Nephi 27 (vv. 25-25) finish the citation of Isaiah 29 (vv. 13-24) with only a few transitional glosses. These last verses, in the BM context, are what God will say to Smith when he "reads the words that shall be delivered him" (2 Ne. 27:24). The "marvelous work" in Isaiah 29:14 (2 Ne. 27:26) becomes, in the context, a prophecy of the coming

forth of the BM. Isaiah 29:18 comes into the service of Smith's reinterpretation when it says, in the KJV, "And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the [sic!] book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness." "The book" is the BM.

CONCLUSIONS

Joseph Smith's approach to and use of Isaiah is not unique in the larger context of Jewish and Christian traditions. As Isaiah and other prophetic works became perceived as authoritative, their passages were reinterpreted to refer to the events and times of later readers. The book of Matthew in the New Testament, for example, cites many prophetic passages and sees their fulfillment in the time of Jesus. A number of these are from Isaiah. The so-called "Immanuel Prophecy" in Isaiah 7:14 is applied to Jesus at his birth (Matt. 1:23); this passage, however, originally referred to events in the eighth century B.C.E., as the larger context shows. The passage about a voice calling out to make a road in the wilderness in Isaiah 40:3 (see modern translations for the correct translation), part of the exodus-from-Babylon motif developed by Second Isaiah (see above), is secondarily applied to John the Baptist (Matt. 3:3). The commission to Isaiah to speak to a spiritually deaf and blind people (Isa. 6:9-10) is seen as a prophecy of the effect of Jesus' speaking in parables (Matt. 13:14-15). The passage about the hypocrisy of the people in Isaiah 29:13 is taken as a prophecy of the attitudes of the Pharisees and scribes (Matt. 15:7-9). Remarkably, Isaiah 6:9-10 and 29:13 are not predictions of the future; but the New Testament writer here turns them into such, much as Smith turned Isaiah 29:11-12 into a prediction.⁵⁰ Smith's approach, therefore, is not new, but follows an age-old impulse, found even among many of the religious thinkers of and just prior to Smith's time, as we have seen, to re-apply the prophetic works to the reader's own time.

Smith's approach can help explain some of his comments about the difficulty of understanding Isaiah. After citing Isaiah 2-14, he says that "Isaiah spake many things which were hard for many of [Nephi's people] to understand; for they know not concerning the manner of prophesying among the Jews ... for I came out from Jerusalem, and mine eyes hath beheld the things of the Jews, and I know that the Jews do understand the things of the prophets, and there is none other people that understand the things which were spoken unto the Jews like unto them, save it be that they are taught after the manner of the things of the Jews" (2 Ne. 25:1, 5; compare v. 6). This manner of prophesying was, according to

50. Compare also Isa. 8:15 and Matt. 4:15-16; Isa. 42:1-4 and Matt. 12:18-21; Isa. 53:4 and Matt. 8:17; Isa. 62:11 and Matt. 21:5. These are all secondarily applied to the time of Jesus. Outside of Isaiah, compare Hos. 11:1 and Matt. 2:15; Mal. 3:1 and Matt 11:10.

Smith, not one of simplicity. He says elsewhere that "the Jews were a stiffnecked people; and they despised the words of plainness, and killed the prophets, and sought for things that they could not understand. Wherefore ... God hath taken away his plainness from them, and delivered unto them many things which they cannot understand" (Jacob 4:14).

Joseph Smith's views about the lack of clarity in Isaiah were not exceptional. John Smith's tract on the prophetic writings contains similar sentiments, including a negative assessment of Jewish treatment of prophecy:

... Many prophecies are somewhat dark, till events explain them. They are, besides, delivered in such lofty and figurative terms, ... that ordinary readers cannot, without some help, be supposed capable of understanding them. ...

Some prophecies seem as if it were not intended that they should be clearly understood before they are fulfilled. ...

... Some prophecies ... relate to events still future; and these too may be understood in general, although some particular circumstances connected with them may remain obscure till they are fulfilled. If prophecies were not capable of being understood in general, we should not find that the Jews so often blamed in this respect for their ignorance and want of discernment. ...

But this degree of obscurity which sometimes attends prophecy does not always proceed from the circumstances or subject; it frequently proceeds from the highly poetical and figurative style. ...⁵¹

The Reverend Smith goes on to discuss various figurative features of prophecy as well as the feature of parallelistic poetic structure.

While it is true that Isaiah and other prophetic works in the Bible are often obscure and difficult, largely because they are collections of poetic oracles without introductions or other direct context-clarifying information, the particular approach that the two Smiths take toward prophecy leads to an exaggeration of its complexity. Modern critical scholarship, through contextual study of the prophetic works, examination of the nature and content of biblical interpretation throughout Jewish and Christian history, and consideration of the philosophy of interpretation, has come to the conclusion that the biblical prophets spoke primarily to the people of their time and that the punishments and promises they announced were to be imminent rather than distant events.⁵² The horizon

51. John Smith, in Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible*, 7-8. Compare Ethan Smith, *View*, 228: "[Isaiah 18] has been esteemed singularly enigmatical. This circumstance has usually attended the prophecies in proportion to the distance of their events. And they have often been left in silence, or their true intent misapplied, till near the time of their fulfilment."

52. Compare Anthony Hutchinson, "Prophetic Foreknowledge: Hope and Fulfillment in an Inspired Community," *Sunstone* 11 (July 1987): 13-20; reprinted in Dan Vogel, ed., *The Word of God: Essays on Mormon Scripture* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990), 29-42.

of expectation is similar to that which Joseph Smith himself had for the establishment of Mormon Zion in Jackson County, Missouri. This was to happen in the time of the first members of the church, not far in the future (compare the wording of D&C 97; 98; 101; 103; 105). The two Smiths, in contrast, believe that the biblical prophecies speak directly of their time and of the history leading up to it. Much of their perception of complexity and obscurity in the prophets can be seen as due to the imperfect fit between their contemporizing interpretation and the actual, original, and full contextual meaning of the prophetic passages.

Now while the two Smiths share a similar perception about the complexity and even significance of Isaiah, Joseph Smith departs ways with the Reverend at one crucial point. John Smith's goal in writing his tract, was, according to Adam Clarke, to put "within the reach of the common people" the results of biblical scholarship of the time, so that they can better understand the text. Joseph Smith does not appear to believe that learning these technical matters is absolutely necessary. Nephi says that his people "know not concerning the manner of prophesying among the Jews. For I, Nephi, have not taught [his people] many things concerning the manner of the Jews; for their works were works of darkness ... I, Nephi, have not taught my children after the manner of the Jews" (2 Ne. 25:1-2, 6). Joseph Smith, following in the revivalist tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which felt it could reject learning and training in religious matters,⁵³ believes instead that divine inspiration can produce a proper estimate of the text. Nephi says to his untrained people that "the words of Isaiah are not plain unto you, nevertheless they are plain unto all those that are filled with the spirit of prophecy, ..." (2 Ne. 25:4). Indeed, when Nephi provides clarification of Isaiah 2-14, and also of Isaiah 29 as his interpretation proceeds, he is not so much interested in explanation as in prophesying: "but behold, I proceed with mine own prophecy, according to my plainness; in the which I know that no man can err" (2 Ne. 25:7). Interpretation of the prophets for Joseph Smith, therefore, becomes a new act of prophecy.

53. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in America* (New York: Vintage, 1963) 69-74. The BM has both exhortation to gain knowledge by inspiration (e.g., Moro. 10:4) and warnings about being learned (e.g., 2 Ne. 9:28; 26:20; 28:4, 15). Smith strikes an ostensible compromise between the two poles by saying: "to be learned is good if they hearken unto the counsels of God" (2 Ne. 9:29).

My Father Comes to Me

Brent Pace

My father comes to me
his hand scrapes on the door
that he opens to this bedroom where I am still,
not sleeping but waiting for his hair oil scent to reach me.
And he half expects to find me three years old
blue cotton shorts and a blazer with a coat of arms
standing on a beach not far from Palo Alto,
guarding eyes from the water's glare
in my best John John salute.
He bears a gift, clothing in a bag with handles,
stands near me in his Sunday best, thin lipped,
unmoving but for a finger brushing the seam
of polyester pants.

He comes to dress me, leans over my legs,
stiff as birch limbs, knows that each passing hour
they lose the kinesthetic memory of his favorite scene:
Monday nights he held tiny naked feet in farmer's hands,
lifted his children in a playful bench press above his face,
sat them on the bottoms of his Wing Tips
bounced them as on a John Deere tractor
a giggling choir of voices screaming,
"I'm next, me too!"

He pulls white pants up to my waist,
fixes socks around cold toes, holds the collared shirt
three minutes while he strokes his fleshy throat.
Days have piled up since we last spoke,
like dressings from a wound that would not heal,
couldn't close, a pile of puss-stained cotton gauze
on Mother's evening carpet.

He makes a double windsor with an off-white tie,
the knot he taught me—arms around me from the back
his face as serious as a lawyer—, removes an earring

"Why must he do that?" he asked
the Christmas Eve as I returned from Cambridge
with three new holes.
Not the jewelry but what that surely meant,
like the act of drinking alcohol
being only a symptom of the deeper illness.
He counted the illnesses: obesity, manic depression
and they feared the one unspeakable,
yes that was part of it.
"He wouldn't be like this if he loved us."

Now the hat, the elastic and gathered cotton
around the forehead,
robe on one shoulder and apron,
a splash of color
appealing to my fashion sensibilities,
and tying that around my waist,
he thanks Father for the pocket made naturally
in the small of the human back,
wonders if he ever imagined
that this would be our last embrace.

His chin reaching almost to my chest,
he whispers a prayer aloud,
hoping I will stir,
hoping frozen lips would move in forgiveness
for all that was left unspoken,
apologize for making him come so near
to what he said he loathed,
what he never came close enough
to know or give a blessing to:
the living warmth of the living half
of this unnatural union,
the lover who covered my nakedness
in so many sleepy deaths,

my brown skin savior
whose voice alone
knew how to call me out of dreams
into one hundred quiet
and uncelebrated resurrections.



Rook

Brandt D. Cooper

LAST WINTER, AFTER HALF A CENTURY of faithful church service and during a temple session, I abandoned my position at the temple veil, removed my robes, and demanded to be released. By nightfall, I had completed a letter to the church requesting that my name be blotted from its records. With my wife's shears, I cut the sacred marks from the breast, belly, and knee of my garments. While my wife continued her daily work for the supposed salvation of the dead, I kept to the church-owned apartment we lived in behind the temple, considering what use to put the years remaining to me.

The other temple workers visited me, attempting to coax me from a course of behavior they called foolish and damaging. They demanded to know why I had so suddenly abandoned the church. Had I done something wrong recently? Was there some monstrous sin lurking in my past? When I insisted I possessed nothing but ordinary sins, they ventured other, more esoteric explanations: sins of thought, the pernicious influence of the media, the rise of communism, the new world order, demonic possession. Our conversations foundered as they insisted with growing desperation that there must be some cause and I insisted there was none, until everyone fell silent and my wife fled the room in tears. Then they would bear *solemn testimony of the truthfulness of the gospel* and beg me to *return to the fold*. I would bear testimony in kind, telling them that though I still believed in the gospel I would never set foot in chapel or temple again. Disturbed, their faith grown thin-lipped and impatient, they gave their excuses and left.

By mid-April I had driven a wedge between myself and practically all other Mormons, and thus was left largely alone and in peace to continue dismantling my faith. I enjoyed the time I suddenly had for myself, a time undisturbed except for Wednesday afternoons. While reading each Wednesday, I would hear a knock at the apartment door. Not only a knock, but Brother Gerber's own distinctive knock: six rapid strokes, one for each letter of his surname. *I will not under any circumstances answer the*

door, I told myself, for I knew that if I did the remainder of my day would be ruined. *Do not answer the door*, I commanded myself. Every time I was convinced I would not answer, until Gerber knocked a third time, eighteen strokes in all. I kept hearing the strokes toll in my head, G/E/R/-B/E/R, G/E/R/B/E/R, G/E/R/B/E/R, until the page before me was hardly a page and I could no longer string sense into the words. If I did not answer, I knew, Gerber would take further steps, calling my name perhaps, or peering through my curtains. Somehow I felt this would be more alarming than if I simply admitted him.

Gerber came equipped with what he called a "spiritual moment," a short, pithy irrelevance such as "As I have loved you, love one another." This, he usually reinforced with some prefabricated anecdote intended to startle me into feeling the spirit. Bearing his testimony of the truthfulness of the gospel, he told me they all missed me, that they prayed daily for me to embrace the church. *You're a sixty-eight-year-old priesthood holder*, he told me (in fact, I am seventy-one). *Put the last of your life in God's hands*.

Mostly I was friendly. I said I agreed with him but that I couldn't come back. I was not a sinner, I said, but the church had become unbearable. I had no intention of coming back. I would die outside the church, I told him, and I was prepared to go to hell.

Shaking his head slowly, he chirped a mixture of doctrine and popular sayings at me, lines like *Endure to the End* or *Slow and Steady Wins the Race* or, pretending it was something Jesus said, *I didn't say it would be easy, just that it would be worth it*. Even after I explained that Jesus never said this, he continued to try to use it. After his first few visits, I learned not to respond, letting him babble until he expunged his stock of anecdotes and stood to take his leave.

At the door, as a last ditch attempt, Gerber always invited me to play Rook with him and his wife.

No, I always told him, I had no intention of playing Rook with him. I had given up playing Rook at the same time I gave up Mormonism.

He looked astonished. *What's wrong with a little Rook?* he always wanted to know.

"Everything is wrong with a little Rook."

"What exactly?"

"I don't care to play."

"No," he said, shaking a cancer-sparkled finger, a vein pulsing on his forehead. "It can't be as simple as that."

"Why does it have to be Rook? Why not Bridge?"

"You play Bridge with face cards."

"What's wrong with that?"

"Good Mormons don't touch face cards."

"There," I said. "There's the first problem. Tell you what, Gerber," I

said. "I'll come play Rook if we can use face cards."

"But Rook is played with Rook cards."

"You could play Rook with face cards."

He shook his head vehemently. "The Lord has counseled us against them."

"You're a seventy-year-old man, Gerber," I would tell him. *I*, at least, knew *his* age. "You're hardly impressionable. What's the danger?"

"I could become a gambler."

"Be serious."

"I am serious. Even if I didn't, a young person might see me. *Whoever you are, there is some younger person who thinks you are perfect—*"

"—How much longer are you going to deceive them?" I asked.

"Brother," he said, "open your heart."

"I'm not playing Rook. I have no intention of ever playing Rook again."

He would keep posing Rook-related questions to me, questions for which there was no acceptable response, as I shut the door.

Once alone, I paced up and down the apartment considering how I should have handled the situation. *Rook!* I shouted at the empty couch. *Why this insistence on Rook? I am no longer in the church and I no longer play Rook. You must never bring these things up again,* I said, stabbing my finger at an imaginary Gerber. *You have become a burden to me. Please leave and never return.*

That futile and impotent exchange might have continued for months except that one Wednesday, as I reiterated to Gerber that there was no dark reason behind my leaving the church, he blurted out, *Maybe something to do with the death of your granddaughter?*

It was the last thing I expected of him. I didn't know he even knew. I had forbidden my wife to discuss the death with anyone, and I myself had told neither Gerber nor anyone else anything about it.

My granddaughter's suicide had taken place at the end of the previous summer. Though I'd like to claim it was a surprise, in all honesty it was not. My granddaughter, like my daughter, was prone to a severe, debilitating depression which was never adequately treated. She'd been twice hospitalized. She frequently threatened to kill herself. It was clear the potential for suicide existed, yet when she finally did kill herself, she hadn't threatened to do so for months.

My daughter, discovering her daughter's body hanging from the center beam of her suburban two-car garage, her bare feet knocking against the windshield of the BMW, had suffered a mental collapse and had to be hospitalized. She had remained under care since the suicide; there was no indication that she would ever be released. Her husband, an accoun-

tant—an opportunist—hired a lawyer and began divorce proceedings. He claimed he had meant to do so before his daughter's death, that his decision had no connection to his daughter's death or to his wife's illness.

Here my wife and I face death daily—decrepit old temple workers are every day dropping like flies—yet my wife could not face our granddaughter's death and our daughter's breakdown. At first, she had severe difficulty making it through a day. She became slow and visibly older, her hands shaky, her Parkinson's worsening. I, on the other hand, had navigated the death quickly and successfully. I had approached the death pragmatically and objectively, analyzing it, facing it, and then progressing past it. It had not affected my relation to the church, nor had it affected my relationship to anything or anyone. It had been a terrible thing, absolutely terrible, for a short time, but it had quietly dissolved for me into the great, undifferentiated past.

My leaving the church, I informed Gerber, had nothing to do with my granddaughter's suicide. "It has nothing to do with my granddaughter," I said loudly, pounding my fist on the book I had been reading.

"But the spirit told me," Gerber insisted, a look of supposed inspiration on his face. "The spirit doesn't lie."

I could not stop myself from cursing aloud. Before I was fully aware of it, I had grabbed Gerber and was shaking him, propelling him toward the door.

Yet, turning the doorknob, I reconsidered. It was foolish to expel Gerber though he deserved it. I had already acquired a reputation for evil among the temple workers. Gerber was precisely the sort of person to recount his expulsion in a way that would cast me in the worst possible light. I did not personally care what anyone thought of me but there was my wife to consider, her feelings.

I suddenly left off trying to open the door. Dragging Gerber back to the couch, I forced him to sit. I sat beside him, one hand on his shoulder should he attempt to rise.

His comb-over had come loose and hung in a crisp haze over his glasses. His magnified eyes, I saw as I folded the hair contrary to nature to hide his bald spot, had grown skittish.

"Forget all that, Gerber," I said. "You are always welcome here."

He was regarding me rather suspiciously. I smiled tightly to reassure him.

He said, "If what I said about your grand-daughter—"

"—let's leave the question of my grand-daughter aside," I said.

He opened his mouth, closed it again. I carefully removed my hand from his shoulder. He remained seated, his hand rising nervously to pat

his displaced hair.

"Would you care for something to drink?" I asked.

He nodded.

"Water?" I asked. "Apple juice? Tea?"

"Please don't offer me tea," he said.

"Herbal tea, Gerber," I said. "Mormons can drink that."

"Avoid the very appearance of evil," he stated softly.

"Don't be silly," I said.

When I put the kettle on for myself, Gerber stood. He told me that he didn't want to upset me, but if I wanted to break the Word of Wisdom he felt he should leave.

"It's perfectly all right, Gerber," I said. "I told you, it's herbal. Relax a little," I said.

"I don't feel well," said Gerber. "My head. I should go."

"It isn't black, Gerber; it's herbal."

"Please," said Gerber. "Don't make me stay."

In a state of some irritation, I walked around the living room, finally sitting down beside him. He flinched.

"I'll strike a bargain," I said. "If you drink a cup of herbal tea with me, I'll come back to the church."

"Please," he said. "Just let me leave."

"Why not pray about it?" I asked. "See what God says?"

"I already know what God wants."

That essentially exterminated all we had say to one another. I stared at him. He stared at the floor. Eventually, carefully, he stood and made his way to the door.

"Well," he said, opening it.

I nodded.

He went out the door. Once out, he regained some of his nerve. He stopped, turned around. "Say, why don't you and the wife come around to play Rook with us, just like old times?"

I shook my head. "I have no intention of playing Rook," I told him.

"What?" he asked. "Given up Rook?"

We'd been over it a hundred times before.

"You've given up both Rook and the church at the same time?" he asked.

"There's no connection, Gerber."

"But you gave them up at the same time," he said.

"My granddaughter had nothing to do with this," I said, raising my voice, watching him stumble awkwardly back off the slab and onto the grass. "Not with the church, not with Rook."

"I wasn't talking about her," he said. He looked at me a while. "If you change your mind," he said, "drop by about eight."

"I'm not coming," I said, and closed the door.

Every Wednesday I continued to brew herbal tea, Gerber first claiming he had to leave and then looking on nervously as I drank it. Once I had finished, he would beg me to return to the church, beg me to play Rook with him. I refused him on all counts.

After a month, my wife told me she'd heard I was breaking the Word of Wisdom while she was in the temple.

"It's herbal."

"That's not what I hear," she said, arching neatly plucked eyebrows. "Word has it you are throwing people out of the apartment as well."

"Not people," I said. "Gerber. And against my better judgment I ended up not throwing the fellow out."

"It's not your apartment," she said. "It belongs to the church."

"I pay the rent," I told her. "I'll throw out whoever I want."

The thought of Gerber gossiping, detailing my habits to the other temple workers, falsifying and exaggerating our interaction, was more upsetting than I dared at first admit. It set me completely against the man. Thus, when the next Wednesday came and I heard his knock—G/E/R/B/E/R—coming first once then twice more, I steeled myself. I did not answer the door.

Gerber began to call out, saying it was only him, asking me to open the door. Then he was at the window, peering through the gap between the curtains. Then he was knocking at the door again, saying it was only Brother Gerber, *like the baby food*, calling that he knew I was in there, please open up.

I knew he would return and tell everyone how I was in the apartment but would not open the door. Between sessions they would speculate about me and the so-called sins I had committed. They would talk incessantly about me. In the end my wife would overhear and would somehow feel hurt and betrayed. She would blame me, take it out on me.

G/E/R/B/E/R. G/E/R/B/E/R. G/E/R/B/E/R.

Despite my resolve, I felt after several more assaults on Gerber's part I had no choice but to let him in. It was the lesser of two evils, immediately painful but with fewer long-lasting consequences.

I would be reserved and polite, I told myself. As always I would conduct myself as a gentleman. I would let Gerber in but would give him no gossip to tell.

I ushered him in, telling him I was sorry for the delay but that I had been reading and absolutely needed to finish my chapter. He asked what I was reading, breaking into smiles upon discovering it was not only a book about Mormonism but a book that had garnered First Presidency

approval (I was reading it only because it was the only thing in the house I hadn't already read). My interest in religious texts, Gerber claimed, was a pleasure to see.

"You're coming back, brother," he said.

No, I told him. I had no intention of returning to Mormonism. I believed in the doctrine, I informed him, believed it to be true. But I had no intention of ever coming back.

"I can feel the spirit here with us," he said. "Can you feel it, brother?"

"There's nothing here."

"Brother," he said, falling to his knees, "will you join me in prayer?"

I asked him to stop referring to me as brother. I told him to get up, I had no intention of praying. I had given up prayer upon giving up the church.

He bowed his head. I observed his lips moving silently.

I calmly told him that as long as there were Mormons like him I had no intention of returning to the church. He pretended not to listen, his lips still moving. I told him nothing had changed for me, that I intended to die without ever entering a chapel or temple again. I was speaking louder and faster. Gerber continued praying, his eyebrows raised, his eyes closed, his arms crossed.

I fell silent before he did. Yet eventually he came awkwardly to his feet, sitting again on the couch. "Brother," he said in a hushed, wheedling voice. "The Lord wants you to come back."

He was offensive to me, I told him. He had no sense of propriety. He should be locked up and kept at a distance from real people. He and everyone like him.

Looking up pale-faced and mock-transfigured at the light fixture, he seemed not to have heard.

He had no right to come into my house in this fashion, I told him. He wouldn't know the Holy Ghost if it struck him in the face. He kept looking up. I said some other things as well, even after it was clear he wasn't listening.

I allowed my words to grind down to bony silence. I sat there. Picking up the book beside me, I began for distraction to thumb through its pages. I told myself I would sit still a moment to regain my composure and then stand and walk to the door. I would open the door and hold it open, without heat, until Gerber, taking the hint, departed.

"Before you can make it back, there's a final, difficult hurdle," Gerber said.

"I'm not coming back," I said.

He just nodded, serene.

"I won't," I said. I closed my book, preparing to get up, but somehow couldn't help myself: "What hurdle?"

He looked me in the face. "You need to face up to your granddaughter's suicide."

I swept my arm back over my head and flung my book at him. The corner struck him hard on the temple, the book falling onto the couch beside him. He closed his eyes and removed his glasses. Lifting his hand to the side of his head, he pressed it against his skin. He drew the hand away, looked at it dumbly. Closing his eyes, he pressed the hand against his temple again.

"I'm sorry, Gerber," I said, without moving from my seat, "but you were becoming unbearable."

His eyes still closed, he rose to his feet and pitched to the floor.

I stood, prodded him with my slipper. Getting down beside him, I rolled him face up. I said his name. Then I said it again, a question mark after it. The side of his head was already discoloring, and the fall had split the rim of flesh above his eye. I shook him, slapped his cheeks. He had no interest in coming conscious.

I called an ambulance, then sat on the floor beside him, breathing into his mouth as his lips went slowly fishbelly blue. Paramedics rushed into the apartment. They examined his eyes, convulsed him back to life, strapped an oxygen mask across his face. They trundled him out the door.

I stood in the quiet, rubbing my arms. He had been wrong, of course. He knew nothing about it. My granddaughter's death was in the past. As for me, I was living fully in the present.

I sat down and tried to read.

Gerber had been asking for it, I told myself. I hadn't meant to hurt him, but he had been unbearable. I had left the church not over any sin or over my granddaughter but only because I had not a thing in common with the church. That was what for seven decades I had needed to face up to, and I finally had. I had been long-suffering, I told myself. I had already put up with more than most people would, both from the church and from Gerber.

I put down the book and went into the bathroom. I closed the door. Taking out my teeth, I put them in their glass. Removing my shirt, I looked at myself standing in my disfigured garment, fingering the awkward holes on the chest, over my belly, over my knee.

I slipped my teeth back in, clacked them together. I had no regrets, I informed my reflection. What had happened to Gerber was not my fault. I was not to blame. Nothing would bring me back. I was glad to leave, happy to be a free man.

I kept telling my reflection that.

In a few hours, I was starting to convince even myself.

A Sunday School Answer

Bradford Fillmore

JUST ANOTHER DAY IN PARADISE in the Garden Park Ward. It was a spring morning that felt more like summer, and Sister Conway, our Sunday school instructor, was gracious enough to leave the door open, allowing daydreams to drift into my mind with each waft of the breeze. The lesson must have been from 1 Nephi because I heard Lehi, Laman, and Lemuel mentioned more than a few times, although in what context I really couldn't say, because, to be honest, I was ready for a nap. As fortune would have it, I *was* the only one in the last row, and after a quick side-to-side glance to assure no one was watching me, I leaned back my folding chair onto two legs and rested my head against the chalkboard in preparation for a few visions of my own when I heard a loud voice from the other side of the room shout, "That's a lie!"

Unable to catch myself, my chair slammed onto all fours like a rearing horse returning to earth, my triple combination toppling from my lap in the process. I bent down sheepishly to pick up my scriptures, sure that I had drawn everyone's attention in the room. It wasn't until I raised my head that I realized no one had noticed me. All eyes were on the opposite end of the room and no one was saying a word. Even Sister Conway was speechless, an occurrence I was sure had not been repeated during her waking hours since birth. Sister Conway could lecture on the scriptures from daylight till dark. She was always the picture of poise, a rigid woman in high collars with white hair and pearls to match who went about her duties with the constancy of the sunrise; she had been our teacher for as long as I could remember. There was a sternness about her that most attributed to years of singlehood and a life devoted to scripture (it was rumored that she spent Friday and Saturday nights reading the Old Testament for *pleasure*). She was questioned about as often as a drill sergeant—no, less—and anyone looking for query, debate, or discussion soon unknowingly found themselves walking a lonely plank in the class. Challenges to doctrine were snuffed out like matches in a hurricane. Therefore, it was with more than a little interest that I awoke to the first note of discord in Garden Park for years.

I was not the only one with raised eyebrows. Every eye had turned to Sister Conway, waiting for the fire to be extinguished. After carefully straightening the pearls around the collar of her navy blue dress, Sister Conway, minus only a fraction of her former composure, readied herself to challenge the misguided ward member.

"I have not lied, as you so bluntly put it. I have merely stated the well-known fact that the Lord sometimes justifies the taking of life in the name of a higher cause. It's hardly an isolated case. And what might your name be? I don't believe I have seen you around here before," she queried the perpetrator. She was looking to the opposite side of the room, in the back, a view from which I was unfortunately blocked by the accordion-like curtain. I wanted to move to the front but didn't want to interfere with this startling turn of events.

"Private Williams, ma'am and you haven't seen me because I've been to war. I believe you know my parents, Ed and Jeanie Williams." Now it was coming together in my head. The Williamses, longtime members of the ward, had recently moved to the other end of town. Their son was drafted almost two years ago. It seemed he was just a boy when he left.

"Arthur Williams?" she asked disbelievingly, "You look so ... so *changed*. I just spoke with your mother last week. She didn't say a word about you coming home. The last I heard, you were still in the trenches."

No response. Recognizing she may have jumped a little too quickly into private matters, Sister Conway's face flushed pink. I'd never seen her embarrassed before. Finally, Arthur ended the uncomfortable silence, "I don't suppose they want people knowing I'm home—at least for a while. I'm home ... you might as well know, ... earlier than anyone expected, earlier than I expected. The important thing is I am here. I'm just glad to be home."

For a second time Sister Conway became mute, at least momentarily. However, duty soon surfaced in her mind. "Well, *Brother Williams*, welcome back, I suppose is the thing to say. However, we need to move on with the lesson now. Let's get something straight, though, before we continue. First of all, you don't need to shout to be heard in this class and, second, surely there must be some kind of misunderstanding. Certainly you know Nephi was a very good man, a *God-fearing* man."

After this exchange and a look at the chalkboard, I had figured out that Arthur must be making reference to Nephi killing Laban, a section of 1 Nephi normally breezed through quicker than a two-minute talk. Personally, I'd never thought much about it. It was really elementary in my mind. In fact, we used to act out the incident in the halls of the church after Primary. We usually bullied one of the smaller kids into playing the part of Laban. He would stumble around drunk for a while using somebody's scriptures as temporary brass plates. Eventually he would tire

from lugging those heavy plates around and fall to the floor in a deep sleep. Once on the floor, one of us would tiptoe around the body, nudge him to see if he was really asleep, draw an imaginary sword (in form of a pencil) lift it high into the air, and finally, with the drop of our guillotine, come down Laban's neck. We certainly had no problems with Laban's death. To the contrary, *we gloried in it*. People died all the time in the Old Testament, and this particular slaying was always explained in class by the scripture, "better that one man perish than that a whole nation dwindle in unbelief," a textbook response never challenged until now. That's what made this disturbance so puzzling.

"I'm sorry if I shouted, I didn't mean to. But, you know, I've learned about Nephi all my life and suppose I always felt like the rest of you. I'm not holding anything against him personally. He did what he had to do and I did what I had to do. Before the war, I thought I could kill in the name of God and country and justify it. But I didn't know how ugly, how *final* death could be at the time. I see things differently now. Killing is killing, and I will tell you right here and now that it is a sin to take a man's life—it's something that will never go away for as long as you live. It doesn't make a bit of difference whether who said it was okay or not. Watching someone die in front of you is worse than dying yourself."

Apparently unnerved by the current controversy, a delicate sister excused herself from the row right in front of me and darted for the exit. Gratefully, I slipped into the vacant seat and finally got a look at the man in question. I wasn't about to leave now. This was the kind of thing I'd been waiting for all year. There hadn't been this much excitement in church since little Jimmy Allen had jumped out of his mother's arms in the middle of her testimony and done a somersault over the podium into the front row *without sustaining injuries*. This had been a miraculous occurrence in many ward members' eyes, one that perhaps even signified a special mission in life for little Jimmy—although most of us considered the child the devil incarnate after enduring his screaming in sacrament meeting.

I could now see into the back of the room and was amazed at what I saw. No wonder Sister Conway was caught off guard. I barely recognized Arthur. The last time I saw him, he was six inches shorter and wore a mop of hair over his eyes. I'd seen him a couple times in sacrament meeting in the last month, but had no idea he was one of the Williamses. He always sat in the back, same as me, usually by himself—I attributed his shyness to being a new member, but that was just a guess. However, I had never seen him in Sunday school at all.

"I don't care whose son he is. Who does he think he is, acting like this?" someone in front of me whispered indignantly.

"Apparently he hasn't studied the scriptures much. Sister Conway

shouldn't have to be dealing with this kind of nonsense," another responded.

"I'm going to get the bishop," Brother Gardner squeaked, ready to make his own escape. "The bishop should be hearing this; he'd know what to say."

"We don't need the bishop," Brother Malcolm grunted loud enough for everyone in the room to hear. "We're all adults here. Somebody just needs to tell this man the way things are. He's turned against all the teachings of the prophets. I don't know if he's just looking for attention or what."

"Brother Malcolm is right," Sister Conway answered, reassured by the sudden support. "This is something for us to resolve as a class. Listen to those of us with more experience with the scriptures. The scriptures are clear on this issue. There's really no room for dissent."

Arthur looked out the window without responding to the last comments. I was sure their rebuttal had silenced him. I was sure he was down for the count when, to my astonishment, he steadied himself once again, speaking as clearly as before: "With all due respect, you don't understand—none of you understands." He paused for a moment, then, choosing his words carefully, continued, "I'm not against the scriptures. I believe in the word of God. It's just that I've seen a lot of bad things the last couple of years—wicked things in more shapes than I will ever be able to forget, but I'm not God, I can't just wipe the wickedness from the earth by pulling a trigger or taking a knife to someone's throat. I just can't help thinking of Pilate trying to wash his hands of Christ's death. Do you think he ever really got that off his conscience or did it go with him to the grave? Do you think we are any different? I saw people try and I saw them become their own worst enemy. I couldn't let that happen to me. We're human beings—not animals. I forgot that for a while and thank God I remembered that, even if it got me to where I am now. And I'll tell you, if God himself asked me to kill another man, I'd reply, 'I love you Lord, but find another man.'"

"That's blasphemy," Brother Malcolm shouted. "You don't belong in church."

"Maybe you're right. Maybe you're right," Arthur answered solemnly. "At least, not in this one. At least, not here." With the look of a lawyer who just lost his case, Arthur quietly gathered his things, zipped his scriptures shut, and turned to go.

"Arthur, why don't we just see what the scriptures say on the matter," interjected Sister Conway, mechanically, in a last ditch attempt to restore order to the classroom. "That is where the answers lie." Deaf to her suggestion, Arthur didn't turn back. I watched him slip quietly away and pull the door inaudibly shut behind him. And he was gone.

"The answer's not in the scriptures Sister Conway."

"What," Sister Conway replied, uncertain of the source of the comment. It came from Sister Jamison. She was on her feet now. Even standing up, she could barely be seen above the rest of us sitting. She was just over five feet tall, in her mid-eighties, and this was the first time I'd ever heard her speak. No one called on her to read scriptures anymore—her eyes were too bad. Instead of her scriptures, she brought a basket of yarn to church with her. I often wondered as she crocheted her way through the lesson if she ever heard anything.

"I said, the answer's not in the scriptures." She spoke in a quiet, steady voice. "Don't you see what you've done? I've sat through Sunday school for nearly sixty years now and I've never been ashamed until now." Everyone stared at her like they were looking at a body raised from the dead. "As most of you know, my husband died in the great World War. I raised my children without him, went to church without him. I never remarried. I just never could replace my memories of him. I still love my husband more and more each day, but he's not here. He died in Europe somewhere. Do you know how he died? A member of his regiment was kind enough to write me a letter. He told me that John was gunned down while trying to lift another soldier back to the trench. He foolishly dropped his gun and went after his friend. A war was on and I am sure that man who killed him believed in his heart that he was fulfilling his duty or, at least, following orders. I forgave that man long ago, but after listening to Arthur here talk, maybe no cause is noble enough to take someone's life. You can look in the scriptures all you want, but the answer is only found in you. Could I have killed Laban? No. Never. Never in a thousand years. Should Nephi have killed Laban? Well, let Nephi answer that one. Brother Williams has left our company. I can't save those other lives, but I most certainly won't lose this one. With a little luck and God's speed, I still may catch him before he drives off." Leaving a bag full of yarn behind, Sister Jamison, too, departed. The door closed behind her with a hollow thud.

The class stared at the door for what seemed like a long while, perhaps expecting them to come back, but they didn't. The clack of the chalk on the board awoke the class from their trance. Sister Conway was attacking the board furiously, listing scripture after scripture. "Now, let's all get back to 1 Nephi. We only have ten more minutes and we've barely touched the surface." The victor's smile returned to Brother Malcolm's face and he mumbled his approval. The rest of the class followed suit, obediently opening their scriptures. The incident was over before it started.

In a way I was relieved. I was beginning to feel uncomfortable, about what exactly, I can't quite say. What do you say to someone like Arthur

anyway? Doing my best to remain unnoticed, I slid back to my original seat and, tilting my chair once again, envisioned swords and battle-grounds until the murmur of the class entirely faded from my mind.

Northing by Musket and Sextant

John Farrell Lines

STEVEN WHISTLED NEIL YOUNG SONGS TO HIMSELF as the pickup sped north towards Saltillo. From the truck's open bed, he commanded an obstructionless and enviable view of this Mexican wilderness's enormous sterility. For some, it would be considered an unforgettable event, a spiritual moment perhaps, epiphanal even. For Steven, it was merely the latest in a series of hitched rides that numbered in the dozens—rides that had begun a month earlier when he had first stepped into Mexico at a crowded and anonymous border crossing in Juarez. The exotic thrill of a ride with strangers had worn off after the first few days. Today, more than anything, Steven simply felt uncomfortable. He was sitting astride his backpack, wedged tightly between the spare tire and a precarious stack of cement bags. Cramped, bored, and curious, he twisted backwards, popping his spine as he struggled to look at his reflected image off the back window of the truck's cab. The cloud conditions were wrong, though, and all he could do was stare through the dusty glass and out the cracked windshield at the bare hills that rose up in the distance, marking out his destination. He had never seen Saltillo, but he knew he would have to cross the looming Sierra Lunares before he descended into the industrial hub of Nuevo Leon and the series of freeways that would carry him once again to Juarez and a border-crossing back into America.

Turning around to face the disappearing pueblo of Lago Salado, he watched intensely as the iron cross on top of the white-washed chapel descended into the arched horizon. The last image of order sinking before him. He was once again aware of being surrounded by nothing but wind-blown mesas and a blinding blue sky. With little left to look at, Steven set himself to studying the taste in his mouth. Even after two oranges and a Snickers, the acrid taste of the two peyote buttons he had swallowed a half-hour earlier lingered and irritated. He fished through the stuffed pockets of his jacket searching for a stick of gum. Not finding one, he

pressed through the hole in the pocket that led between the jacket and its inner lining. There, in that outlaw space, his fingers encountered a lonely quarter and a flattened sheet of rolled-up paper. He left the coin, but withdrew the scroll-like page, thoughtlessly straightening and unrolling the yellowing surface. Once opened, he recognized the strange paragraphs of an essay he'd typed several months before. The sight of it disturbed him. He preferred to forget the existence of such crumpled affairs. But he read.

The most explosive moment in Led Zeppelin's "Stairway to Heaven" comes nearly four minutes into the song when unexpectedly its wispy gentleness becomes a tempestuous storm. My reasons for pursuing a medical career have undergone as dramatic and unexpected a transformation.

Five years ago I flew back to America from Ecuador where I spent two years as a missionary for the Mormon church. My service in Ecuador as a Christian missionary, of course, had very little to do with the medical field, but working in orphanages, participating in building projects, and exploring the cork board and plastic neighborhoods affected my humanitarian sensibilities profoundly. While in Ecuador I became aware of the organization "Les Medecins sans Frontieres" and the prospect of improving the conditions in underdeveloped countries as a medical volunteer seduced me with its simple goodness. My return to America was charged with social activism and a new life purpose—relieve world

He stopped reading, startled by a shout from the cab. Twisting as before, he glanced back through the glass to where the driver was gesturing at him with a cigarette and raised eyebrows. His mouth formed the word "Fumas."

Steven nodded and met the dark hand half way. Taking the cigarette and lighter, he mouthed the word "Gracias." It took four tries to finally get the cigarette lit against the pounding wind-eddies of a truck doing nearly seventy. When it was smoking thickly, he inhaled deeply and then exhaled. The nicotine raced immediately to his brain—soothing his clenched teeth. The peyote was just beginning to register a physical effect. Returning the lighter, Steven nodded to the driver and repeated the same word as before.

Now, with the cigarette gripped between his chapped lips, Steven spread the paper with two hands and stared again at the rattling letter: *relieve world suffering.*

Returning to Utah, I began my second year at Brigham Young University and pursued my new-found ambition with religious zeal. Besides being involved in the pre-medical society and its related activities and publications, I spent much of my free time working for the weekly campus newspaper. My articles from that year often reflected my "fix the world" enthusiasm—I published critical appraisals of overpopulation, recycling, contraception, and a cover article entitled "The Death of Medical Altruism." And to my surprise and

disappointment, I often found myself at odds with a provincially and religiously conservative administration.

Taking advantage of a summer internship in New York City between my sophomore and junior years, I experienced for the first time the contagious energy of a large metropolis. That summer I made a life-changing decision. I decided to look for work in New York so I could transfer the following year to a local university. I had come to realize the significance of location on the educational process and saw a need to push my educational experience in new directions. Studying in a large urban center like New York had the effect of hearing music played live for the first time. I was enraptured by its power and couldn't leave the arena. I did not return to Utah.

The following year I transferred to Hunter College to complete the remaining two years of my degree. At this point my interest in medicine underwent a dramatic change. New York precipitated a crisis of faith that left my world view permanently altered. Under the weight of modern biblical scholarship, theories of biological evolution, and Einsteinian relativity, my religious world view finally crumbled, leaving my most certain convictions devastated by the collapse. This world-view cave-in also injured my hope in social progress and paralyzed a three-year commitment to that cause.

Although I continued volunteer work at the emergency room and with the community lunch program, my activism was less vigorous. By my senior year it had ended completely. Instead of caring for the needs of the community, I began to treat my own illness, something I had neglected for several years—clinical depression, a condition I am still treating today.

Steven stopped to take the cigarette from his mouth and remembered the voice of his girlfriend in New York as she read his essay for the first time.

"Oh my God. You're kidding me, Steve. You're not really going to tell a med-school committee something like that, are you? They'll never let you in."

"But you haven't even gotten to the end."

"I don't have to. Neither will they. Your application will be sitting in the reject pile before they even get to the word today."

"Just wait till the end first, okay, then give me your opinion. I really think I know what I'm doing here."

"All right. Fine. I'll finish it. But nothing will change the fact that you're doing something really stupid."

That final word rattled inside his head. The way she pronounced stupid that night was exactly the same way she would pronounce it a few weeks later as he held the receiver of a pay phone in an empty subway station.

"This is stupid, Steven. It's over. Stop acting crazy. There's nothing else we can do. Please stop trying to recover something that's not there

anymore. Please understand that. Deal with that, Steven. I am done now."

He looked back down at the letter in his hands and started to read on, then stopped. Something was happening to the paper. The words were beginning to wiggle and shake, threatening to break free. Steven held a white page full of text-based larvae that seemed on the verge of spilling out onto the bed of the truck.

"Oh, damn. Something's starting to happen." Carefully folding the paper so as not to lose any of the mutinous letters, he slipped it slowly back into his pocket and checked the watch on his wrist.

He was inhaling desperately on his cigarette trying to figure out what to do. The back of a pickup didn't seem to be the most desirous place for a peyote trip. But it didn't matter. He had made his choice when he ate the buttons, knowing that today would be his only chance to experience peyote before crossing back into America. Come what may, he had to keep moving north. His plane left the El Paso airport for New York in less than twenty-four hours.

Closing his eyes, Steven engaged himself in an examination of his five senses to determine which were most affected by the peyote's mescaline. Running fingertips down his leg, he quickly decided that the corduroy trousers felt as they normally did. No change in his sense of touch. Similarly, the smoke from the Carlton seemed as cheap and dry as it always had. His tongue slipped around his mouth then swallowed. It tasted bitter, but that was just the lingering peyote residue—an annoyance the tobacco was beginning to finally relieve. Everything still smelled and tasted the same as it should. Satisfied with his progress and the so-far reliable condition of his perceptions, he opened his eyes and glanced around.

The sight of the desert hills paralyzed him. They rose up, jerking and rolling, tossing and falling, behaving raucously, like an agitated sea. The sky was even more animated. Clouds seemed to stream across the heavens as if someone had pressed fast-forward. He stared, transfixed, into a sky that had unveiled its pulsing presence, a living beast, an enormous blue and white creature madly readjusting its streaks and spots and howling at him with the force of a god. Steven lowered himself into the center of the bed where he spread himself out and leaned his head against his pack. The sky howled on.

With a start Steven was shaken from his hallucination and realized the pickup was quickly losing speed. Why were they stopping? They couldn't be near the Saltillo exit. It had only been fifteen minutes since he had slumped to the bed of the truck. His watch, however, told him differently. It had been almost two hours since the sky and earth had burst into life.

"Jeez, that was intense." The mescaline was definitely a more aggressive manipulator of sight and sound than other psychedelics. Not to mention a more insidious suppressor of time. Nothing in his past experiences had prepared him for such a disabling effect.

Suddenly the window behind him began to knock. He listened, spooked, afraid to turn around. The knocking got stronger and more anxious. Finally a shout roused him from his position and he turned to look. The driver was gesturing at him and forming indecipherable shapes with his mouth. The mustache over his lips seemed to be commanding every expression his face formed. A control center of all facial gestures. It was hypnotizing. He couldn't look the man in the eyes. The peyote was still sabotaging perception.

Recognizing that the hitchhiker was comprehending nothing, the Mexican raised his free hand and pointed several times towards the side of the road, then turned the finger back towards his passenger. Although Steven's pupils were unusually dilated, the driver seemed to notice nothing strange about his guest. The blank stare, he assumed, was merely the function of a language barrier and the shock of being abruptly shaken from sleep. Bringing the old Chevy to a stop, he leaned out the windows and spoke. "You go there," he said with his best English accent, repeating the previous finger-pointing performance.

Steven's gaze followed the finger to the fork in the road and the sign that read "Saltillo 80 km." He scrambled down from the rusty bed, patting dust and dirt from his clothes and hair with one hand, carrying his pack and a cardboard sign in the other.

"Te agradezco mucho, señor. Te pago algo?"

Surprised by the foreigner's command of Spanish and offer of money, the driver paused before responding. *"No joven, nada. Cuidate, no mas. Y que te vayas con Dios."*

Steven smiled and nodded. He hadn't heard that expression in some time and felt a wave of sadness pass through him. God was something that still obsessed him as a concept, but meant little as a personal companion. He waved politely as the pickup drove away.

Alone again with his senses, Steven returned to the effect of the drug. The sky and terrain were much less active than they had been from the truck. The ground hardly moved now, but instead rose and fell gently like the belly of a sleeping grandparent. The sky rolled by normally and only whispered now in hushed tones that it was a living presence. The hallucinatory effects were subsiding like they would have done during other trips. But Steven knew that things were still only half over. Hallucinations were usually followed by another stage. Returned to perceptual coherency, the mind was lulled into complacency and susceptible to other attacks. Psilocybin would usually sneak in the mind's back door at that

point and rearrange one's mental props while the mind wasn't looking. That's when the hard part would come, the inner analysis of relationships, people, beliefs, and fear. The mind trying to set the props back in their place but realizing that there wasn't really ever a right place. And depending on the person and the circumstance, the crisis would yield either wisdom or delusion, ranting or tears.

As Steven considered the situation, he decided to keep moving towards the border. He kept his arm stretched into the road, his thumb cocked, backpack at his side. For almost an hour he held the position, getting more and more frustrated, watching car after car speed by, some too full of people to stop, others too afraid of a sweating, bearded man, others just plain uninterested. His mind passed the time racing by as randomly as the speeding cars. Memories of people and distant places hurtled across his inner screen. An attractive woman standing in a bed of black-eyed susans, a graduation cap on her head, a miniskirt wrapped around her narrow waist, a naive grin creeping across her lips. Thoughts of his mother before six children burgled her figure. A twenty-year-old man standing on an airport runway, overcoated, holding two suitcases, smiling against a bright midday sun, blind to his future, and beautiful for it. A father before stress had carved ridges in his face and left deposits in his arteries. Thoughts of a time before suffering and pain had marked his parents' world. Thoughts of a time before suffering had marked his own. The browning photo of a grinning boy, a purple bathing suit, and his three-leveled castle. His plastic shovel stretched triumphantly in the air. And a wave only inches behind him ready to collapse his mighty structure.

Steven searched for a cigarette. Instead he once again discovered the folded printer paper. He opened it with care and found its words reafixed to the page. He skimmed them.

Led Zeppelin, explosive moment, participating in building projects, seduced by, campus newspaper, the death of altruism, New York, evolution, collapse ... illness.

And then more slowly he began to read.

With this treatment I also began a close analysis of the human personality and its relation to the mind. I read books related to the origins of consciousness, the structure of dreams, and the development of personality. Of particular interest was Ernest Becker's The Denial of Death which informed other readings in psychology. Suddenly, a career in medicine presented a startling possibility—medicine could be a vehicle for exploring a new ambition—to map the contours of the human mind. Understandably, my current interest is in the field of psychiatry which I would pursue in medical school and beyond. This is where the guitars and drums currently play loudest.

My turning inward, however, and my new-found interest in psychology have not betrayed

Steven looked up, startled by the sound of a deep horn. Red brake lights. Euphoria rushed through him. A hundred feet ahead an eighteen-wheeler pulled off to the side of the road. An arm extended out the driver's window, made circles, waving him forward.

A half-minute later he pulled himself up into the cab, out of breath but ecstatic. Big rigs were a rare catch. He hadn't had one in almost a dozen rides. As it pulled back onto the asphalt, Steven ventured the proverbial hitcher question.

"Hasta donde llegas?"

Still concentrating on the road and increasing his speed, the driver shifted gears and spoke into the windshield. *"Voy hasta Chihuahua."*

The three words were like elixir. Steven made two fists and ejaculated, "There is a god."

Chihuahua was over five hundred kilometers to the north. From there it was a mere four-hour trip to the border in Juarez.

The driver smiled knowingly at him and offered Steven a Marlboro. *"Gracias,"* smiled Steven as he took the cigarette and lighter. *"Usted no puede saber cuanto me agrada estar sentado aqui en tu camion."*

"I think I can," responded the driver. "Actually, I think I know exactly how you feel. I've done my share of hitching, too."

"You speak English. I mean, you speak amazing English. I'm sorry, but I'd never have guessed. No offense. But I've never met a local down here who doesn't speak English with a tell-tale accent and tangled syntax. Are you actually from Mexico?"

"Yep. Born and raised."

"So where'd you learn to speak English so well?"

"Actually, I speak a few languages. I've gotten around over the years. Seen a few places, learned a few things." The speaker was a handsome man, still unusually trim for a trucker. And unusually tidy. His enormous side burns were meticulously trimmed and his jaw and upper lip were smooth, recently shaved. Most remarkable, though, were his blue eyes. Beautiful, but mysteriously out of place. The headlights of a Cadillac set into the frame of an El Camino.

"So how'd you learn to speak such good Spanish, Steven?" The passenger sat speechless. Paralyzed. How did the driver know his name? Somewhat trepidatiously and aware that the peyote could still be affecting his perceptions of reality, Steven spoke. "Do I know you from somewhere?"

"I don't believe so. Why? Do I seem familiar to you?"

Steven wanted to say yes. Something about the driver was strangely familiar, intuition told him he had known the driver from somewhere. But instead he answered negatively. "No. I don't know how I could ever have met you. But you knew my name was Steven. What's going on?"

How'd you know that?"

"Oh, I see. You hadn't realized that the ID tag on your backpack is exposed. It also tells me you're from New York. But I thought I'd ask you about that a little later. First, I'm curious about how you learned to speak Spanish so well?"

Steven glanced at the plastic covered information card hanging off his backpack and laughed, relieved that the stranger was still only a stranger.

"I lived in South America for a couple of years. My dad was in the state department." Steven delivered the lie with the ease of someone who had given the same response many times before. The way the practiced school teacher in a bar can pass himself off as an attorney without even slightly raising the suspicion of his buxom prey.

The driver, however, unexpectedly paused. "Is that it? The whole story? It sounds so canned, so easy. Bar talk almost. Have you got a secret you don't like talking about? C'mon, cowboy, how did you really learn to speak Spanish so well?"

Steven sat stunned. The only other time someone had seen through one of his rehearsed lines was an interview with his bishop as a teenager. He had lied about touching a girl's breast. His bishop knew better, and questioned him until, with tears dripping from him cheeks, the truth was finally confessed.

"Look. I don't like to really talk about it, so I keep my stories simple. If you really want to know the truth of it, I'll tell you. You see, I was actually a missionary for the Mormon church for two years in South America. I don't like talking much about it because it begs so many other questions. Do you know what I mean?"

"Yes, I know exactly what you mean. I now have a dozen new questions I'd like to ask you, but we've got plenty of time till Chihuahua. But, first, would you like to know who I am?"

Steven had completely forgotten to ask the driver his name. It was a curious oversight. Since it was always one of the first things Steven asked a driver. "Of course. I'm sorry I hadn't asked. *Como te llamas, compadre?*"

Elohim smiled. "*Me llamo Elohi.* Elohim in English."

For the third time in as many minutes Steven froze up. The sound of the name Elohim made him shudder. The only time he had ever heard the name before was in church meetings. In the most reverent of circumstances and in the most solemn of places. Elohim, the most sacred of all names, the name of Him, the holiest of holies, He, the Un-nameable, God.

Stunned, but curious, Steven ventured a question. "Do you know the significance of your name to certain people, to certain religious communities?"

"Yes, of course. Many Christian religions recognize Elohim as the proper name of God. At times it can be a bit unnerving to people, but usually they get over it pretty quickly. I mean, think about how many Mexicans have named their first son Jesus. And look at me. Could anyone really think that God smokes Marlboros and drives a truck? Besides, I don't have gray hair or a beard."

Steven laughed. And then shuddered again. He would have to be much more careful next time about the circumstances under which he took peyote.

"So, Steven, I don't get much opportunity to talk to Mormons. How does one grow up different from other kids? And how did you get where you are now—hitchhiking through Mexico?"

Vicente Fernandez crooned soulful Spanish love songs from the rig's tape deck as Steven began to unfold his history. He spoke of a childhood in the suburbs, of a two-car garage, baptism at eight in an indoor font, piano lessons, Boy Scouts, the priesthood, his job at Baskin Robbins, a patriarchal blessing, a mission call to Ecuador. Elohim listened thoughtfully, nodding at times, asking questions at others. Encouraged by such a thoughtful audience, Steven continued on with more detail.

An hour later the conversation was still gaining speed. Steven was reaching a summit of sorts. "So being brought up in a radically orthodox Christian home was a nightmare. You know, all those things I've just laid out: the food and drink prohibitions, the night and morning prayers, daily scripture reading, the hymns, monthly fasting, weekly church attendance, tithe-paying. It was a process that molded me in the most fundamental way. My identity was the expected product of an assembly-line religion. A religion that manufactures authority-worshippers. But, and this is an important but, at the center of that cloned identity was a precious thing—a core of certainty—the beautiful certainty of being a beloved child of god—a literal spirit offspring of the divine. And with that knowledge comes meaning and purpose. Life has an ultimate direction and immortality is a guarantee. Can you see how comforting all of that is? How peaceful and satisfying a life like that can be?"

"Yeah, Steven, I know exactly what you mean. There is great comfort in knowing your origin and your destination—it makes everything in between the two so much easier to bear. Life is simpler and happier that way. The belief in the existence of God provides so much more than just something to do on Sundays. It gives life a desperately needed story line—a script you can read from and act out till the last days of life. God is security. And joy. And a necessity. But you don't see it that way any more, do you? Your mind has no room for God now, does it?"

"No way. God is something I can't accept anymore. It's something only the weak-spirited in our societies need. The rest of us just resign

ourselves to the sad realities of our short, painful existence and live life for its occasional pleasures."

"What a depressing picture, Steven. But it sounds like someone else's picture, something underlined in a book, something to quote. I don't think I believe you. If that's really the case, then why did you come to Mexico? A little fun? A few adventures?" Elohim said that last part with a carefully controlled irony, then returned just as quickly to his serious style.

"No. I sense differently, Steven. You wanted something bigger, something more worthwhile. You were seeking. You were intent on something. Maybe clues, maybe visions, a sense of subtle order within the randomness and absurdity of things. I understand you, young man. I respect you. For above all you still seek truth. You believe it still exists, that it can still be found in some form. Steven, doubt no more. For it can. It is here. In this desert. In this truck. Sitting near to you. You saw it when you climbed aboard. There are no accidents. No coincidences. And there is a God, Steven. You confessed it yourself when you climbed in. Don't betray your instinct. Your intuition. You are repressing the most elemental part of you. There is truth and goodness and a soul that lasts forever. Trust yourself, Steven. You know this is true."

For several hours they said nothing, allowing cigarette smoke, radio static, and the roar of speed to fill the void. Steven thought hard about Elohim and his words, his voice, and his sermon. He wanted to believe. It had moved him. Touched something vulnerable deep inside. He felt the presence of the divine. And he knew he was very near either wisdom or a higher state of delusion. Deception or enlightenment.

The rig hurtled north, shaking wickedly. With twenty tons of cargo behind the cab, the passengers shook like forgotten coins left on a subway car. Steven concentrated mightily to simply keep himself erect and get his cigarette ash to fall inside a rattling ash tray. The sun set bright red to the left of the truck as a bone-white moon rose to the right. Despite the commonness of the scene, the dusk for Steven that night was charged with something holy. He was speeding home with a glimmer of new faith. God appeared to be once again at the helm.

At eleven Elohim pulled the rig into a highway restaurant. They ordered huevos rancheros, tortillas, and coffee. They ate in comfortable silence. When the check came, Elohim paid the bill and bought two bottles of water and a roll of toilet paper. He gave one of the bottles to Steven, then made his way to the moonlit parking lot. Without stopping at the rig, he motioned for Steven to follow him. They walked a hundred yards beyond the truck into a barren desert. Elohim tore off several handfuls of paper and handed them to Steven. Under the full moon, they squatted in

the dust. With their backs to each other, they took their time. Steven marveled at the sky. Marveled at the possibility of a god. As they walked back towards the rig together, Steven didn't notice the stone Elohim carried in his hand. Although it probably wouldn't have mattered. It only required one solid whack against the back of his head to send Steven collapsing to the ground.

When he awoke several hours later, the moon was on its descent nearing the western horizon and the restaurant was closed and deserted. The parking lot was empty, and his wallet and passport were gone. His backpack had never left the truck. Under the single lamplight of the parking area, he felt the wound and dried blood on the back of his head. He sat down, held his head in his hands, and sobbed. When he was done, he searched himself for a cigarette. Found one and lit it. Then, as he had done two times previously during the day, he withdrew the tattered page from his pocket. He read quickly again from the beginning, then slowed as he reached the end.

betrayed my original reason for pursuing medicine. My original zeal to volunteer with Les Mediciens sans Frontieres is surging again and although no longer a function of a Christian imperative, my concern for the underprivileged still abounds.

Led Zeppelin ends their song appropriately where it began. After a descent into rage and a tour through a legitimate side of reality, meaninglessness, the song returns to the gentleness of the original movement—but a gentleness matured and wiser because of the experience. I have made my ascent from a stormy realm and feel like I am standing on old ground that I can now see much clearer. T. S. Eliot wrote, "And the end of all our exploring, will be to arrive where we started, and know the place for the first time." My reasons for pursuing medical school have changed according to the trails my life has taken, but with my recent treatment and restored sense of identity I feel as though this five-year journey has come full circle.

And now, as I survey the landscape around me, for the first time I think I know my place.

Steven folded the letter and returned it to his pocket. He knew now, better than ever, what a tremendous lie that was. In fact, to him the landscape that he stared into did not even offer the consoling presence of palpable space. Steven saw nothing and felt nothing but illusion. Shapeless terrain. And directionless weight. Steven felt only the great absence of things. The pain of philosophers. And the sadness of prophets.

In truth, Steven had no idea where his place was. But despite it all he stepped back to the road. To his credit, he still knew which direction was north.

We Write What We Want to Know

Anita Tanner

I want to know why water has the right of way
where God dwells near zenith or nadir
why you see stars better peripherally
why some people have a fear of trees
I want to know how rust is beautiful
why we hide inside our childhood
why I still have all my fingers
the source of Northern Lights
why horses sleep standing up
I want to know a false dawn
why we step out of doorways
how to sing best in silence
I want to know why I can't
remember dreams how to see
why books are revelation
why light is like liquid
I want to write history
draw stones name things
make my own Bible see
in darkness unlearn be
I want to write what
we are here for if
the circle is holy
books are sacred
nature heals us
why I must lose
what I most love
I want to know
more kindness
more ditches
more desert
more shadow
more grace
more dawn
more bone
more
more

Observing the New West

Letting Loose the Hounds. By Brady Udall (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1997).

Reviewed by John Bennion, professor of English, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

SINCE EASTERNERS FIRST INVENTED the West, the landscape and inhabitants have generally been viewed through the lens of a movie, television, or tourist camera. Everybody from eco-terrorists to wise-use ranchers, from politicians to military officers, have for so long incorporated the myths of freedom, unlimited resource, and violence that the stories of the West are often facile, ossified, or perverse. In *Letting Loose the Hounds*, Brady Udall faces the disintegration of the West with courage and an inventive vision. This collection of short fiction has power not only because of Udall's authority as a native but because of his particular, clear-headed, and affectionate portrayal of the people and the land.

In Udall's places—Scottsdale, Payson, Globe, Winslow, and Holbrook, Arizona; Tyler, Texas; Cedar City and Logan, Utah—broken-down myths dot the landscape like rusted-out cars. Marriage, manhood, family, religion, friendship, love, law, and religion have become unreliable. "I'm not an atheist," one character says after rejecting his sister's proposal that he be baptized, "I'm just not looking for any more burdens than I already have"

(39). The institution of marriage is like drowning—"being dragged down by an impossible weight, clawing for air, lungs filling with black water until they burst" (75). In the universe of these stories, it is a "childhood notion that it's possible for things to stay the same, that everything in this world does not have to become old and tired and undone" (18).

This collapse of the old myths is reflected in the characters. After his wife left, taking their son, an Apache Indian says that he "came unglued; there were pieces of me all over my suddenly too-large house" (19). Their lives are bizarre and fragmented: the Apache, literate and incapable of stealth, lugs his son's pet goat into his ex-wife's home at midnight; Goody Yates, minus his wisdom teeth and groggy from sodium pentobarbital, stands in a ditch on the verge of a highway until he is picked up by a man who looks like Custer wearing a Peterbilt cap; on the eve of his wedding a man is drowned after his car crashes in shallow water because his friends attached a ball and chain to his ankle as a joke; a bull moose humps a plastic deer until it collapses under his weight.

Especially the western stereotypes of cowboy and Indian are transformed. "Before I came to work here," says the protagonist of "I Become Deeply and Famously Drunk," "I had this idea that the A & C Ranch would

be this big beautiful spread, full of rivers and green rolling hills, like that TV show *Big Valley*" (191). He would be a television hero "riding around on a shiny roan, wearing a vest and a silk scarf, smoking a long cigarillo and shooting bad guys lurking in the bushes. ... The actual ranch, I was sorry to learn, is plain and relatively small: fifteen hundred acres of over-grazed scrub land that can't support more than two hundred head at any one time. ... The sad truth is we spend more time zipping around in our pickup trucks than we do on our good and noble horses" (191). Another character says of his home town: "Holbrook sits out on the high desert plateaus of northeastern Arizona and is the proud home of petrified wood and dinosaur bones. In movie towns they have wooden Indians in front of their drugstores. We have stoned Indians in front of ours" (79).

The misfit son of a wealthy father asks, "[Is] the world chock-full with the frustrated and betrayed?" (109) Of course it is, Udall seems to say, but he finds consolation, first, from the fact that somehow humanity endures. The stories vibrate with the possibility, as unlikely as a mirage, of the sweetness of human love and the durability of desire. Despite their despair, his characters find hope and love in the most unlikely places. The six-foot-three Apache steals his ex-wife's mutt, Roy, because "[w]e all need love and Roy is no different" (20). In "The Opposite of Loneliness," a care-giver of a senile woman holds her in his arms when she has nightmares. He says, "[W]hat a hypnotic feeling, holding another human being in your arms while they sleep, rocking them in the dark" (126). A wig found in the garbage reminds a man of his

dead wife and he hugs his child. "My son put his smooth arms around my neck and for maybe a few seconds we were together again, the three of us" (136). Many of the protagonists of Udall's *New West* are care-givers and fix-it men. Even if some are bumbleres and destroyers, they still have good-hearted natures.

A second consolation for Udall's characters and for his readers arises from limiting hope in the mythic, trimming back true knowledge. In "Junk Court" the protagonist takes account of what he knows: "I know there are things waiting to be fixed. I know that Victoria will never know my name and that there will be a game at the Junk Court next week, same place, same time. As for things I know for sure, this is as far as it goes" (97).

The voice of "Ballad of the Ball and Chain" finds her man growing crazy after an accident which kills his best friend. She says, "I found out during those months after the accident—months of sick worry and heartache and crying alone in bed—that there is nothing more cruel than hope. I believed that if I simply loved Juan enough—no matter that he had become a whole different person, a shabby refugee from some unnameable place—he would come out of it, suddenly or gradually, and we would be able to start our perfect life all over again. I believed in this, clung to this hope, even while I held Juan down in the bath tub and scrubbed the grit off him, like a dog" (68). Sometimes giving up on unreasonable hope is the best option.

Another consolation, ingrained in every story, is simply the desert, which, despite humanity's will to adapt and destroy it, also endures.

The woman described above finally leaves her man: "As I got further from town, out into the sagebrush and piñon pine, even with my heart breaking I felt a sense of freedom I'd never felt before, like a great heaviness falling away, and it was as if I was rising above the road, into the white morning sky, floating" (76-77).

While wilderness generally offers freedom or escape in the stories, sometimes it also seduces, survives perniciously, or overwhelms. In "Beautiful Places," one of the characters, Green, has been unhappy traveling through Utah because it brings back memories of his wife and children, lost to him: "We get a ride with an old couple as far as Salt Lake and just before dawn we get on with a trucker headed for Phoenix. Once we're in the cab, the road moving away beneath us and the musty old guy next to us telling bad jokes one after the other, Green finally settles down a little. The wrinkles in his forehead smooth away and he puts his head against the window and closes his eyes. The light is just coming up, turning the snow on the mountains purple and orange. The sky is opening sharp and clear. I can't be sure, but I think a place like this is just a little too beautiful for Green to stand" (189).

Like Green, who is soothed by a human voice, all of Udall's characters find the best consolation in the telling and hearing of stories. In "The Opposite of Loneliness" a man talks to a woman friend about their ex-marriages. "With five to her credit, she can go on forever. ... Talking about it with Ansie, it seems I've squeezed just about all the juice out of it I can, but she wants more, every last detail. She says the mysteries behind a broken marriage can take years to compre-

hend" (123). Udall's characters wrestle with their lives by repeating stories of their exploits as hunters and ball players, of their broken relationships and their acts of sacrifice. But stories don't just console; they also disturb. Taking a break, players of junk-court basketball lie on the cement and tell stories: "Get this," says Pacer, describing how a woman overloaded with children falls apart on her front lawn (83). He steps in and helps her, taking them all to a video arcade. "The rug rats cost me forty-seven quarters ..." (84). When the tales turn to acts of violence, suddenly, they "get up and decide not to endure any more stories."

Udall learned his craft from people like his characters. The highest praise I can give is that his fiction is shaped more by the vitality of the western storytelling tradition than by the fastidiousness of the academic institutions he passed through (BYU, University of Iowa). The eleven stories in *Letting Loose* are good yarns; they spring forward, beautiful and frightening, like the hounds in the title story. Through them, Udall claims his place as an important observer and creator of the New West.

One character, who has just given up on a lifetime of lust for revenge, walks outside his cabin: "The sky has cleared and the stars are shining down and even though I'm ... exhausted and weak, there is still something inside me that needs to be released. ... I ... walk up the hill past the ranch house, which is glowing a faint, moonlit blue, all the way down to the mud pond where a few steers are standing around rubbing their heads together" (221). Next to his father's initials on a post, he leaves his own mark, the imprint of his teeth in

the wood. Then he stands and pronounces his manifesto: "There is no doubt in my mind: this is my place,

it's where I belong, and I'm here to stay." In like manner, Udall's sweet and rowdy stories are here to stay.

An Extremely Consequential Contribution

The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power and The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power. By D. Michael Quinn (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1994, 1997).

Reviewed by Danny L. Jorgensen, professor of Religious Studies, University of South Florida, Tampa.

THESE TWO VOLUMES AIM TO DESCRIBE the development of the hierarchical leadership and organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon) as well as certain related issues. They begin with the "private religion" of the founding prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr., and conclude with specific political involvements of the LDS hierarchy and church in the 1990s. The first volume delineates the "evolution" of priesthood authority, the hierarchical church organization, and the Saints' theocratic Kingdom of God, during Smith's lifetime; the succession crisis following the founding prophet's martyrdom in 1844; and the restructured leadership and organization of the largest single body of the fractured Nauvoo Mormon church, headed by Brigham Young, in 1847. The second volume selectively discusses related issues, namely "ecclesiastical, dynastic, theocratic, political, and economic," most commonly by reviewing relevant pre-1844 events

before elucidating subsequent developments up to the present.

The materials presented in these two volumes derive from an impressive thirty years of invaluable scholarly research and writing. Substantial portions of them have been published previously as journal articles. The formerly published portions of the second volume have not been revised significantly, while most of the previously published portions of the first volume are different, reflecting Quinn's most recent thinking. In any case, it certainly is useful to have all of these materials gathered together in this form. This is, in my judgement, the great merit of this scholarly work.

These two volumes present a vast encyclopedia of topics and sources, primary and secondary, pertinent to the LDS hierarchy, organization, and more or less related issues. The narrative portion of these books consists of less than 700 of the more than 1,500 inclusive pages. The remaining pages, nearly one-half of these books, are composed of source citations, elaborate notes, a variety of lists, charts and the like, as well as relevant photographs of people and places, and a very helpful index to each volume. Some of this information probably is no longer readily accessible by way of the primary sources and documents; and much of it reflects Quinn's acute, highly original analysis and seminal

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interpretation of exceptionally important scholarly matters, such as the 1844 succession crisis.

There are, as with any scholarly work of such enormous size and scope, some mistakes of fact, and more than ample room for serious differences of perspective, interpretation, and opinion about the facts and what they mean. I do not concur with what Quinn construes as the facts on a couple of topics that I know intimately, for instance, and I strongly disagree with his interpretation of these matters (such as his understanding of Alpheus Cutler) too. This is to be expected and it does not diminish seriously, in and of itself, from the immense value of this massive collection and presentation of information about the LDS hierarchy.

Selected portions of this encyclopedic work may be intelligible to a general readership. A great deal of it, however, presumes much more than basic literacy in Latter-day Saint studies, and many selections will be most useful primarily to research scholars with a very specialized knowledge and expertise in these particular areas. Portions of the narrative are very engaging, but some sections are not well written. It is difficult to imagine, however, that any future work on the LDS hierarchy or most of the topics and issues addressed could proceed competently without carefully considering what is contained in these volumes.

Whether or not these books systematically pursue a coherent argument (thesis of theory) about the LDS hierarchy raises a fundamentally different set of problems. Quinn claims little more than to present the evidence (data) and, thereby, to describe the development of the LDS hierarchy

and organization. In other words, he pretends not to be engaged in much analysis (comparative or otherwise) or interpretative theorizing. This, of course, is not the case. Every supposed fact necessarily presumes some theoretical frame of reference whereby what is to be treated as the data is selected and defined as such. Furthermore, facts never merely speak for themselves: Any presentation of the facts necessarily presumes, even if only implicitly, some device or theory whereby the data are assembled and arranged in the form of a description. All descriptions also are interpretations, even if they are not very ambitious.

Indeed Quinn employs at least three theoretical devices in selecting the facts and presenting them. The most obvious (and therefore entirely taken for granted) one concerns what everyone who knows anything about the Latter-day Saints takes to be the "hierarchy" and what this entails organizationally. Another obvious one essentially is historical, involving the temporal sequence or chronological order of events (some of which are and some of which are not treated as significant) in the development of the LDS hierarchy. The third, more ambiguous device pertains to the largely implicit notion that certain other issues (such as internal organizational conflicts, kinship relationships, finances, violence, and partisan politics) directly relate in particular ways to describing the development of the LDS hierarchy.

All of these interpretative devices are employed throughout, but to a greater or lesser extent in certain portions of the larger work. The first volume, much more than the second, systematically describes the emergence and development of the Mor-

mon hierarchy from about the 1820s to the 1847 reorganization of the First Presidency. In the process, it also coherently explicates specific themes directly relevant to the LDS organization, such as the development of religious beliefs and practices, family and kinship relations, and secrecy, as well as internal and external political conflicts and violence. Unfortunately, Quinn unreflectively and uncritically employs an insider's understanding of what organizational categories and units are and are not relevant for presentation. These conceptual categories depend on a very contemporary perspective, grounded in LDS belief, about what this hierarchical organization entails.

"History" thereby gets mixed with and informed by an implicitly LDS faith-based viewpoint. Besides resulting in an annoying presentism (a flaw shared by both volumes), there consequently is nothing particularly compelling about some of Quinn's interpretative descriptions. For example, the "evolution" of various early Mormon beliefs and quorums might be interpreted with at least equal plausibility as revolutionary. Indeed, Gregory A. Prince, *Having Authority: The Origins and Development of Priesthood during the Ministry of Joseph Smith* (Independence, MO: Independence Press, 1993), advances such an interpretation. Similarly, the continuity Quinn finds in the nature of apostolic succession very easily could be described from the standpoint of the subsequent rationalization of ambiguous organizational principles and units involving a certain discontinuity. Thomas F. O'Dea's *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1857) provides a highly relevant but largely ignored model for such an

analysis and interpretation of the LDS hierarchy and organization.

The major issues and themes that Quinn selects for discussion in the second volume appear disjointed and they simply do not portray the LDS hierarchy's twentieth-century development in an adequate, coherent, or intellectually satisfying manner. The chronological exposition of these developments is subordinated to the issues discussed substantially. This requires the reader to supply considerable knowledge of Latter-day Saint history as Quinn jumps from mention (sometimes all too briefly) of this event to another across two centuries in delineating conflict within organizational units, the importance of kinship, finances, and external political relations. Since Quinn does not supply any explicit theory or general perspective for these mostly intriguing case studies, the particular issues chosen for attention may be understood as rather arbitrary. This also leaves him open to the criticism that the description is unbalanced on the whole.

It is inappropriate for any reviewer to tell Quinn how these materials should have been organized and presented more systematically. It is fair to say that without some more explicit justification for why certain issues were selected and how they are linked together, the results do not form a lucid, congruous scholarly work. Even so, these volumes contain a wealth of significant scholarly information. Quinn should be credited for this extremely consequential contribution to Mormon studies, as well as his sometimes brilliant, pioneering effort in opening up momentous, even if sensitive issues pertinent to the LDS hierarchy and organization for future discussion by scholars.

Multi-Faceted and Extraordinarily Capable

In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot. Edited by Harvard S. Heath (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997).

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., Professor of Western American History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

TO MOST PEOPLE, UTAH'S APOSTLE-senator, Reed Smoot, seems one-dimensional. Most Latter-day Saints remember him as a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and as a senator from Utah. Some have heard of the battle to retain his senatorial seat, and some erroneously see this as a conflict over whether any Mormon could sit in Congress. Some have heard of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, drafted in part by Smoot and approved over the objections of a large number of economists. Contrary to such images, however, Smoot was actually a multi-faceted and extraordinarily capable man. His diaries help to reveal this complexity.

The diaries which Harvard Heath has edited here first came to my attention shortly after the manuscripts department at the Brigham Young University library acquired them in the 1960s. At the time Smoot's son-in-law, Ariel Cardon, planned to publish a biography of the late apostle-senator. Dean Larson, who had played a central role in acquiring the diaries, asked me to spend some time searching through them to help Cardon in a revision of the manuscript. I read the diaries and Cardon's manuscript, and I made some editorial suggestions.

Then, fascinated by what I found

in the diaries, I began a detailed study of Smoot's role in the development of public land and resource policy. I wrote two papers which I offered to Cardon as part of the revision of his biography. He was not interested in using them, so I published them independently.

Later, when Harvard Heath was searching for a project for his Ph.D. dissertation, I suggested Reed Smoot, and he completed an edition of the diaries under my chairmanship.

The diaries edited here cover the period from February 1909 through August 1932. Family tradition has it that Smoot kept other diaries as well. This is probably true since the first of these diaries carries the number 3. The missing diaries may have covered at least part of his first term in office. If Smoot kept diaries after August 1932, they may have documented his defeat by Elbert D. Thomas in the 1932 election and his role as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve from 1933 through his death in 1941.

The absence of the early diaries seems particularly unfortunate. Most Latter-day Saints will recognize that the loss of the diaries for the period between his election in 1903 and the Senate vote in his favor in 1907 mean that his reflections on the struggle to keep his senatorial seat are missing. Significantly, these diaries would also have covered his early work on the Senate Public Lands and Surveys Committee, the development of his strong environmentalist views, and his support of Gifford Pinchot's and Theodore Roosevelt's forestry programs.

Be that as it may, the extant diaries are extraordinary for their frank-

ness. They offer a candid self-portrait of an indulgent and kind husband and father who agonized himself into ill health over the financial, marital, and psychological struggles of his children and the chronic illnesses of his first wife. They detail the chronic bickering within the Utah Republican organization and Smoot's Federal Bunch political machine between William Spry on the one side and Edward Callister, James Anderson, and Thomas Hull on the other. They reveal a powerful and well-respected political manipulator to whom all Republican presidents from Taft through Hoover turned for advice on legislation, appointments, and public policy. They reveal a committed environmentalist who fought for at least five years before securing the creation of the National Park Service and who loved the national forests. They reveal a patron of the arts, a devotee of beautiful architecture and city planning, and a friend of animals who helped facilitate the construction of the buildings in the Federal Triangle in Washington, D.C.; who served on the board of directors of the Smithsonian Institution; who talked Andrew Mellon into building and endowing an art gallery in Washington; who regularly visited the art galleries; and who frequently spent Sunday afternoons at the zoo. They reveal a partisan Old Guard Republican who held Democrats Woodrow Wilson and William H. King and Insurgent Republican Robert M. LaFollette in contempt, who organized a political machine of his own, and who supported other machine politicians in preference to Democrats. At the same time, they reveal an astute compromiser who worked with Progressives to rebuild the Republican party after the split of 1912. In doing

so, Smoot supported C. E. Loose, a close friend and one of the Progressives, for state party chairman. They reveal a wheeler-dealer who dipped successfully into the pork barrel for buildings and water projects for Utah. They reveal a savvy politico who refused to back statewide prohibition until he believed that its adoption would not harm the Republican party.

Readers should understand that Harvard Heath's edition is an abridgement and that it includes some of the paraphernalia scholars expect in the publication of a diary or papers. Heath has penned an introduction that interprets the scholarly writing on Smoot, discusses the provenance of the diaries, considers the procedure used in abridging the diaries, and offers a brief biography of the subject.

Since I have read all the diaries in the original, and since I have previously edited a diary and a collection of papers, I looked for certain things in the editorial procedure. First, I tried to measure how successfully Heath had identified the people mentioned in the text. Ordinarily this is done by giving the person's full name, the birth and death years, and a sentence or so of biographical information. Anyone who has done such work recognizes that there are always people an editor cannot identify. Moreover, I recognize as a reader that I may have missed the first entry on some of the individuals.

Assuming for the sake of argument that I did not miss the first mention, however, I was disappointed that several individuals were not identified or were inadequately identified. Alpha J. Higgs (43), for instance, is not identified. He was married polygamously after the 1890 Manifesto to

Bessie Badger, the sister of Carl A. Badger who served as Smoot's secretary for a number of years. Franklin K. Lane (205) is identified as Franklin Lane Knight. Madam Mountford (207) is Lydia Mary Olive Mamreoff von Finkelstein Mountford. A number of identifications that ought to have been given include Ida Maas Bamberger (127, whose full name is not given), Nicholas Murray Butler (258), Ambrose Noble McKay (288, 561), John W. Young (297), Simon Guggenheim (297), and George C. Parkinson (57). In identifying Lucien L. Nunn (46), the editor could have helped readers had he explained Nunn's connection with Telluride Power Company. Contrary to Heath's statement in identifying Jesse Knight (18), the mining millionaire secured the Democratic nomination for governor in 1908, but Smoot, Callister, Hull, and Anderson remonstrated with the First Presidency and someone applied pressure which led Knight to withdraw. His son J. William Knight ran in his stead.

Second, I tried to rate the decisions to include or leave out certain entries. Understandably, Heath had to make difficult choices about what to leave out and what to retain in order to produce a single volume edition of an extensive diary. In general, I believe he has done an excellent job. I would fault him only on one point. He

left out the entries dealing with the drafting of the Smoot-Sinnot Mineral Leasing Act of 1920. The act was an extremely important aspect of Smoot's environmental legacy and remains significant in part because it has formed the basis for the leasing of hydrocarbons and other non-locatable minerals since that time. Moreover, it established the principle of payments in lieu of taxes (PILT) to counties and states for resources extracted from the public lands.

In spite of these reservations, I would compliment Heath, Signature Books, and Smith Research Associates for making this version of the diaries available. The bookwork is beautiful. Moreover, scholars of politics and economic development will find the volume a useful aid in researching the political history of Utah, the West, and the United States during the early twentieth century. Scholars of Mormonism will find it indispensable as a tool in understanding the LDS church during the period. Historians of the family will find it a fascinating study of Smoot's role in managing an exceedingly difficult family. Historians of the arts and architecture will find it enlightening in understanding the promotion of culture and city planning in Washington, D.C.

Fact of my life

Linda Sillitoe

My job was once threatened if I published a poem.
I lived in another place
but in America and knew my rights.
I let the poem wait. Oh, I read it aloud once
and silence swelled in the room like fog;
then someone said, read it again.

My job was once threatened if I published a poem,
a fact of my life I forgot,
one my children don't know.
A journalist, sworn to truth, nothing but,
I wrote it at city desk
unassigned to the story.

My job was once threatened if I published a poem
for a public figure, no libel there,
nothing false or obscene, only love
and anger, dignity and crumbs.
The second time I read it, silence rose
and his relative, who questioned me later.

After I left my job I published the poem,
then left the place and forgot
the threat. Remembering, I ponder
the knots lodged under my shoulder blades,
asking if one truly can leave a place
where poems hold such power.

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