DIALOGUE

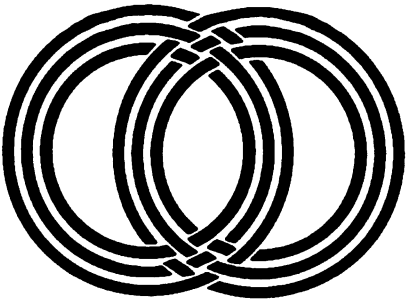
A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

EDITORS: Neal and Rebecca Chandler
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Keith Norman
COPY EDITOR: Dynette Reynolds
EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Miriam Allred, Teresa Carr
POETRY EDITOR: Susan Howe
BOOK REVIEWS: Stacy Burton
BUSINESS MANAGER: Lori Levinson
WEB SITE MANAGER: Russell Anderson
ART DIRECTOR: Warren Luch

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
John Ashton
Molly Bennion
Neal Chandler
Rebecca Chandler
Barbara Haugsoen
Val Hemming
Armand Mauss
Ross Peterson
Greg Prince
Hardy Redd
Mack Stirling

EDITORIAL BOARD
Curt Bench, Salt Lake City, Utah
Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Leesburg, Virginia
Michael Collings, Thousand Oaks, California
Danielle Beazer Dubrasky, Cedar City, Utah
Jeff Johansen, Cleveland Heights, Ohio
Brian Kagel, Dallas, Texas
Jocelyn Kearl, Austin, Texas
Rebecca Linford, Oakton, Virginia
Lachlan McKay, Kirtland, Ohio
Heather McClellan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Richard McClellan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Kerry Norman, Solon, Ohio
R. Dennis Potter, Provo, Utah
Duane Seppi, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Brad Woodworth, New Haven, Connecticut
Cherie Woodworth, New Haven, Connecticut

EDITORS EMERITI
Eugene England, G. Wesley Johnson, Robert A. Rees
Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Linda King Newell,
L. Jackson Newell, F. Ross Peterson, Mary Kay Peterson,
Martha Sonntag Bradley, Allen Dale Roberts.



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT, VOL. 36, NO. 1, SPRING 2003

Contents

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

THE PALESTINIAN ISRAELI CONFLICT RECONSIDERED	*Bradley Cook*	1
AMERICA'S WAR ON TERRORISM ONE LATTER-DAY SAINT'S PERSPECTIVE	*Robert Rees*	11
SPREADING ZION SOUTHWARD, PART II: SHARING OUR LOAVES AND FISHES	*Bradley Walker*	33
IT HAPPENS SO OFTEN	*Heidi Hemming*	48
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEEN YEARS OF ATTITUDE: THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN THE FREE AND HANSEATIC CITY OF BREMEN	*Jörg Dittberner*	51
SHORT CREEK: A REFUGE FOR THE SAINTS	*Marianne T. Watson*	71
SCIENCE AND/OR RELIGION: A DIALGOUE		
Search for an Epistemology: Three Views of Science and Religion	*David O. Tolman*	89
What the Universe Means to People Like Me	*David D. Allred*	109
Response	*David O. Tolman*	126
SPINNING GOLD: MORMONISM AND THE OLYMPIC GAMES	*Jan Shipps*	133
ENDOWING THE OLYMPIC MASSES: *LIGHT OF THE WORLD*	*David G. Pace*	151

SCRIPTURAL STUDIES

"Without a Cause" and "Ships of Tarshish": A Possible Contemporary Source for Two Unexplained Readings from Joseph Smith — *Ronald V. Huggins* — 157

FICTION

The Lone and Dreary World — *Jack Harrell* — 182

POETRY

Gardner's Song — *Max Michael Freeman* — 31

I Add Craig to My Prayers — *Marilyn Bushman-Carlton* — 70

Disrobed — *Sondra Sumsion Soderborg* — 88

The Empty Cistern — *Sally Statford* — 131

Nobody's Grandpa — *R. A. Christmas* — 150

Trouble in Eternity — *Joann Farías* — 156

Water Will — *Lewis Horne* — 158

Remuneration — *Adam C. Bradford* — 188

REVIEWS

Mormonism, Death, Salvation, and Exaltation
The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Force, Grace and Glory, by Douglas J. Davies — *Marie Cornwall* — 189

MORMON POLYGAMY AND THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION — *Kathleen Flake* — 191
The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century American by Sarah Barringer Gordon

A LANDMARK IN MORMON THOUGHT — *James McLachlan* — 193
Exploring Mormon Thought, Volume 1: The Attitudes of God, by Blake T. Ostler

HUGH NIBLEY — *Tania Rands Lyon* — 198
Hugh Nibley: "A Consecrated Life" by Boyd Jay Petersen

CONTRIBUTORS — 202

ABOUT THE ARTIST — 204

Advertising Policy and Rates: *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* accepts advertising deemed by the editors to be a) in keeping with the mission of the journal and b) of commensurate design and production quality. The following rates apply:

	1 time	2 times	3 or more
Full Page	$500	$400	$320
Half Page	$325	$260	$218
1/3 Page	$250	$200	$160

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published quarterly by the Dialogue Foundation, Business Office & Subscriptions: P.O. Box 5423, Salt Lake City, Utah 84158-0423, 801-274-8210; Etorial Office: P. O. Box 20210, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, 216-491-1830; www.dialogue journal.com. *Dialogue* has no official connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Third-class postage-paid at Shaker Heights, Ohio. Contents copyright 1999 by the Dialogue Foundation. ISSN 002-2157. Regular domestic subscription rate is $30 per year; students and senior citizens, $25 per year; single copies, $10. Regular foreign subscription rate is $35 per year; students and senior citizens, $30 per year; air mail, $55 per year; single copies, $15. *Dialogue* is also available on microforms through University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106-1346, and 18 Bedford Row, London WC1R4EJ, England.

Dialogue welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes, and comments, letters to the editors, and art. Preference is given to submissions from subscribers. Manuscripts should be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, and should be prepared according to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, including double-spacing all block quotations and notes. For the reference citation style, please consult issues from volume 26 on. If the submission is accepted for publication, an electronic version on an IBM-PC compatible diskette or as an e-mail attachment, using WordPerfect, Word, or other compatible ASCII format software, will be required along with a hard copy of the final manuscript. Send submissions to Dialogue, P.O. Box 20210, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, or inquire at dialogue@csuohio.edu. Artists wishing consideration of their artwork should send inquiries to the art director at the same address. Allow eight to twelve weeks for review of all submissions.

This periodical is indexed in the *ATLA Religion Database*, published by the American Theological Library Association, 250 S. Wacker Dr., 16th Flr., Chicago, IL 60606, email: atla@atla.com; WWW: http://www.atla.com/.

2001-2002 *DIALOGUE*

WRITING AWARDS

The Lowell L. Bennion Editor's Award
ROBERT PRICE
"Prophecy and Palimpsest"
Vol. 35, No. 3 / Fall

History and Biography
TODD M. COMPTON
"John Willard Young, Brigham Young, and the Development of Presidential Succession in the LDS Church"
Vol. 35, No. 4 / Winter

Theology and Scripture
EUGENE ENGLAND
"The Weeping God of Mormonism"
Vol. 35, No. 1 / Spring

Issues and Essays
DOUGLAS J. DAVIES
"Gethsemane and Calvary in LDS Soteriology"
Vol. 34, No. 3&4 / Fall-Winter

BRADLEY WALKER
"Spreading Zion Southward, Part I: Improving Efficiency and Equity in the Allocation of Church Welfare Resources"
Vol. 35, No. 4 / Winter

2001-2002 *DIALOGUE*

WRITING AWARDS

Steven Molen Student Essay Award
SETH P. CLARKE
"The Proper Order in Which You Found It"
Vol. 34, No. 3&4 / Fall-Winter
STEPHEN C. TAYSOM
"A Uniform and Common Recollection:
Joseph Smith's Legacy, Polygamy,
and the Creation of
Mormon Public Memory, 1852-2002"
Vol. 35, No. 3 / Fall

Fiction
KAREN ROSENBAUM
"Out of the Woods"
Vol. 35, No. 1 / Spring

Margaret Rampton Munk Poetry Award
CLIFTON H. JOLLEY
"Reflections on the Chevrolet"
Vol. 35, No. 1 / Spring

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought

announces a

Call for Papers

on

WAR AND PEACE

Original critical and personal essays, poetry, fiction, and artwork are solicited for a special thematic issue of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* for publication in early 2004. Articles, essays, and creative work are welcome on any aspect of war and peace likely to interest *Dialogue* readers. An electronic copy in Word or WordPerfect must be received by the new 2004 editorial team no later than 1 September 2003. Interested contributors should direct queries, proposals, and manuscripts to:

Karen Marguerite Moloney and Levi S. Peterson
Editors-elect
Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought
DialogueMSS@aol.com
Queries may be made by phone to the editors at (801) 538-0924.

All contributions will be acknowledged.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Even the poem!

I simply had to sit down and write you a note saying that the current issue (Fall 2002) is one of the best in years, a rich mixture of theology, speculation, history, and "personal voices." I especially enjoyed the new stuff [on Joseph Smith] from Price and Taysom, but it was all good, even the sestina.

Gene England would be happy!

Mario S. De Pillis
Amherst, Massachusetts

A Post Colonial Mormonism?

I just finished Vol. 35, no. 2 (Fall 2002). The History, Part 3, of *Dialogue*, while a bit dry, documented the reality of independent thinkers and provided faces and feelings for so many issues I had only heard of in rumors. With regard to Duffy and Olaiz's "Correlated Praise: the Development of the Spanish Hymnal," I have often made many of the same observations about the struggle of the international church and the poor assimilation of whatever is good and praiseworthy in other cultures. Of course, as Duffy and Olaiz clearly state, the textual history of a hymnal may be a bit trivial to sustain a criticism of correlation. Still, I too have had my struggles with the unimaginative verse and rhyme of the green Spanish hymnbook. More importantly, I have also been disoriented by the unquestioned adoption of newer versions as "better translations." I did appreciate the documentation of lost hymns, but the harsh critique should also apply to the filtering of the old red (and brown) English versions in that they too had to be selected and abridged. A good reason to have done so, as Duffy and Olaiz point out, is that the tunes were no longer recognized, and such disuse is a natural consequence of change. Until Spanish-speaking saints develop their own independent (and commercially viable?) alternatives to the official hymnbook, the repressed creativity argued for in the article will remain unattested.

One might make a smaller point about the rationale for eliminating archaic language in the hymns. I don't know how many archaic constructions persist in the English hymnbook, but they certainly abound if only because of our persistence in using a late sixteenth century translation of the scriptures. Spanish LDS practice has not been encumbered by such a tradition. The official version of the Bible was translated by Reina and corrected for the queen by Valera in an even earlier era (1569 according to my LDS acquired Nelson version), but the language was revised and made contemporary in 1862 and then again as recently as 1960. Even more salient is

the fact that the outdated English malapropism of second person usage (thee and thou) also does not apply in present day Spanish, not even in prayer. We Spanish speakers regularly speak to God in the familiar forms (tú, vos, or whatever the dialect allows). We do this commonly in personal prayer, but almost always in public prayer, and, thus, Rocky's modern Philadelphian invocation "Yo, Father" is probably closer to the Spanish language experience. Strange as this may sound to English Mormon ears, it occurs without necessarily decreasing the sense of worshipful respect—the concern most commonly cited for using archaic language in English LDS prayers. One might even speculate that it is this persistence in using non-current forms of English that has misled a younger and a-grammatical generation, as well as impressionable new members, into concluding talks addressed to the congregation with the ubiquitous and vaguely blasphemous "in the name of *thy* son."

I also want to comment on Craig Livingston's "Lions, Brothers, and the Idea of an Indian Nation: The Mexican Revolution in the Minds of Anthony W. Ivins and Rey L. Pratt, 1910-1917." The article seems to have had a hurried editing, but it is a pleasure to see someone document and juxtapose the thinking of two saints in contact with my people. In spite of my great respect for Elder Ivins, I think Livingston could have made his points just as convincingly with a much briefer presentation. As for Rey L. Pratt, perhaps the Mexican saints adored him precisely because he identified with their views about the revolution, the plight of the poor (Can anyone speak of the true Mexican culture and people without addressing the poor?), and the saving role of the gospel. While Ivins wavered and felt constrained to flip flop his opinions and investment in Mexico, Pratt remained constant and continued to deepen his empathy.

For any Mexican reading this article, there is an obvious omission in the attempt to contextualize the period. Profirio Diaz and his *cientifcos* may be viewed as visionary and accepting of international trade and opinion, but the masses in Mexico view him as a despotic traitor, who could not run away fast enough from his Mexicanness. To even mention him in the article without such qualifiers suggests that either the writer does not understand the current Mexican view or that he subscribes to the American-Mormon-as-foreigner delusion that economic progress justified exploitation of the masses. A similar lack of empathy could be attributed to the author's description of the invasion of Mexico simply as "US arms poured into Veracruz." Mexicans continue carefully to document every intervention by the US, political or religious, and, thus, more people like Pratt and Pierce are sorely needed. The Indian nation is not yet come, and many, like the late Prophet Spencer W. Kimball, still look for the time when the Lamanites shall blossom as a rose. Until they do, the revolution of the gospel will not be fulfilled.

Ricardo Diaz
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Beyond Equation

In a classic reduction *ad absurdum* Robert Patterson (Letters, Vol. 35, No. 2) attempts to reduce miracles to a mathematical formula. He postulates that the probability of a miracle taking place [p(M)] is dependent on individual worthiness [w(I)], individual effort [e(I)] and time [T] (millennium in which the miracle occurs), divided by the difficulty of the miracle [d(M)]e There are several problems with Patterson's calculus of miracles. For example, some remarkable miracles with a high rate of difficulty take place without the individual being either worthy or exerting effort. One has only to think of Paul on the road to Damascus. The Miracle (the appearance of Christ) would seem to rank high on the difficulty scale (since few in the history of the world have been blessed by such an appearance), and yet Paul was singularly unworthy (having persecuted the saints, including giving silent ascent to the stoning of Stephen); he not only was not exerting effort to make a miracle happen, his entire will was directed against Christ and his kingdom. Thus the miraculous appearance of Christ to Paul just doesn't add up, so to speak, in Patterson's equation.

Another problem with the formula is that it suggests that a miracle is more likely to happen if it has a low as opposed to high difficulty value ("God is more likely to banish the vague aches of arthriti. . .than he is to regrow a severed limb"). There is no validation for such a claim in either scripture or the teachings of modern prophets. That is, one would wonder, what does it say about a God who would choose to perform lots of easy miracles rather than one difficult one? If, as Gabriel said to Mary, "With God nothing shall be impossible," or, as Jesus said to his disciples, "With God all things are possible" (Matt 19:26), then the degree of difficulty shouldn't be a factor for God.

Another problem with Patterson's formula is the impossibility of our knowing the difficulty or possibility of certain prayed for miracles. That is, mortals may pray for something which they believe is possible but which is not. A painful example would be a homosexual who lives an exemplary life, who has faith, who has received priesthood blessings that, if he has enough faith, God will change him into a heterosexual and who is taught that not only is such a change possible but that God highly desires it. Such a person might meet Patterson's requirements only to be disappointed that a miracle doesn't happen because changing a person's sexual orientation is not something that God does or intends to do. Thus, Patterson's easy formula might well erode rather than confirm a person's faith in miracles.

It is in fact not mathematical certainty but the uncertainty of miracles, their "apparent arbitrariness" and the *apparent* capriciousness of the heavens which require that we have faith that they will happen. As Donald Goddard has written in his book on Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "If miracles could be had to order [or by applying a mathematical formula], nothing would be asked of *us*. We'd acknowledge God's

power and go on unchanged."

A faithful person might well believe that miracles happen, but if she is thoughtful, she will also tend to evaluate claimed miracles in the light of both her faith and her thought. In doing so, she will acknowledge God's infinite power to make miracles happen but at the same time doubt some things that others call miracles. She will also continue to live with the tension caused between the claim that God performs certain seemingly insignificant miracles (helping someone find lost car keys) and God's apparent refusal to stop mad men from slaughtering innocents or his apparent refusal to save millions of people from starving to death or dying of AIDS.

As I have been teaching the New Testament in gospel doctrine class this year, I am struck anew by the beauty and power of Christ's miracles. To demonstrate that he was inaugurating a radical new world order, he showed God's power in a way that it had not been seen in Israel in five hundred years. Thousands flocked to see this new miracles worker, but only a few believed in him beyond the miracles. Three short years later, all of those who followed him to see the miracles abandoned him. They failed to see that the real miracle of his life was that he taught us to believe without miracles, to trust in him in the face of a world gone mad, and to believe that the most important miracle he wrought was making it possible for us to do the hard work of changing our lives through his miraculous atonement.

Robert Rees
Brookdale, California

Either/Or

Mark Thomas's essay, "Form Criticism of Joseph Smith's 1823 Vision of the Angel Moroni," begins promisingly but disappointingly passes over his promised form-critical analysis of Smith's 1823 vision much too quickly and jumps into a debate over whether or not the vision was real, or at least hallucinated. Rather than analyzing the various sources as one would expect of a form-critical approach, Thomas makes various unsupported assertions about the sources, which makes it impossible for the average reader to assess the validity of his conclusions. This serious gap makes any claim of "multiple attestation," whether true or not, quite meaningless. Vague generalization and conjecture are no substitute for analysis.

Throughout Thomas is uncertain if he is a critic or an apologist, which often leads him to make contradictory assertions. Agreeing with Michael Marquardt and Wesley Walters that Smith made "fundamental" changes to his 1823 vision, particularly his insertion of his own inspired version of Malachi 3-4, Thomas concludes that "Smith placed new words in the mouth of the angel—not to relate history, but to address the theological concerns of Mormonism in 1838" (p. 151). Here Thomas seems willing to admit that Smith consciously added words to address theological concerns, but then he curiously becomes an apologist for Smith when he rejects the idea that Smith intentionally altered his story as "too simplistic" and offers the "more plausible explanation" (rather speculation) that

Smith "simply mixed up his own meditations on scripture with his previous vision" (p. 160). Thomas's first statement is undoubtedly closer to the truth. Being confused about which passages the angel quoted in 1823 is one thing, but to suggest that Smith believed the angel quoted a passage he had just consciously invented to support his and Oliver Cowdery's 1836 vision of Elijah is quite another.

Thomas's major weakness consists in failing to come to terms with his own findings. Thomas suggests that we assess Smith's vision as we would any historical event, or account of an event, that has no witnesses. Normally the wholesale insertion of anachronistic elements is regarded by the historian and trial lawyer as impeachable evidence. Smith's willingness to alter the vision to provide proof for his evolving theology should raise a flag of caution against uncritical acceptance of even the story's historical core. Indeed, historians are under no obligation to regard as true a story that Smith himself freely manipulated.

Nevertheless, Thomas gives what he thinks are two "rational" arguments to support his conclusion that Smith had a real vision (or hallucination). First, he believes Smith "probably did see a vision" because the story is consistent with Smith's "broader social setting" (p. 156). Evidently Thomas assumes that a lie would be otherwise. This *non-sequitur* is accompanied by other fallacious reasoning. His statement that "no historical anachronisms exist in the original core narratives" begs the question since he arrived at the core story by stripping out the anachronisms. He cites "the tradition of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors who claimed to translate a buried ancient text" as somehow lending support to Smith's story, but of the two examples he gives, Solomon Spaulding and a letter written by Jesus, one was fiction while the other was a forgery. His argument that Smith's claimed vision should be given credit since historians do not question the dozens of benign visions experienced by Smith's contemporaries is an *argumentum ad hominem* (circumstantial). To pressure others to accept an argument for fear of being inconsistent says nothing about the validity of that argument. Nevertheless, had Smith's contemporaries intentionally inserted anachronistic material in their accounts for manipulative reasons, the historian would have every right to suspect dishonesty.

The second reason Thomas gives for the verity of Smith's vision is that his mention of repentance is consistent with what one would expect of the "psychological setting" preceding a stress-induced vision (hallucination). While Thomas believes this incidental detail "provides the strongest evidence that Joseph Smith actually had a vision" (p 156), he weakens his argument by on one hand stating that repentance is a "throw-away detail," while on the other that it is "the common setting for evangelical visions" (p. 157). Regardless, Thomas again assumes that a lie would be otherwise and fails to realize that the same stressors that can drive some individuals to hallucinate can push others to fabricate. Thomas therefore overstates his

case. Moreover, I do not believe the element of repentance fits with the appearance of a treasure-guardian spirit and should probably be considered part of Smith's later manipulations.

Normally, the form critic regards the incompatible elements in a story as later intrusions, but Thomas struggles to harmonize treasure-seeking and "evangelical" Christian elements. Smith's encounter with the spirit of a dead person, for instance, harmonizes with treasure lore but not with the traditional concept of angels as God's special creations. While one might link Smith's 1823 necromantic encounter with white or Christian magic, by no stretch of the imagination can it be described as a "typical evangelical vision. . .[of] an angel" (p. 146). Thus Thomas's analysis is much too simplistic, for Smith did not transform his story from a purely treasure-seeking context to one that was evangelical, but rather from the context of Christian magic to one closer to evangelical orthodoxy.

Thomas also neglects to consider the larger context that motivated Smith's changes. Although changes were already underway, the downplaying of magic and treasure searching evident in Smith's 1834-35 history with Oliver Cowdery and in his 1838-39 history were undoubtedly responses to E. D. Howe's 1834 publication of affidavits that described the coming forth of the Book of Mormon as a continuation of Smith's previous career as a treasure seer. Smith responded not only by removing the folk-magic elements in his account of his 1823 vision but also by misrepresenting his evolvement in treasure searching, describing himself as a disinterested hired hand rather than the seer who directed the treasure searchers where to dig. In fact, Smith never mentions his use of a seer stone, either in treasure searching or translating. These and other manipulations, which go far beyond "performance variations," naturally lead skeptics and historians to doubt whether Smith's claimed vision ever had the integrity of an actual historical event in Smith's mind.

Thomas's conclusion that Smith's story is based on what he euphemistically calls "sense data" implies that it was either real or apparitional (hallucinatory), although strictly speaking only optical vision can provide "sense data." In fact, John Dominic Crossan's thesis to which Thomas refers is that some of the New Testament accounts of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances may have been based on stress-induced hallucination, which is a well-established principle in psychology. However, Thomas's attempt to apply Crossan's stress-hallucination hypothesis to Joseph Smith is nothing new, for it is only a variation of the old unconscious fraud theory first advanced by I. Woodbridge Riley in 1903. Occasionally the theory reappears in the writings of those who do not allow facts to get in the way of a good theory. There are several reasons to reject the unconscious fraud theory but the most conclusive evidence is the plates themselves, as an objective artifact, which Smith allowed his family and friends–even those hostile to his claims (such as Lucy Harris and Isaac Hale)—to handle while covered with a cloth or concealed in a box. The in-

escapable conclusion is that plates were either real or they were fake.

Dan Vogel
Westerville, Ohio

Translated Correctly!

Earl M. Wunderli's critique makes a number of excellent points and is long overdue. But he fails to raise the most obvious objection to attempts by Sorenson and others to make Book of Mormon "north" into "west" (or some other direction): unlike other translated works, the Book of Mormon was supposedly translated with divine aid, and God himself pronounced the translation correct (D&C 18:2, 17:6). The eighth Article of Faith qualifies Mormon belief in the Bible only so far as it is "translated correctly," but no such qualification applies to the Book of Mormon. Thus, Mormons would seem to be required to believe that the Book of Mormon is indeed "translated correctly." But if some Nephite word meaning "east" or "northeast" were translated into 19th century English as "north," then that would be an incorrect translation.

The same objection, of course, applies to suggestions that the Nephite word translated as "horse" was really a word that meant "deer."

The admission by Sorenson and other LDS scholars that the native populations of ancient America may have come from Asia as much as eleven thousand years ago also flies in the face of Mormon doctrine relating to the Great Flood, since that Flood had to cover the whole earth, including North America (Noah supposedly lived near modern Missouri) and it wiped out all human beings except Noah's family. That admission seems inconsistent with a belief in the Flood.

Richard Packham
Roseburg, Oregon.

Glossary

Oh, I just love all the new words and phrases I've picked up from the Fall 2002 Dialogue:

"Public memory" amounts to falsehoods presently believed by most members of the church. "Faithful history" is the same thing.

Mark Twain said that a mine was a hole in the ground owned by a liar. A "pseudepigraphist" is the same kind of person who finds an old religious book.

"Limited geography" refers to Indians, yet undiscovered, who have Palestinian ancestors.

And an "affair" amounts to amicable communication between pen pals.

Joseph Jeppson
Woodside, California

The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict Reconsidered[1]

Bradley J. Cook

I. Context

For more than fifty years, the conflict between Palestinian Arab nationalism and Jewish Zionism has been one of the most protracted and seemingly irreconcilable conflicts in the world. Most people have difficulties discussing this conflict in a detached or academic way because it is so fraught with emotion and consequence.

This conflict has caught the world's attention precisely because it centers on a land that is holy to three of the world's great religions: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. The ancient connection placed by all three religions on Jerusalem, in particular, is a complicating and exacerbating issue to the political dimensions of the conflict. Muslims have a special connection to Jerusalem since it was the place of the *Mi'raj* where the prophet Muhammad ascended to the throne of God. It is also the location of the Haram al-Sharif, the third holiest site in all Islam, behind Mecca and Medina. Jerusalem is significant to Jews because it houses the Western Wall of the destroyed Second Temple, which was in turn built on the ruins of the Temple of Solomon. This wall is often regarded as the most holy place in Judaism. Jerusalem is significant to Christians, of course, because it is so central to Jesus' mortal ministry and crucifixion. It has particular significance to Latter-day Saints because it will be the site of a great latter-day temple to be constructed before the second coming of Christ.

The conflict is also emotional because we associate it with images of persecuted Jews escaping the horrors and butchery of the German Holocaust and other forms of anti-Semitism. The conflict likewise conjures up images of millions of Palestinians who have been displaced from their homeland and have become refugees in the West Bank, Gaza, or other neighboring Arab countries. In

---

1. An earlier draft of this paper was delivered at a conference of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the International Society, David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, Brigham Young University, August 19, 2002.

light of the horrors of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism, one might wonder why Western society has found a way to absolve those sins at the cost of Palestinian lives and why this is deemed the fault of the Palestinians. We can also ask with equal poignancy: Does not Israel have a right to live in peace and security, as we see Israeli civilians murdered and maimed by the carnage of Palestinian suicide bombers? While we feel empathy for Israeli victims, we also see broadcasts of Israeli soldiers shooting young Palestinians and Israeli tanks plowing down Palestinian homes. This is a very difficult issue, which eludes any easy solutions or analysis, but which deserves greater understanding and discourse.

Both Israelis and Palestinians have valid and legitimate claim to the same land, and both can and have laid claim to victimhood. Both have resorted to aimless and indiscriminate terrorism in the absolute certainty of their own moral rightness. Although we in the West usually associate terrorism with violence perpetrated by Palestinians, and terror carried out by individuals or small groups, we must keep in mind that state violence carried out by Israel (while seen as carrying more legitimacy) can often be defined as terrorism by other means.

II. How Latter-day Saints Might View this Conflict

How might we as Latter-day Saints view this conflict, given what we know about prophecy and modern day revelation? Where should our sympathies lie, particularly with our understanding of prophecy that Judah's scattered remnants shall return to the "land of their inheritance, which is the land of Jerusalem" (3 Nephi 20:29)? Are not the immigration of hundreds of thousands of the Jews to Palestine, beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the establishment of the Israeli state in May 1948, direct fulfillment of prophecy? If so, shouldn't we as Latter-day Saints somehow lend at least our moral support to the government of Israel and its policies because it is the closest approximation we currently have for the political embodiment of God's chosen people?

I hear this argument often in my discussions with students or others who have a particular interpretation of scripture. Latter-day Saints are not unique in their sympathies toward Israel. Most Christian Americans share a transcendental affinity toward Israel and a sense of a sacred responsibility to protect and preserve Israel. Some (including some policy makers) have a serious concern that, by abdicating our responsibility to defend Israel, America risks the withdrawal of divine providence. As evidence of the pervasive Christian Zionist ethic in the U.S., we need only remember the more than $3 billion a year in U.S. military and economic aid that goes to Israel.

Let me deconstruct this argument and provide, perhaps, an alternative way of looking at the issue as Latter-day Saints. First, let us turn the discussion back to the prophet Abraham, from whom both Palestinians and Israelis claim lineage. In the Old Testament, God established an everlasting covenant with Abra-

ham and his "seed. . .in their generations" involving certain priesthood blessings as well as a certain piece of real estate, that of "all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession" (Gen. 17: 8). The land of Canaan stretches west of the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea—part of modern Israel. These blessings were intended for *all* the descendents and covenant people of Abraham, not a particular line of Abraham's descendents, although Isaac and Jacob (i.e., Israel) have been explicitly identified as inheritors. That which constitutes a "covenant people" (those who have access to the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant) is contingent upon righteousness and the keeping of God's commandments. The Lord says in 2 Nephi 30:2, "For behold, I say unto you that as many of the Gentiles as will repent are the covenant people of the Lord; and as many of the Jews as will not repent shall be cast off; for the Lord covenanteth with none save it be with them that repent and believe in his Son, who is the holy one of Israel."

In other words, eligibility for covenant blessings is less about family lineage and more about righteousness. So, are the Jews then, as descendents of Isaac, God's covenant people? They could be, but not necessarily. Are Palestinians, as descendents of Ishmael, God's covenant people? They could be, but not necessarily. Are Latter-day Saints, as descendents of Jacob, God's covenant people? We could be, but not necessarily. The answer to these questions depends on a variety of factors, not the least of which is the purity of our hearts. The promise to the progeny of Abraham for land inheritance has always been contingent upon spiritual righteousness. Thus, both Palestinians *and* Israelis have legitimate spiritual and transcendent claim to the land of Canaan, but only if they keep the commandments of God. Neither has exclusive title to the land, particularly if they are disobedient. Indeed, the scriptures indicate that this land shall be rightfully occupied *by more than one people*. The prophet Ezekiel said:

> And it shall come to pass, that ye shall divide [the land] by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you: and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; *they shall have inheritance* with you among the tribes of Israel. (Ezek. 47:22)

So, what are we to make of the remarkable—even miraculous—return of Jews to Palestine over the past 120 years? Is this not a realization of prophecy? The scriptures clearly indicate that the Lord *himself* will gather his people back to the land of their inheritance. Could the Zionist ideology of the late nineteenth century (which was largely a secular, socialist, nationalist movement) and its subsequent brutal military occupation be the chosen apparatus of God for the return of his people? I have always been troubled as a Latter-day Saint with the incongruous notion of the Lord guiding one particular group of his children in subjugating and abusing another group of his children, particularly in light of the commandment to "renounce war and proclaim peace" (D&C 98:16-17). The establishment of the state of Israel and its bloody wake are historical facts, to be sure. Yet to witness the founding and expansion of the Israeli state at the ex-

pense of so much Palestinian suffering gives me deep moral pause. Is God responsible for the prolonged adversity, humiliation, and suffering arising from the austere political and economic conditions of the Palestinians? Is he responsible for their hunger, illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, hopelessness and their despair? Fortunately, nothing in the scriptures holds us to an image of a God who orders the establishment of one political entity at the expense of another people.

It can be argued, I think persuasively, through the Book of Mormon that the gathering of Judah to their land of inheritance as prophesied by Zechariah (2:12; 8:7-8), Ezekiel (11:17; 28:25; 36:24), Isaiah (11:12), Jeremiah (16:14-15; 30:3), and others is largely yet to come. While we might interpret the current state of Israel and the Jewish immigration as what Dan Peterson calls a "preparatory gathering," he also notes that "it does not seem to meet the Book of Mormon's requirements for the 'gathering' in the full sense of the word."[2] This opens the possibility that this precursor gathering may not necessarily have been led by the Lord, but perhaps by well meaning men. Dan Peterson distinguishes between political Israel and spiritual Israel, between the nation-state of Israel and the Israel established for the eternal purposes of God, and, he asserts, they are not one and the same.[3] Even the apostle Paul indicates "they are not all Israel, which are of Israel" (Rom. 9:6).

We must remember that the covenant of the Lord to his people is always contingent upon righteousness, as outlined in 1 Nephi 19:15:

> Nevertheless, when that day cometh, saith the prophet, that they (the Jews) no more turn aside their hearts against the Holy One of Israel, then will He remember the covenants which he made to their fathers.

So, when will this gathering occur? The scriptures provide some insight into the particular timing of the gathering.

> Wherefore, after they (the Jews) are driven to and fro, for thus saith the angel, many shall be afflicted in the flesh and shall not be suffered to perish because of the prayers of the faithful; they shall be scattered, and smitten, and hated; nevertheless, the lord will be merciful unto them, that *when they shall come to the knowledge of their Redeemer*, they shall be gathered together again to the lands of their inheritance. (2 Nephi 6:11; see also 2 Nephi 22:12; 2 Nephi 10:7)

Furthermore,

> And I will remember the covenant which I have covenanted with them that I would

2. Daniel C. Peterson, *Abraham Divided: An LDS Perspective on the Middle East* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1992), 356.

3. Ibid, 364.

> gather them together in mine own due time, that I would give unto them again the land of their fathers for their inheritance, which is the land of Jerusalem, which is the promised land unto them forever, saith the Father. And it shall come to pass that the time cometh, when the fullness of my gospel shall be preached unto them; And they shall believe in me, that I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and shall pray unto the Father in my name. Then shall their watchman lift up their voice, and with the voice together shall they sing; for they shall see eye to eye. *Then will the Father gather them together again*, and give unto them Jerusalem for the land of their inheritance. (3 Nephi 20:29-33, emphasis added; see also 21:23-28)

So, while a return of the Jews to the land of Jerusalem is a literal fact, apparently it will occur sometime in the future and only after they are brought to the knowledge of Christ, which of course, has not yet occurred. Indeed, it may not fully occur until after the Savior comes again. When the Lord returns, the land of Palestine will be inhabited by Jews who have *not yet* been converted to Christ:

> And then shall the Lord set his foot upon this mount, and it shall cleave in twain and the earth shall tremble, and reel to and fro, and the heavens shall shake. . . .And then shall the Jews look upon me and say: What are these wounds in thine hands and in thy feet? Then shall they know that I am the Lord; for I will say unto them: These wounds are the wounds with which I was wounded in the house of my friends. I am he who was lifted up. I am Jesus that was crucified. I am the Son of God. And then shall they weep because of their iniquities; then shall they lament because they persecuted their king. (D&C 45:48, 51-53; see also Zechariah 14:3-5 and 13: 6)

3 Nephi 21 speaks plainly of a particular sequence of events as "a sign, that ye may know *the time* when these things shall be about to take place—that I shall gather in, from their long dispersion, my people." First, the gospel shall come forth "from the Gentiles" (v. 6), and "a new city will be built, called the New Jerusalem" (v. 23), "*then* shall the work commence with the Father among all nations in the preparing the way whereby his people may be gathered home to the land of their inheritance" (v. 28). Apparently, the time spoken of—when God himself will do the gathering—is sometime yet in the future.

What should we make of the current political Israel? Should we have no empathy and compassion for the terrible and horrific conditions which spawned the establishment of the State of Israel? I believe we should. Does this mean we can justify anti-Israeli sentiments? No, I believe we should have sympathy for Israel, just as we should for any peoples who have suffered so unjustly and so cruelly at the hands of their fellow man. However, we also have a responsibility to see the government of Israel and its policies for what they are: an earthly nation-state struggling as all nation-states do for power, security, and autonomy, and not as a divinely ordained or guided political entity. As such, we should be very circumspect about how and in what form we provide financial or political

support for Israel and not exempt them from the same accountability we demand of ourselves and other nations when it comes to human rights and international law. We should work to actively publish peace and preserve the dignity and survival of Israelis and Palestinians alike. The Lord, as always, will accomplish his ends in spite of the foibles and evils of men and women, but I do not believe he inspires evil to accomplish those ends. It is seductive to take sides in this emotional issue, which seems so significant, but this is a temptation we as Latter-day Saints must resist. Taking sides in this conflict is not compulsory; indeed, by doing so we lose any moral high ground we may have to bring understanding to both sides. Elder Howard W. Hunter, in a 1979 speech entitled "All are Alike unto God," cited the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as an example of exclusiveness that we as Latter-day Saints must avoid:

> Both the Jews and the Arabs are children of our Father. They are both children of promise, and as a church we do not take sides. We have love for and interest in each. The purpose of the gospel of Jesus Christ is to bring about love, unity, and brotherhood of the highest order. . . .[T]o our kinsman of Abraham, we say: We are your brethren—we look upon no nation or nationality as second-class citizens.[4]

Many argue that armed and bloody conflict is inevitable in that part of the world, so why should we bother getting involved? While this may be regrettably true, we must take care to avoid reducing the current conflict to a religious one between Muslims and Jews or Muslims and Christians. This conflict is not about differences in theology; it is a modern politico-national struggle between two peoples making claim to the same piece of ground. Is the great and final conflict of Armageddon a religious conflict between members of different faiths? The apocalyptic literature of Jews, Christians, and Muslims share important characteristics in this regard. All three faiths believe there will be an imminent cosmic conflict between God's chosen seed and forces of evil. All three believe the world will conspire against them individually, and it will appear that they are on the very verge of annihilation. All three believe that, at the very moment it appears they will be destroyed, they will be saved by a messianic figure, *mahdi*, who will preserve them and fight their battles for them.[5] Could it be that all three are right? Is it possible that the world will continue to become more polarized, not along religious or even political lines, but between the believers in God and the godless? That perhaps the righteous spoken of in this great and final conflict are true and righteous believers of *all* religious denominations,

---

4. Howard W. Hunter, "All Are Alike Unto God," BYU Fireside, February 4, 1979.

5. In the predominent Suni Muslim tradition that figue is Jesus Christ, sof of Mary. See Muhammad ibn 'Ahd Allah al-Kisa'i, *Gisas al-Anbiya'* (Tales of the Prophets), Trans. Wheeler M. Thackston Jr. (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1997) 334, 335; See also *Sahih Muslim*, trans. 'Abdul Hamid Siddigi, 4 (Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House, n.d.), 1501-1503.

who are bound by their common belief in God and who are compelled to bear one another's burdens because in order to secure their common survival as they come under attack by the wicked? Zion, after all, is defined in D&C 97:21 as "the pure in heart." It is also prophesied, "all that fight against Zion shall be destroyed" (1 Nephi 22:14). Thus, in that final and terrible moment, we as Latter-day Saints may come together with the pure in heart, regardless of their religious affiliation, and together we will see with perfect clarity the true brotherhood of man as we kneel at the Savior's feet and he declares, "I am he who was lifted up. I am Jesus that was crucified. I am the Son of God" (D&C 45:53). That will be a great day, a day to finally herald a healing and everlasting peace to a land and a world rife with conflict.

America's War on Terrorism: One Latter-day Saint's Perspective

Robert A. Rees

> [God] maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth. (Ps. 46:9)
>
> Every road towards a better state of society is blocked, sooner or later, by war, by threats of war, by preparations for ward.
>
> —*Aldous Huxley*[1]

EVER SINCE THE DARK HOURS OF SEPTEMBER 11, I have been disquieted about what is now called "The War on Terrorism." While I share America's moral outrage over the barbaric attacks on our nation and its people, I have also felt uneasy about the quick polarizing rhetoric, the boasting of our power, the clamoring calls for revenge, and the military force we have unleashed upon other countries. I have wondered if there weren't a better alternative than to launch an all-out assault on a country (Afghanistan) that had already been devastated by recent wars (and which had suffered a million casualties in the decade of the nineties), to wage a preemptive war against another nation (Iraq) on the supposition that it was tied to the September 11 attacks, and to undertake the seemingly impossible eradication of terror from the face of the earth, if not from the hearts of its inhabitants.

The problem with declaring a war on terrorism is that it is no more practicable to win a war against a military tactic than it would be to win a war against an attitude or a belief. As Chris Hedges argues, "We Americans find ourselves in the dangerous position of going to war not against a state but against a phantom."[2] There is no universal agreement as to what constitutes terrorism. Like

1. *Ends and Means* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), 89.
2. Chris Hedges, *War: A Force that Gives Us Meaning* (New York: Public Affairs, 2002), 10.

beauty, it is in the eye of the beholder. If we call what happened on September 11 "terrorism," as I believe we must, should we also include what our government did to undermine democratic processes in such places as Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua (where we funded the terrorism of Contras by selling arms to Iran, a country that sponsors terrorism!)? What about the firebombing of Dresden and the use of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Was our use of napalm in Korea and Vietnam "terrorism"? As we are learning from the tenuous alliances put together by President Bush since September 11, one country's "freedom fighters" are another country's "terrorists." As Lewis H. Lapham has observed, "When wrapped up in the ribbons of patriotic slogans, terrorism becomes a show of diplomatic resolve or a lesson in democracy [to be used against] Cambodian peasants, dissident Soviet intellectuals, Israeli disco dancers, Chechen rebels, Palestinian refugees, Iraqi children. . . .Except as a form of terrorism, how else do we describe the Mutual Assured Destruction that for the past fifty years has trapped the civilian populations of the earth?"[3]

Anyone can define terrorism on a basis which suits the expediency of the moment. We considered Osama bin Laden a freedom fighter when the CIA trained him and other Muslims in terrorist tactics to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan. Ironically, he then used the tactics he had been taught against his teachers. Similarly, we condemn Saddam Hussein as a terrorist for using weapons of mass destruction against his own people even though we supplied him with chemical weapons and registered no protest when he used them in his war with Iran.

During President Bush's visit to Asia in February 2002, he called North Korea "evil" for its nuclear weapons program and for selling missiles to Iran and Pakistan.[4] In Beijing the next day he called China a friend and praised its support of the American war on terrorism, knowing full well that, like North Korea, China was developing its own nuclear arsenal and was also selling missile technology to Iran and Pakistan. (China was eager to join the anti-terrorism team, of course, to justify its actions against "terrorist" Tibetans.) President Bush failed to mention the subject of Pakistan's purchase of these deadly goods during an earlier visit to the U.S. by President Perrez Musharraf. One can understand why the president couldn't be too hard on those who do dirty business with the "Axis of Evil" since his own vice-president, Dick Cheney, immediately prior to taking office, was CEO of Haliburton Industries, which, contrary to federal law, has been selling equipment and technology to Iran, Libya, and Iraq.[5]

---

3. "Spoils of War," *Harper's* (March 2002): 8-9.

4. David E. Sanger, "China is Treated More Gently than North Korea for Same Sin," *New York Times*, 21 February 2002, A8.

5. Carola Hoyos, "A Discreet Way of Doing Business with Iraq," *London Financial Times*, 3 November 2000. See also Bob Herbert, "Dancing with the Devil," *New York Times*, 22 May 2003, A 31. Herbert notes the irony of Haliburton's being awarded billions of dollars to manage Iraqi oil and help repair the damage done by our bombing.

One of the most egregious examples of our inconsistency was our long-time support of one of Africa's most notorious terrorists—Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader who, according to Chris Hedges, "murdered and tortured with a barbarity that far outstripped the Taliban."[6] As Nicolas Kristof declared in an article entitled, "Our Own Terrorist," "Savimbi. . .murdered and tortured countless civilians over the years; the Angolan civil war that he sustained may be responsible for 500,000 deaths since 1975." Kristof added, "But he was our warlord, not the other side's, and so we were as blind to his brutality as the Saudis and Pakistanis are to the sins of their terrorists."[7]

Nowhere is our inconsistency on terrorism more evident than in our relations with Saudi Arabia, our long-time ally in the Middle East and home to fifteen of the nineteen September 11 hijackers who killed over 3,000 civilians on their suicide missions. Even though the Saudi royal family has created economic and social conditions which breed terrorism, even though a number of Saudi organizations fund Islamic terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda, and even though the Saudi government funds hundreds of Madrasa schools across the Islamic world which train hundreds of thousands of young Muslims to hate America—even so, because of its oil, Saudi Arabia is seen as our partner in the war against terrorism. Oil (and arms) may also explain why, last August, following years of business dealings between Presidents George H.W. and George W. Bush and members of the bin Laden family, the latter President Bush, much to the dismay of FBI agents, called off investigations of Osama bin Laden's brothers, Omar and Abdullah, and of WAMY, a charity suspected by the FBI of funding terrorism. As Gregory Palast of the BBC reported, "[The government] wanted to keep the pro-American Saudi royal family in control of the world's biggest oil spigot, even at the price of turning a blind eye to any terrorist connection."[8] It is ironic that our military presence in Saudi Arabia was one

---

6. Hedges, *War*, 24. He further notes, "We too have our terrorists. The Contras in Nicaragua carried out, with funding from Washington, some of the most egregious human rights violations in Central America, yet were lauded as 'freedom fighters'" (24).

7. Nicolas D. Kristoff, "Our Own Terrorist," *New York Times*, 5 March 2002, A23. A further example of our inconsistency with regard to terrorism occurs when we send American troops to the Philippines to fight Islamic terrorists. The only problem with this, as Kristoff observes, is that those terrorists include "Philippine troops, our new partners in the war on terrorism." He says, "We are unwittingly about to join a 'dirty war' in Basilan, siding with murderers and torturers in a way that dishonors our larger purposes. . . .To go ahead with joint military exercises on Basilan would risk our most valuable possession in the war on terror—our integrity—by adding American firepower and troops to an operation that is brutally out of control" ("Sleeping with the Terrorists," *New York Times*, 12 February 2002, A23).

8. Transcript of a BBC broadcast, "FBI and US Spy Agents Say Bush Spiked Bin Laden Probes before 11 September," 6 Nov. 2001 (http://www.gregpalast.com). The same report was published under the title "FBI and U.S. Spy Agents say Bush Spiked Bin Laden Probes before 11 September" in *The Guardian*, 4 Nov. 2001. See http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/o,3604,589168,00,html.

of the precipitating factors in Osama bin Laden's antipathy toward us and his desire to destroy us.[9]

The more we see terrorism as unrelated to our own international policies and the more aggressively we pursue strategies that are likely to inflame terrorists (e.g., being unequal in our policies toward Israel and Palestine), the more we are likely to nourish the ground from which terrorism grows.[10] Those who see themselves as commissioned by Allah to destroy the United States are only confirmed in their hatred and in their determination by acts we take to destroy them, especially when we do so with our high-technology warfare which inevitably kills civilians and which tends to destroy the infrastructure of those societies we attack. As the Israelis have learned, or should have learned, for every suicide bomber you retaliate against, you unleash a dozen more who eagerly wait to take his or her place. There are literally hundreds of thousands of young Muslims all over the world who can think of no greater honor than to sacrifice their lives to defeat and destroy "terrorist" America. There aren't enough smart spies in our agencies or smart bombs in our arsenal to stop all of these would-be martyrs, as we will learn in the years ahead unless we change our strategy. As the Algerian writer, Mohamed Moulessehoul has observed, "The war is lost if the West plays the game of the fundamentalists, which is violence, because you cannot frighten someone who accepts death with devotion."[11] Or, as Jonathan Schell writes, "The terrorist bent on self-immolation with a weapon of mass destruction is the nemesis of balance [of power]. Deterrence has no purchase on the dead."[12]

The Example of Afghanistan—and Iraq

> The first and most important advice that I can give to my successors and people to make Afghanistan into a great kingdom is to impress upon their minds the value of unity; unity, and unity alone, can make it into a great power.
>
> —*Abdur Rahman Khan*
> *Amir of Afghanistan (1880-1901)*[13]

---

9. It is perhaps indicative of our recognition of this fact that as of 1 May 2003, President Bush announced that the United States was removing its military bases from Saudi Arabia.

10. The report of 1 May 2003 by the government that there has been a decrease in terrorist acts since the United States began its campaign against terrorism is not reassuring since terrorism tends to wax and wane depending on world conditions. (Also, the main reason for the overall decline in terrorist attacks was related to a dramatic decrease in terrorist attacks in Columbia.) Since poverty and oppression are among the main causes of terrorism, the degree of both portends a continuation and possibly even escalation of terrorism in the years ahead.

11. Alan Riding, "Losing Pseudonym, Gaining Notoriety," *New York Times*, 21 February 2002, B3.

12. Jonathan Schell, "No More unto the Breach, Part II: The Unconquerable World," *Harper's* (May 2003): 44.

13. http://www.afghan-web.com/history/quotes.html

> For five hundred years, Baghdad had been a city of palaces, mosques, libraries and colleges. Its universities and hospitals were the most up-to-date in the world. Nothing now remained but heaps of rubble and a stench of decaying human flesh.
>
> *—On the Holocaust of Baghdad (1258 C.E.) perpetrated by Hulagu Kahn*[14]

The complexity of our war on terrorism becomes obvious when we examine Afghanistan. As it moved on to the war on Iraq, the U.S. administration spoke of having achieved most of its objectives in Afghanistan, but—as recent events have shown—the jury is still out on this matter. Consider the following:

(1) Thousands of Taliban and Al Qaeda soldiers and their leaders (including Osama bin Laden) are presently unaccounted for. Many apparently slipped over the border into Pakistan or other countries during the early days of U.S. bombing. According to the *New Yorker*, between 4,000 and 5,000 Taliban and Al Qaeda soldiers, including members of the Taliban leadership, flew out of Kunduz in November 2002 on planes carrying Pakistani military personnel who had been advising the Taliban.[15]

(2) As of this writing (May 2003), Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters continue to wage terrorist attacks against American and U.N. forces in Afghanistan. After an attack which killed several American soldiers on 25 April 2003, the *New York Times* reported, "In a very real sense, the war here has not ended. . . .Nearly every day, there are killings, explosions, shootings and targeted attacks on foreign aid works, Afghan officials, and American forces."[16]

(3) U.S. intelligence agencies estimate that Al Qaeda cells exist in at least sixty countries, and members have sophisticated methods of communicating with one another. In an article entitled "Terror Crackdown Has Not Reduced al-Quaida Threat," Richard Norton Taylor, reporting on a study conducted by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, states, "Al-Qaida remains a 'potent' international terrorist network with more than 18,000 trained members at large in up to 90 countries, and could take a generation to dismantle. . . .The report warns that al-Quaida has reconstituted itself since the war in Afghanistan and was now 'doing business in a somewhat different manner, but more insidious and just as dangerous as in its pre-September 11 incarnation.'"[17]

(4) Afghan warlords, reviving ancient enmities, are fighting one another and resisting the authority of the fragile U.N.-sponsored central government. According to a report in the *New York Times*, "The Central Intelligence Agency

---

14. http://www.cyberistan.org/Islamic/quote2.html

15. Seymour M. Hersh, "The Getaway: Questions Surrounding a Secret Pakistani Airlift," *New Yorker* (28 January 2002): 36-40.

16. Carlotta Gall, "In Afghanistan, Violence Stalls Renewal Effort," *New York Times*, 26 April 2003, A1.

17. *The Guardian*, 14 May 2003, http://www.guardian.co.uk/guardianpolitics/story/0,3605, 955333,00.html.

has warned in a classified report that Afghanistan could once again fall into violent chaos if steps are not taken to restrain the competition for power among rival warlords and to control ethnic tensions." The threat of inter-tribal conflict, the report said, is fostered by the fact that "the power of the warlords themselves has been enhanced by the money and weapons that the United States has funneled to regional leaders who have helped Washington to root out Al Qaeda fighters and the former Taliban government."[18] We must remember that the majority of the Afghan people welcomed the Taliban as a lesser evil than the warlords. Tribal loyalties sealed with blood for centuries will not easily or quickly be persuaded to support either a democracy or a central bureaucracy.

(5) Resentment continues to build over the killing and wounding of civilians by American military personnel. According to William Arkin, Human Rights Watch advisor, "We've got about 300 incidents [of casualties in Afghanistan] in our database, and I'd say about a third involve some civilian casualties."[19] As of spring 2003, there continue to be civilian casualties inflicted by both American and Taliban firepower. The resentment against the United States caused by such casualties increases with each incident and with each denial or dismissal of responsibility by military leaders.

In the late winter of 2003, the U.S. government—against the will of the U.N. Security Council—extended the war against terrorism into the Valley of the Euphrates. In a period of weeks we dropped tens of thousands of bombs on Iraqi military installations, strategic locations, palaces, etc. We do not yet know how many civilians we have killed,[20] but the number increases almost daily as we attempt to secure what seems a tenuous control of the country.[21]

This phase of the war on terrorism likewise seems fraught with the possibilities of failure. Military and political advisors predicted we would be welcomed in Iraq as liberators, but a few short weeks after we began occupying Iraq there appeared a growing hostility toward U.S.-led coalition forces, a growing divisiveness among the disparate segments of Iraqi society, and increasing social chaos throughout the country.

---

18. Michael Gordon, "C.I.A. Sees Threat Afghan Factions May Bring Chaos," *New York Times*, 21 February 2002, A1.

19. Barry Bearak et al., "Unknown Toll in the Fog of War: Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan," *New York Times*, 10 February 2002, 1:1.

20. In an article entitled, "How Many Iraqis Died? We May Never Know" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 May 2003, A13), Edward Epstein reports that one organization estimates the number at between 2,197 and 2,670, much below what had been anticipated, and significantly below that of other previous wars. Nevertheless, the question remains whether pursuing a more peaceful approach could have spared even these lives. For widows and orphans statistics have no meaning.

21. See Dexter Filkins and Ian Fisher, "U.S. Now in Battle for Peace after Winning the War in Iraq," *New York Times*, 3 May 2003, A1, 9.

Power and Pride vs. Peacefulness and Humility

> By building a huge armed establishment, we shall belie our protestations of peace and peaceful intent and force other nations to a like course of militarism.
>
> —*George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, David O. McKay (1945)*[22]

Part of what makes our goal to defeat terrorism challenging is that others are unable to distinguish our actions from those of terrorists. Many Iraqis see the U.S.-enforced U.N. sanctions against Iraq over the past dozen or so years as a weapon deliberately employed to kill great numbers of people. As Joy Gordon argues, "The United States has consistently thwarted Iraq from satisfying the most basic humanitarian needs, using sanctions as nothing less than a deadly weapon. . . .Since the program began, an estimated 500,000 Iraqi children under the age of five have died as a result of the sanctions—almost three times as many as the number of Japanese killed during the U.S. atomic bomb attacks."[23] While the United States has attempted to shift the entire blame for these deaths onto Saddam Hussein, the fact is, a half million Iraqi children are dead from malnutrition, disease, and lack of adequate medicine related directly to the sanctions. In no civilized context can a government justify punishing a tyrant in a way that kills hundreds of thousands of children.

While we don't classify them as such, some of our own weapons could be considered weapons of mass destruction. How else to describe the euphemistically labeled "daisy cutter" bomb, a 15,000-pound mega-bomb we dropped on Afghanistan, or the 21,500-pound MOAB bomb we tested as a possible weapon for use in Iraq? These weapons have the force to kill, "as Cain could, but with multitudinous will."[24] The United States, which is the only country to ever use nuclear bombs as weapons of mass destruction, has an enormous arsenal of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons, in addition to the new mega-bombs and other weapons meant to "shock and awe" the enemy.

Contrary to what our government believes, one of the biggest barriers to a peaceful resolution of the war on terror is our newly stated policy to become not only the most powerful military power in the world, which we presently are, but so powerful that no other nation would even consider attacking us. Our new national policy of waging preemptive strikes against other nations which threaten

---

22. "Letter of the First Presidency," *Improvement Era* (February 1946): 76-77.

23. Joy Gordon, "Cool War: Economic Sanctions as a Weapon of Mass Destruction," *Harper's* (November 2002): 43. Gordon also observes, "Perhaps what we should learn from our own reactions to September 11 is that the massive destruction of innocents is something that is unlikely to be either forgotten or forgiven. If this is so, then destroying Iraq, whether with sanctions or with bombs, is unlikely to bring the security we have gone to such lengths to preserve" (49).

24. Richard Eberhart, "The Fury of Aerial Bombardment," http://www.solarwinds.com/users/chrish/bombardment.html.

our security and sovereignty, including the possible use of nuclear weapons, is designed to cause cooperation and acquiescence by intimidation, not by persuasion. In a letter to the Utah Congressional Delegation in 1945, the First Presidency warned that such policies have serious consequences: "By the creation of a great war machine, we shall invite and tempt the waging of war against foreign countries, upon little or no provocation; for the possession of great military power always breeds thirst for domination and for a rule by might not right."[25]

Our view of ourselves as the superior power in the world is revealed in Vice President Dick Cheney's address to the Council on Foreign Relations in February 2002. Among other things, Cheney said, "America has friends and allies in this cause, but only we can lead it. Only we can rally the world in a task of this complexity against an enemy so elusive and so resourceful. The United States and only the United States can see this effort through to victory. . . .We are in a unique position because of our unique assets, because of the character of our people, the strength of our ideas, the might of our military and the enormous economy that supports it."[26]

As Robert F. Worth has observed, "While all nations regard their causes as just, and all demonize their enemies, the combination of American might and its longstanding self-image as uniquely virtuous irritates even its enemies." Worth concludes, "The history of American crusading, even against unmistakable evil, suggests that it can be more effective to start from a position of humility. Righteousness easily becomes self-righteousness and it can be hard for crusaders to distinguish between the two."[27]

Such braggadocio not only inflames our enemies, it also alienates our allies. In the Muslim world, the United States is viewed as ever more "ruthless, aggressive, conceited, arrogant, easily provoked and biased."[28] Our allies have responded in a similar way. Chris Patten, chief of the European Union's external affairs department, called such language reckless, even dangerous: "The Afghan war perhaps reinforced some dangerous instincts; that the projection of military power is the only basis of true security; that the U.S. can rely on no one but itself; and that allies may be useful as optional extras."[29]

Such sentiments increased exponentially as the United States declared its ability to wage war against Iraq without the support of the U.N. Security Coun-

---

25. Letter of the First Presidency, 76-77.

26. Michael Gordon, "Cheney Rejects Criticism by Allies Over Stand on Iraq," *New York Times*, 16 February 2002, A8.

27. Robert F. Worth, "A Nation Defines Itself by Its Evil Enemies," *New York Times*, 24 February 2002 ("Week in Review"), 1, 7.

28. "Muslim Antipathy toward U.S. Is Pervasive," *San Jose Mercury News*, 3 March 2002, A1, 3.

29. Ibid.; see also Steven Erlanger, "Europe Seethes as the U.S. Flies Solo in World Affairs," *New York Times*, 23 February 2002, A8; Elisabeth Bumiller, "Axis of Debate: Hawkish Words," *New York Times*, 3 February 2002, 4, 5; and David E. Sanger, "Allies Hear Sour Notes in 'Axis of Evil' Chorus," *New York Times*, 17 February 2002, A12.

cil—or anyone else for that matter—and then, after using overwhelmingly superior firepower to defeat the Iraqi army, exulted in a spirit of triumphalism, with some administration officials hailing the victory as one of the greatest in the annals of military history. As Shakespeare says in *Measure for Measure*:

> O, it is excellent to have a giant's strength;
> but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant (2.2).

Nonviolence and Peace

> For years it has been held that peace comes by preparation for war; the present conflict should prove that peace comes only by preparing for peace, through training the people in righteousness and justice, and selecting rulers who respect the righteous will of the people.
>
> —*President Joseph F. Smith (1914)*[30]

How might we have acted differently to the terrorist attacks? How might we still do so? In an article entitled "With Weapons of the Will: How to Topple Saddam Hussein-Nonviolently," written before our invasion of Iraq, Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall suggested that Saddam could have been defeated by nonviolent means, especially if the United States and its coalition partners had been willing to employ nonviolent strategies. Based on the fact that "22 million Iraqis detest Saddam Hussein," Ackerman and DuVall argue that a "civilian-based, nonviolent resistance by the Iraqi people, developed and applied in accordance with a strategy to undermine Saddam's basis of power," could have been effective in bringing down the Iraqi dictator."[31] For those who argue that such strategies wouldn't work against a regime as oppressive as Saddam Hussein's, Ackerman and DuVall give examples of how similar strategies worked against the Nazis, the Pinochet regime in Chile, and even in Iraq when tens of thousands of Muslims gathered in Karbala for a religious celebration successfully defied Saddam's army.

In *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, Ackerman and DuVall chronicle a number of instances in the twentieth century in which nonviolence worked to bring down repressive regimes or to counter state-sponsored terror and repression. These include: Gandhi's campaigns against imperialism in Africa and India; the Dutch resistance to the Nazis during World War II; popular uprisings in El Salvador, Chile, and Argentina; the campaign against Apartheid in South Africa; Lech Walesa's Solidarity movement in Poland; the popular uprising against Ferdinand Marcos's government in the Philippines;

---

30. "Editor's Table," *Improvement Era* 17, No. 11 (September 1914).

31. *Sojourners: Christians for Justice and Peace*, September-October 2002, http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?

Martin Luther King's Civil Rights revolution in the United States; the Intifada campaign in the Middle East (which later lost its effectiveness when it turned violent); and the democratic tide that has swept through China, Mongolia, and Eastern Europe, resulting (in the latter case) in the tearing down of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union.[32] This is an impressive list of victories—all achieved through nonviolent means. As Gene Sharp, a theoretician of nonviolent power, has asserted, "Nonviolent action is possible, and is capable of wielding great power even against ruthless rulers and military regimes, because it attacks the most vulnerable characteristic of all hierarchical institutions and governments: dependence on the governed."[33]

Scott Atran has argued in the *New York Times* that "[s]hows of military strength don't seem to dissuade terrorists." He cites a United Nations' report indicating that as soon as the United States began preparing to invade Iraq "Qaeda recruitment. . .picked up in 30 to 40 countries. . . .Volunteers are beating down the doors to join." Atran also reports that, contrary to popular belief (and the assertions of government leaders), "poll after poll of the Muslim world shows opinion strongly favors America's forms of government, personal liberty and education. . . .It is our actions that they don't like." Atran adds that, according to a Defense Department report, "historical data show a strong correlation between U.S. involvement in international situations and an increase in terrorist attacks against the United States."[34]

Jesus and Nonviolence

> We see that war is incompatible with Christ's teachings. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the Gospel of Peace. War is the antithesis and produces hate. It is vain to attempt to reconcile war with true Christianity.
>
> —*David O. McKay (1942)*[35]

A nonviolent strategy for defeating terrorism seems consistent with the ethic of countering violence in the New Testament. Christ's teachings on this matter are straightforward and unambiguous: "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" (Matt. 5:44). The Lord makes it clear that calling ourselves Christian is dependent on such an attitude, for he adds that we must behave in such a way "[t]hat you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth

---

32. Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 9.

33. Gene Sharp, "The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle," Monograph Series, no. 3 (The Albert Einstein Institution, 1990), 18, as cited in Ackerman and DuVall, *A Force More Powerful*, 9.

34. Scott Atran, "Who Wants to Be a Martyr?" *New York Times*, 5 May 2003, A27.

35. *Gospel Ideals* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Improvement Era, 1953), 285.

rain on the just and on the unjust" (Matt. 5:45). In other words, if God blesses those whom we consider our enemies with both light (sun) and nourishment (rain), then he expects us to do no less. Furthermore, we cannot claim to be his children unless we act this way.

Why is this the case? Because, I believe, God, who knows each of us intimately and who counts our individual souls as being of infinite worth, knows that redemption does not come by revenge or retribution, but rather by love and sacrifice. This is the lesson which humankind has refused to learn through the ages and for which it still pays an enormous price. The Lord hopes for the redemption of all his children, and he knows that when we engage in violence against our enemies, it cankers our souls and wreaks destruction on those against whom our hatred is aimed, thus denying them a greater opportunity to find redemption as we lock them into a cycle of violence. While one could argue that they, too, have choice in the matter, we must remember that as "the children of light" we have the greater responsibility both to stop the violence and to let love work its redemptive power.

Some would argue that Jesus didn't really mean that we should love our enemies, that we should turn the other cheek, or that we should forgive others seven times seventy—that this is an ideal ethic by which we aren't really expected to live. This is the argument made by Plotinus Plimlimmon, a character in Herman Melville's novel *Pierre, or the Ambiguities* (1852). Plimlimmon argues that God does not really expect us to abide by such a higher law, that "the highest abstract heavenly righteousness is not only impossible, but would be entirely out of place, and positively wrong in a world like this." He adds, "In things terrestrial. . .a man must not be governed by ideas celestial. . .he must by no means make a complete unconditional sacrifice of himself on behalf of any other being, or any cause, or any conceit."[36] It is clear within the context of the novel that Melville intends us to see Plimlimmon as a morally bankrupt person, who excuses his lack of charity to justify his unwillingness to live by a higher law.

Unfortunately, the majority of humankind seems to share Plimlimmon's sentiments because they probably do not understand what Jesus was saying when he taught such principles. Most interpret his teachings as passive nonviolence, but as Walter Wink has suggested, Jesus was being both more subtle and more subversive than this:

> Jesus clearly rejected the military option as a way to redress Jewish grievances. He refused to lead troops in war against Rome, or to defend his own cause by violent means. He endured the cross rather than prove false to his own nonviolent way. Through the history of his people's violent and nonviolent struggle for survival,

36. Herman Melville, *Pierre, or the Ambiguities* (Chicago: Newberry Library Press, 1971), 213-14.

> Jesus discovered a way of opposing evil without becoming evil in the process. Here at last was a full-blown alternative to the politics of' 'redemptive' violence.[37]

Wink suggests that what Jesus was really teaching was a third way, a way between violence and total submission to evil (although, as the anti-Lehi-Nephites in the Book of Mormon demonstrated, that too at times has proved more powerful than violence). Wink argues that instead of teaching nonresistance to evil, Jesus tells us "to refuse to oppose it on its own terms. . . .He is urging us to transcend both passivity and violence by finding a third way, one that is at once assertive and nonviolent."[38] Wink then shows how three of Jesus' otherwise perplexing commands—to turn the other cheek, to give a person who sues you not only your cloak but your coat as well, and to walk not one mile but two—are really not meant as passive acts, but rather as nonviolently subversive ones. He argues, for example, that in the story of a rich man taking a poor man to court and humiliating him by asking for his cloak, if the person being sued gave all his clothing (also his coat) to the one suing him, he would stand naked before the court. As Wink observes, "Nakedness was taboo in Judaism, and shame fell less on the naked party than on the person viewing or causing the nakedness (Gen. 9:20-27). By stripping, the debtor has brought shame on the creditor. . . .The poor man has transcended this attempt to humiliate him. He has risen above shame. At the same time, he has registered a stunning protest against the system that created his debt."[39]

The result of such an action, Wink argues, is dramatic: "Imagine the debtor leaving court naked. His friends and neighbors, aghast, inquire what happened. He explains. They join a growing procession, which now resembles a victory parade. This is guerrilla theater! The entire system by which debtors are oppressed has been publicly unmasked. The creditor is revealed to be not a legitimate moneylender but a party to the reduction of an entire social class to landlessness and destitution. This unmasking is not simply punitive, since it offers the creditor a chance to see, perhaps for the first time in his life, what his practices cause, and to repent."[40]

Christ was against violent solutions. As Isaiah said, "He has done no violence" (Isa. 53:1-12). When Peter drew his sword to defend Jesus, the Lord rebuked him, "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. 26:52). Then, to show Peter that violence was an option open to the Lord but that he eschewed it, Jesus added, "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently [that is, immediately] give me more than twelve legions of angels?" In other words,

---

37. Walter Wink, *The Powers That Be: Theology for a New Millennium* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 69.

38. Ibid., 100-01.

39. Ibid., 104-05.

40. Ibid., 105.

had violence been his way of dealing with hostility, Jesus could have called sixty thousand angels to defend himself against a small band of conspirators (odds, by the way, not unlike those enjoyed by the United States military in Iraq).

Those who cite Jesus's statement that he "came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt. 10:34) to justify war,[41] fail to acknowledge that Jesus was speaking metaphorically of his gospel, for as Paul said to the Hebrews, "The word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Heb. 4:12). This seems to be confirmed by Jesus's statement soon after he spoke of bringing a sword, indicating that the sword of truth would divide his true followers from the false: "And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. 10:38-39). In other words, it is the cross of Christ (his gospel of redemption) which we should take up, rather than swords. Hugh Nibley states, "If we persist in reversing the words of the Savior, 'Who takes up the sword shall die by the sword' (cf. Rev. 13:10) to read perversely, 'who does not take up the sword shall perish by the sword,' we shall deserve what happens to us."[42]

Nonviolent solutions were evident throughout Jesus's life. In his daily gifts of mercy, in the acts he performed during his final week in mortality, and in his ultimate acts of redemption in Gethsemane and Calvary, the Savior loved those who rejected and mocked him, who betrayed him, who bore false witness against him, who spat upon and beat him, and who drove nails into his hands and feet. By his nonviolent response to violent attacks against him, he accomplished the greatest redemptive act in the history of the world—the potential salvation of humankind *and* greater peace in the world.

Christ invites us to participate in our own and others' redemption by committing to nonviolence. He asks us to love our enemies, to do good to those who despitefully use us, to return good for evil. As Walter Wink observes, "The God whom Jesus reveals refrains from all forms of reprisal. God does not endorse holy wars or just wars. God does not sanction religions of violence. Only by being driven out by violence could God signal to humanity that the divine is nonviolent and is opposed to the kingdom of violence."[43]

Latter-day Saints and Peace

LDS theology offers a guide to better conduct. I believe its fundamental message is that 'effective pacifism'—even unilateral disarmament if accompanied by massive

41. President Hinckley in his April 2003 general conference address, "War and Peace," seemed to use this scripture to justify the war in Iraq.

42. Hugh Nibley, "Renounce War, or, A Substitute for Victory," as quoted in Boyd Jay Peterson, *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 216-217.

43. Wink, *Powers*, 88.

> efforts to extend intelligent, creative, tough-minded but loving help to other nations. . .is the ideal solution, the only one that could make our enemies no longer enemies.
>
> —*Eugene England*[44]

As Mormon Christians I believe we have a moral responsibility to try to make Christ's way work in the world, especially in regard to war. Specifically, what can we as Latter-day Saints do to make peace more possible? As members of the church we need to cultivate a spirit of humility when it comes to war. Believing ourselves to be a "peculiar" (read "chosen") people, some of us assume that God manipulates world affairs for our benefit. Thus, we manufacture myths to support our pro-war attitudes. An example of this was made apparent to me in a recent conversation with a sister in our ward. She said that the reason she believed some wars are justified is that one of the apostles had said that the Vietnam War was fought in order to open Vietnam to the teaching of the gospel. I was nonplussed that someone could believe that God allowed (or caused!) 58,000 American deaths and more than a million Vietnamese casualties so that the gospel could be introduced in Vietnam. (As of 2003, there are a total of one hundred members in two English-speaking branches, one each in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, "attended almost exclusively by English-speaking expatriate families."[45]) Such beliefs are not isolated sentiments: Bonner Ritchie has reported that, since the beginning of the Iraqi war, he has heard a number of Mormons say that the war was being fought so that Iraq could be opened to the preaching of the gospel.[46] With such sentiments we deconstruct the moral architecture of the world and diminish rather than increase the prospects of the good news of the gospel going to all nations, for when we link God with violence and use the gospel to justify war, we erode the fragile faith by which Christ's message can survive in an increasingly hostile world.

Latter-day Saints could set an example to others by renouncing violence, including our celebration of the gun culture. The fact that Utah has one of the highest *per capita* ownership of guns in the nation and among the most permissive gun laws (including permission to carry guns to school campuses and churches) suggests that as a people we may be a long way from the Zion idealized in our cultural imagination. An indication of the violence produced by guns in the United States can be seen in the fact that each year *ten times* the number of people who died in the World Trade Center are killed by guns in America—as though, as a minister once put it, we had become terrorists to our own people.

---

44. "Can Nations Love Their Enemies?" in Eugene England, *Dialogues With Myself* (Midvale, Utah: Orion Books, 1984), 148.

45. http://www.newsroom.LDS.org.

46. Reported during a panel discussion on the Middle East at the Sunstone West symposium in San Francisco, 19 April 2003.

With the prospect of eventually achieving that perfectly peaceful state of society called Zion, Latter-day Saints could take the lead in helping our nation progress from the desire to be the most powerful nation in the world to becoming the most peaceful and the most benevolent nation in the world, a nation that uses its resources not to build an enormous military force, but to fight disease and poverty, to share its beneficence with less prosperous peoples, to be a healer of the world's wounds.

Another way in which Latter-day Saints could set an example of working for non-violent, nonmilitary solutions would be to cultivate independent convictions about war and violence. Because we are used to being obedient and following those in authority, we may have a tendency to yield our moral responsibility to others, to accept what the government or the authorities of the church say without examining it in our own hearts and minds. We join the crusade to war without consulting our souls as to whether this is the best cause for our allegiance, and once we have done so, we feel we are doing God's bidding. As Chris Hedges says, "Once we sign on for war's crusade, once we see ourselves on the side of the angels, once we embrace a theological or ideological belief system that defines itself as the embodiment of goodness and light, it is only a matter of how we will carry out murder."[47] Unless we recoil at the thought of our government dropping four megabombs on a Baghdad restaurant on a hunch that Saddam Hussein might be there, we have given away too much of our hearts and minds to those who make and celebrate such decisions. Unless our hearts break at each incidence of "collateral damage"—women, children, and the elderly, to say nothing of conscripts forced to fight against us, who are killed or maimed in our name—then our hearts remain hardened and unbroken.

As Latter-day Saints we have an advantage (and perhaps greater responsibility) over other believers because of what the scriptures of the Restoration counsel us about war. We are particularly indebted to the Book of Mormon, a book written for our time. One of its overriding lessons is that war is destructive of both individuals and nations. As Hugh Nibley has observed, "Mormon and his son [Moroni] are summing up the situation [about war] after spending most of their lives in the field—and they hate it. For them war is nasty, brutalizing, wasteful, dirty, degrading, fatiguing, foolish, immoral, and above all unnecessary."[48] One of Moroni's final messages concerned the utter futility of war. As the last Nephite witness to his nation's decline and fall, he wrote, "The Lamanites are at war one with another and the whole face of this land is one continual round of murder and bloodshed; and no one knoweth the end of the war" (Moroni 8:8). Since, as Will Durant calculates, "there have only been twenty-nine years in all of human history during which war was not underway somewhere,"[49] this is a lament for all the ages, including our own.

47. Hedges, *War*, 9.

48. Hugh Nibley, *Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 329.

49. Hedges, *War*, 10. According to Ellen C. Collier, from 1798 to 1993, there have been 234

No Book of Mormon lesson about war is more dramatic or profound than the story of the Jaredites, who were completely destroyed by violence. In the death throes of their civilization, "blood and carnage cover[ed] the land" (Ether 14, chapter note) as millions destroyed one another (something like, one imagines, the Hutus and Tutsis hacking one another to death at the end of the twentieth century). Finally, each side was reduced to one representative, Coriantumr and Shiz, who destroyed one another. I believe this story is a warning and foreshadowing of what we might bring about unless we turn away from war, with our highly technical warfare and our weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear bombs.

Modern scripture also instructs us about war. While the scriptures taken as a whole admonish us to choose peace over war, perhaps the clearest message on this subject is found in D&C 98. As context, this revelation was given to the Prophet Joseph Smith at a time when the Saints had been terrorized by government officials, gangs, and ordinary citizens in Missouri. The introductory commentary to this section says, "It is natural that the Saints, having suffered physically and also having lost property, should feel an inclination toward retaliation and revenge," but it is clear that the Lord forbade them such a course. As a prelude to his position on war, the Lord said to the Prophet Joseph Smith, "I give unto you a commandment, that ye shall forsake *all evil* and cleave unto *all good*" (D&C 98:11, emphasis added). To underscore what he considers "all evil" and "all good," the Lord then says, "I will prove you in *all things*, whether you shall abide in my covenant. . . .Therefore, renounce war and proclaim peace, and seek diligently to turn the hearts of the children to their fathers, and the hearts of the fathers to the children" (D&C 98:14, 16, emphasis added). As Hugh Nibley has said, "'Renounce' is a strong word: we are not to try to win peace by war, or merely to call a truce, but to renounce war itself, to disdain it as a policy while proclaiming. . .peace without reservation."[50]

What this scripture means, I believe, is that one way in which the Lord proves or tests our obedience to his word and our willingness to "abide in [his] covenant" is whether we renounce war and proclaim peace. There also seems to be a direct connection between these two actions (and I think both are necessary) and the turning of intergenerational hearts to one another. Since in Mormon doctrine the turning of such hearts is the key to vicarious, participatory redemption through temple work, this scripture seems to imply that our refusal to renounce war and proclaim peace may hinder such work. It also hinders the turning of the hearts of living fathers and mothers and their children to one another, as I believe it certainly did during the Vietnam War.

"instances in which the United States has used its armed forces abroad in situations of conflict or potential conflict for other than normal peacetime purposes" ("Instances of Use of United States Forces Abroad, 1798-1993," Naval Historical Center Home Page, http://www.history.navy.mil).

50. Hugh Nibley, "Renounce War!" *BYU Daily Universe*, 26 March 1971, as quoted in Gordon C. Thomasson, *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Mormon Heritage, 1972), 24-25.

That the Latter-day Saints have a particular charge to renounce war and proclaim peace can be seen in a revelation given to the Prophet Joseph Smith on 7 March 1836. In this revelation the Lord indicates that the Saints should establish "a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the Most High God." In the last days, this will be the only place where those committed to nonviolence, those who "will not take up [their] sword[s] against [their] neighbor[s]," can flee for safety, for these will be "the only people that shall not be at war one with another" (D&C 45:66-69). Further, the Lord suggests that this peaceful, nonviolent people will have a power much greater than arms and warfare, for the wicked will say, "Let us not go up to battle against Zion, for the inhabitants of Zion are terrible; wherefore we cannot stand" (D&C 45:70). I hope no one will be offended by my observation that for such a time and place to be realized, Mormon culture must undergo something of a sea change in its attitudes toward war and peace.

This scripture seems to suggest that preparation for Zion requires that we pursue a course of nonviolence. Those who will be worthy to inhabit Zion will not take up the sword against their neighbors, among whom (the parable of the Good Samaritan suggests) are those we consider our enemies. Thousands of years of human conflict have proved again and again that violence always begets violence. As Michael Nagler has observed, "Nonviolence sometimes achieves the success that was immediately aimed at, just as violence sometimes does; on the other hand, nonviolence always does what violence can never do: it brings into play forces that will bring about, sometimes invisibly, a better situation for all concerned. In the end, nonviolent means always bring about nonviolent ends."[51]

Latter-day Saints could well follow the example of the Reorganized Church, now known as the Community of Christ. In a statement entitled "Proclaiming Peace in a Time of War," the church's First Presidency called on all followers of Christ "to seek every peaceful avenue to resolve the conflict." It adds, "Our church has dedicated itself to the pursuit of peace. That is not a statement of political philosophy or even social conscience. It is a divine call to us as a people, inspiring us to erect a temple as a symbol of our commitment to peace." The proclamation ends with a plea: "May we see the face of Jesus Christ in all of God's children, including those defined as enemies. May God's grace touch each of us with a full measure of love and may our lives and voices be tirelessly devoted to proclaiming peace in the world."[52]

---

51. Michael Nagler, *The Steps of Nonviolence* (Bronx, N.Y.: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1999), 23.

52. http://www.cofchrist.org/iraq/default.asp

THE WORK OF PEACE

And the work of righteousness shall be peace. (Isa. 32:17)

Peace will not come without work—and it will take enormous effort as well as faith and courage to overcome the tide of war and violence. During the Vietnam War as editor of *Dialogue* I wrote an editorial entitled, "A Christian Peace," in which I said, "The Christian does not withdraw into the security of a private peace, but risks sharing it with others, suing for peace, working for peace, even in a world in which, as the Psalmist said, 'I labor for peace, but when I speak unto them thereof, they make ready to battle.' "[53]

During the Easter season following the September 11 terrorist attack on America, I attended services at St. John the Divine Church in New York City. It was a refreshing service amidst the violence of our bombing of Afghanistan and in the face of a national sentiment for retribution and revenge. One of the scriptural readings for the day was from the first epistle of Peter with its admonition "Do not repay evil for evil or abuse for abuse; but, on the contrary, repay with a blessing. For Those who desire life and desire to see good days. . .let them seek peace and pursue it. . . .For it is better to suffer for doing good, if suffering should be God's will, than to suffer for doing evil" (1 Pet. 3:8-18).

The minister who addressed us that day, 5 May 2002, was the Reverend Michael Lapsley, Director of the Healing of Memories Institute of South Africa. He had been the victim of state-sponsored violence: Religious magazines sent to him by the South African government contained a bomb which blew his hands off. He spoke of his journey from victim to victor through Christ, who helped him transform the violence perpetrated against him and his initial feelings of revenge into something redemptive—a ministry to the suffering. He had come to New York City to console those who had lost loved ones in the World Trade Center attack. Reverend Lapsley, aware of widespread feelings of revenge, counseled that while such feelings were natural, they would destroy us, not our enemies, if we gave in to them. He then said, "The greatest revenge the United States could repay to Al Queda would be to create a different kind of America—one that would end the death penalty, take care of the poor and homeless, and end racial hatred." He added, "America can become a leader through its moral values, not its military power. You can have power, but while people are hungry you will not have security."

The service at St. John the Divine ended with a prayer, part of which continues to echo in my heart: "Eternal God, heavenly Father. . . .Send us now into the world in peace, and grant us strength and courage to love and serve you with gladness and singleness of heart, through Christ our Lord."

---

53. Robert A. Rees, "A Christian Peace," *Dialogue* 7, no. 3 (Autumn 1972): 5.

The Promises of Peace

> Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you. (John 14:27)

What are the promises of the Lord to those who make peace? First, we are promised that we "will become the children of God" (Matt. 5:9). No matter how much we may argue to the contrary, violence cannot strengthen that filial relationship. Second, we are promised that we will enjoy the companionship of the Lord. As Paul promises, "Live in peace and the God of love and peace shall be with you" (2 Cor. 13:11). Third, we are told our righteousness will grow as we seek to be peaceful. As James says, "Righteousness is sown in peace to them that make peace" (James 3:18). Fourth, as we walk the path of peace, our feet—like all those who "publish peace"—"will be beautiful upon the mountains" (Isa. 52:7). Abinadi extends Isaiah's promise to the present and the future: "O how beautiful upon the mountains were their feet! And again, how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that are still publishing peace! And again, how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who shall hereafter publish peace, yea, from this time henceforth and forever." Abinadi then acknowledges that this beauty is connected inexorably to Christ: "And behold, I say unto you, this is not all. For O how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that is the founder of peace, yea, even the Lord, who has redeemed his people" (Mosiah 15:14-18).

Finally, we are promised that only by following peace will we be able to see God. As Paul said to the Hebrews, "Follow peace. . .without which no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14).

Grace Note

> Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. (Rom. 1:7)

My father witnessed some of the most devastating destruction of World War II when he was a sailor in the South Pacific. He once described to me the scenes of horror on Iwo Jima and the fear he felt when a kamikaze pilot aimed his plane at my father's small ship, only to change his mind at the last moment and dive into a larger destroyer. My father bore the physical and psychic wounds of that war to his grave.

It has been one of the great blessings of my life that I have been spared going to war; it has been more than a double blessing that my sons have not had to take up arms. Among other reasons, I am interested in our finding a better, nonviolent strategy than our present one because I do not want to see my five grandsons or my granddaughter—or any of their generation—go to war. That's why, among other reasons, I am committed to proclaiming peace and renouncing war.

I firmly believe that if we were to go into the world in peace and seek a nonviolent, spiritually transformative approach to combating terrorism, we would

be more successful than in the war we are presently waging; we would also reach our goal more quickly, and it would cost fewer lives than our current policy. Were we truly to follow the principles taught by the Prince of Peace, we might, in addition to transforming our enemies (or at least persuading them that there are non-violent solutions to resolving their grievances), show them a better way to live in the world. The irony is that unless we do this, we will add to the suffering of him who suffered all for us, for his present suffering is increased as the evil and suffering of the world multiply. Ultimately, his way of peace will prevail, but wouldn't it be a wonderful gift to him if we caused it to prevail now, without the cost of violence?

Gardener's Song

Max Michael Freeman

The tomb was a mouth
that knew one note: grief.
The rock lips opened,
closed: tight as a safe.

The slab of stone where he lay:
the cave's heavy tongue. His pale
skin reflected the pale walls
where candlelight shone cool,

like the moon rising on a quiet
world. Apostles and women
buttered skin with minty lotion,
wrapped him in cold linen.

This all feels like night,
the way the shadows play
on a flickering wall. Outside,
the world recycles another day.

It's morning when I see
stone rolled away, and drop
my shears, abandon roses.
I run to the lip, stop,

hear a rustle within. Angels
are waking the man with song-
with voices like birds and words
not words at all, but the tongue

of fire and wind. Voices so clear
I almost understand them,
can't turn and run. A call to me,
to enter the deafening tomb

bold as lightning. When I finally
peek in, angels have fled
and the dead man sits there
with a bottle of wine, some bread.

I sit beside him, who wrestles
the bottle open, never flags.
He pours me the wine liberally
and himself drinks the dregs.

Spreading Zion Southward, Part II: Sharing Our Loaves and Fishes

Bradley Walker[1]

> For behold, ye do love money, and your substance, and your fine apparel, and the adorning of your Churches, more than ye love the poor and the needy, the sick and afflicted (Mormon 8: 37).
>
> Woe unto you rich men, that will not give your substance to the poor, for your riches will canker your souls (D & C 56:16).
>
> For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also (Matthew 6:21).

IN A 1993 ADDRESS, Elder Glenn L. Pace asked the question, "Faced with ever-louder cries for help from the world, how do we determine where to focus our efforts?"[2] This essay asks a related question: How efficient and equitable is the allocation of the church's charitable resources? As we compare the distribution of these resources to the poorer, less-developed countries (LDCs) with the distribution to wealthy countries (WCs), could efficiency and equity be improved? In my previous study, the focus was on the internal welfare program of the church.[3] The present study has a more external focus on global humanitarian aid, on the allocation of missionary time and resources, and on spending for post-secondary vocational and university education—disbursements, in other words, which assist non-Mormons as well as some segments of the church membership in LDCs.

1. I wish to thank Armand Mauss for his assistance in editing this study.

2. Glenn L. Pace, "Infinite Needs and Finite Resources," *Ensign*, (June 1993): 50.

3. See my "Spreading Zion Southward: Improving Efficiency and Equity in the Allocation of Church Welfare Resources." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35, no.4 (Winter 2002): 91-109.

Prior to World War II, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with fewer than a million members, took in a very small world. To be sure, church leaders and members have always conceived of the restored gospel as ultimately a world religion, and have sustained a relatively large missionary force throughout our history. Yet, in practical terms, the membership and influence of the church were limited to a few states in the American west. The ten-fold growth of the church during the second half of the twentieth century is remarkable in sheer numerical terms, to say nothing of the political and economic implications. Just since 1970, the church has more than quadrupled in size to its present membership of twelve million. Of special importance for this present essay, however, is the fact that more than half that membership now lives outside North America.[4] This development has forced the church to reconsider, more fundamentally than ever before, how and where best to allocate its material resources.

In our exuberant (and often self-congratulatory) appreciation for the church's recent growth and prosperity, we have tended to lose sight of the overarching reality that most of this growth has taken place in the LDCs of Africa, Asia, and especially Latin America. Responsible management of our growth in such areas has entailed an obligation to share our resources, both spiritual and material, not only with those who join the church, but also to some extent with their surrounding communities. Although we trust and expect that embracing the gospel message will itself improve the lives and prospects of converts, we have also learned that the most desperate people will also need care and nourishment to their bodies before they can fully experience the spiritual nourishment of gospel teachings.[5] As the church has increasingly gained an enduring presence in much of the world, it has also tried to share its material, intellectual, and spiritual resources more broadly than it was able to do as an isolated American sect. We can see this effort in three important ways, particularly in the less developed countries: a broadening humanitarian outreach to the world's peoples without regard to religious membership or missionizing prospects; the commitment of time and resources to various forms of missionary service; and the extension or subsidy of educational opportunities, especially at the post-secondary level.

---

4. Lowell C. Bennion and Lawrence A. Young, "The Uncertain Dynamics of LDS Expansion, 1950-2020," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996) 8-16.

5. This was a lesson recognized by church leaders in their dealings with the first "LDCs" in North America itself, namely the aboriginal peoples in the mountain west. The expectation of Joseph Smith and the earliest leaders—that the Indians would first be converted and then become "civilized" and prosperous—was reversed after the Utah experience made obvious the need to "civilize" the Indians before they could be converted. See the review of these developments in Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), ch. 3.

HUMANITARIAN OUTREACH

Just who are the poor and the needy mentioned in the scriptures which introduced this essay? Are they only the poor Latter-day Saints? Are they only those who "qualify" according to some standard of "worthiness"? Recent teachings and policies from church leaders make it clear that if such a parochial view ever made sense, it certainly cannot be justified in the contemporary world.[6] To some extent, the church has always felt an obligation to help relieve human suffering, not only among its own members, but also more broadly as its resources have permitted. Among the better-known examples are the large-scale shipments of food and clothing to Europe in the wake of both world wars of the twentieth century, but there have been many other examples, as well.[7] Throughout most of its history, large-scale humanitarian assistance by the church has been possible only on an episodic basis.[8] Since the mid-1980s, however, we can see a more sustained and comprehensive humanitarian program throughout the world, which apparently began with the special fast days and fast offerings collected for famine relief in Africa during 1984 and 1985. By 1990, the church had a score of its own agricultural development projects in the various countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Much of the food and funding for relief have been distributed through reputable international agencies such as the Red Cross, CARE, and Catholic Relief Services, but now the church has established its own Humanitarian Foundation and international distribution network.[9]

Now that the church has a more durable and extensive humanitarian outreach in the world, many Saints have an exaggerated impression of its effectiveness and scope, an impression inadvertently encouraged by favorable press

---

6. See, for example, Elder Thomas S. Monson, "Our Brothers' Keeper," *Ensign* (June, 1998): 33; and as quoted by Sarah Weaver, "We Will Be Asked 'How Many People Did You Help?'" *Church News*, 28 October 2000, 4. See also President Gordon B. Hinckley, as quoted in "No More Tender and Beautiful Picture," *Church News*, 23 September 2000, 2; and Elder Joseph B. Wirthlin, "The Law of the Fast," *Ensign* (May, 2001): 74.

7. See the brief historical overview by Isaac C. Ferguson, "Humanitarian Service," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1992), 661-63.

8. During the 1970s, several hundred "welfare missionaries" were called, and during the 1980s a few hundred more with special skills in the health services and agriculture, many of whom were retired couples or persons. In 1997, the church reported 1,272 welfare missionaries in service, both in the U.S. and abroad (the church's website, www.lds.org, put the figure at about 2,400 in 2002). However, these are relatively small numbers compared to the 60,000 proselyting missionaries (Ferguson, "Humanitarian Service," 662; see also Richard N. Ostling and Joan K. Ostling, *Mormon America: The Power and the Promise* [San Francisco: Harpercollins, 1999], 129).

9. Ferguson, "Humanitarian Service," 662-63; Ostling and Ostling, *Mormon America*, 128-29. See also brief references to various humanitarian projects in the *Deseret News 2001-2002 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2000), 13-16, 551-69.

reports and LDS commentary.[10] Such an impression also comes from an erroneous belief that a significant portion of general church tithing and fast offering funds goes to humanitarian aid. Furthermore, some humanitarian projects undertaken by the Saints in WCs are rather inefficient on a cost-benefit basis, for they draw upon costly labor, materials, and transportation from countries like the United States for goods that could be acquired much more cheaply in the LDCs if cash donations were sent from WCs instead of labor or materials. Yet the well-intentioned donors remain unaware of the diminished impact of their in-kind contributions.[11]

Actually, the proportion of our available resources going to humanitarian services is not very great when compared to the tithing received by the church or to the amount invested in proselyting missions. Other well-known denominations of comparable size, such as the Lutherans and the Seventh-Day Adventists, devote far more to humanitarian service, in part because they allocate a lot less to proselyting.[12] Since the LDS church, for its own reasons, has always allocated most of its missionary resources to proselyting, the comparison with other denominations may not be entirely appropriate. However, there might be other appropriate comparisons within the LDS organizational framework itself.

One reasonable comparison might be the amount or value of cash, goods, and services actually donated in contrast to the amounts that would seem readily available to contribute to the LDCs from the wealthier countries (WCs). As of 2002, a reasonable estimate of the annual amount of cash and material assistance going from the church to LDCs is $20 million. This includes disaster aid sent from church storage facilities in Salt Lake City, plus non-emergency assistance from LDS wards in cash and goods, and from a variety of local projects in LDCs.[13] Additionally, some 2,400 humanitarian missionaries are serving in

10. For example, see Thomas S. Monson, "Our Brothers' Keeper,"noted above; also "Making an Accounting," Church News, 5 December 1998, 16; "Church Ships Food Aid to Africa," *Church News*, 11 March 2000, 6; Mangum and Blumell, *Mormon War on Poverty: A History of LDS Welfare, 1830-1990* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 249-53; Glen L. Rudd, *Pure Religion: The Story of Church Welfare since 1930* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1995), 219-28; and James W. Lucas and Warner P. Woodworth, *Working toward Zion: Principles of the United Order for the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1996), 174-80, 198-213, 231-40.

11. For examples of collecting goods in wealthy countries for shipment to LDCs, see Shaun Stahle, "Shoes of Service," *Church News*, 3 November 2001, 16; "News of the Church: Women Produce Thousands of Humanitarian Service Items," *Ensign*, August 2002, 78; and Neil Newell, "Pure Religion: Serving Thousands," *Church News*, 28 September 2002, 16.

12. Ostling and Ostling (*Mormon America*, 128-29) report that from 1984 through 1997, the LDS Church made a total of $30.7 million in cash donations for non-Mormon humanitarian aid (not counting the many tons of food, clothing, and medical supplies). Yet the Evangelical Lutheran Church In America, with about the same U.S. membership, contributed half that much cash to humanitarian relief in only *one year* (1997). See also the following Adventist websites: www.adra.org and www.adventist.org.

13. The "Welfare Services Fact Sheet," published for a while on www.lds.org, stated that the LDS church had donated a total of $300 million in cash and material to humanitarian assistance between 1985 and 2000, for an average of $20 million per year during that period. This fact sheet has recently been replaced by less specific information.

many different areas of the world; these are usually retired adults, with significant experience and expertise, who are self-supporting. We might also consider the donations of twenty hours per week of humanitarian service authorized for each of the proselyting missionaries, but the actual nature and extent of these donations would be difficult to identify and quantify without an extensive survey.

However this humanitarian aid is accounted for, the total of $20 million, plus the 2400 humanitarian missionaries, might seem quite generous at first glance. On the other hand, that portion ($20 million) representing any actual outlay of cash or resources by the five or six million LDS members in the wealthier countries would constitute an average of only about $4 per capita. The Seventh-Day Adventists, with a comparable membership size but an annual budget only one-fourth that of the LDS church, contribute five times as much through the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (about $100 million). Stated in a different way, the Adventists donate 7 percent of their $1.5 billion annual budget to humanitarian aid, while the LDS church donates 0.3 percent of its estimated $6 billion budget.[14] If we considered the size of church budget as the main criterion for comparison, LDS humanitarian aid would have to be four times that of the Adventists, or $400 million, which would place the church's humanitarian budget in the same general "league" with such international humanitarian organizations as Catholic Relief Services, the Christian Children's Fund, Save the Children, CARE, and OXFAM.[15] Four dollars per capita per year contributed by LDS members in the United States does not seem particularly generous by such comparisons.

If LDS leaders were to ask more of us for global humanitarian aid, above and beyond our current contributions, it would probably be done in General Conference sermons. However, a review of such sermons in recent years (via the *Ensign* for May and November each year) reveals that there have been few if any injunctions to increase our contributions to world humanitarian relief. Nor does the LDS Humanitarian Foundation receive any appreciable visibility in our ward or stake gatherings through "firesides" or other presentations on its needs and potential accomplishments in various parts of the world. No systematic attempt is currently made to solicit contributions from WC ex-missionaries on behalf of the LDS or other poor in the LDCs where they served their missions. The Saints would almost certainly be as responsive to such appeals as they have been to the oft-reiterated calls for tithes and fast offerings, but why should we wait for special appeals? If the WC Saints could be persuaded to donate, say, only one dollar to the Humanitarian Foundation for every dollar in fast offer-

14. See the Adventist Development and Relief Agency website, www.adra.org. Some of the ADRA budget comes from governmental and non-governmental international institutions. See also Ostling and Ostling, *Mormon America*, 129, on this point, and 395-400 for their calculation of the annual LDS budget and finances.

15. A summary of the budgets for some of these world organizations will be found at the website for the International Medical Volunteer Association, www.imva.org/Pages/orgfrm.htm.

ings, the Foundation would have an annual budget perhaps twenty times its present size. An additional increase could be achieved by transferring surplus fast offerings from WCs to humanitarian aid by improving the "use efficiency" of that fund in ways discussed in my previous *Dialogue* essay, "Spreading Zion Southward." This does not seem a lot to ask of a people who have idealized the Law of Consecration, and, in many cases, have taken solemn covenants to observe it when called upon.

Missionary Time And Resources

As noted above, current church policy encourages proselyting missionaries to donate twenty hours per week in humanitarian services, which could add up to tens of millions of dollars worth of labor in construction or other work projects; in publicity, fund-raising, and other support services for public health projects; and in teaching literacy (in the native language or in English). However, it is important to recognize that the global proselyting program by itself contributes both directly and indirectly to the enhancement of material conditions in the LDCs. In an indirect sense, if accepting and living gospel teachings can improve the prospects for greater material success among convert families, then clearly those teachings have implications for the temporal world as well as for the next life. In that sense, missionary work contributes to the material well being of communities, whether or not everyone in a community (or even in a given family) is a member of the Church.[16]

In addition to this indirect benefit, however, there is also the direct infusion into local economies of the funds spent by the church and by its missionaries. The "good news" is that the money spent by missionaries in the communities where they serve amounts to probably about $500 million annually.[17] Ironically, however, the "bad news" is that most of this money is spent in WCs, because some 60 percent of the missionary force is serving in WCs, where expeditures for missionary living costs and supplies are much greater than in LDCs. If we make a fairly generous assumption that the 40 percent of the missionaries in LDCs spend about half as much per missionary per year as their counterparts in WCs, then perhaps only one-fourth of the $500 million total gets spent on missionary work in the LDCs. Still, that is a net transfer of $125 million from WCs to LDCs just for missionaries and their expenses.[18] Moreover, as growing mem-

16. On this point, see, e. g., Henri Gooren, "Analyzing LDS Growth in Guatemala: Report from a Barrio," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 97-115.

17. My estimate of $500 million here is based on the following assumptions: For each of 60,000 missionaries, one year would cost between $8,000 and $9,000, including living expenses, transportation, health care, books and educational materials, promotional materials, and mission home costs. Families in WCs usually cover $5,000 per missionary-year (or a total of $200 million), and the remaining $300 million would come from tithing funds.

18. Of course, we must keep in mind that some of the money spent in LDCs comes from missionaries who are themselves called from wards and branches in LDCs. However, in recent years

berships require additional Church capital expenditures for buildings and other facilities, still more funds are transferred from North America to LDCs.

The sheer number of missionaries serving in LDCs, therefore, has some economic implications for the communities in which they serve, in addition to the more obvious implications for church growth *per se*. It is well known that (other factors being equal) the single most important correlate of baptismal rates is "missionary density"—the number of missionaries per million in a given mission.[19] Furthermore, the ratio of convert baptisms to member child baptisms has been 12:1 in LDCs, compared to 1:1 in WCs.[20] If we take this differential into account, then we can estimate that some 2.7 million adult converts were baptized during the 1990s, of whom about three-fourths were in LDCs.[21] It would thus appear that historically the missions in LDCs (with only 40 percent of the total missionaries) experience approximately three times the adult baptismal rates per missionary of those in the WCs (and the gap might be widening).[22] One wonders why the LDS missionary force around the world is not distributed in such a way as to exploit that differential more fully.

President Hinckley and other leaders have recently called for a doubling of the missionary baptismal rate in the church.[23] Achieving such a goal will require not only divine assistance, but also new tactics and strategies. One strategy

---

especially, such local funds have been a declining proportion of total missionary expenditures. As an example, many missionaries from Ecuador are paying only about one percent of the total cost of their missions. During the 1980s, the church stopped sponsoring many potential poor LDC missionary applicants due to a concern that some were serving more for economic than for spiritual motivations. One apparent result was to forego thousands of potential missionary-years and tens of thousands of conversions, so the policy was reversed in the early 1990s. A new church policy has just been announced that discourages any missionary from serving out of motivations other than spiritual, regardless of the missionary's sponsorship, family income, or geographic origin.

19. Gary and Gordon Shepherd, "Membership Growth, Church Activity, and Missionary Recruitment," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29, no. 1 (Spring): 34-5.

20. Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1992), 1526.

21. Church growth in various regions for the decade of the 1990s can be calculated by comparing the church membership listed for 1991 in *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (p. 1756) with that listed in the *Deseret News Almanac*, 2001-2002, for December 2000.

22. When we consider that only 40 percent of the missionary force is in the LDCs, then the adult baptismal rate might be as high as 5:1 (LDCs:WCs). However, any LDC advantage in convert baptisms would have to be offset by lower retention rates when compared to WCs. Precise estimates are difficult to calculate, of course, but retention rates probably range from 20 to 30 percent in LDCs, and from 40 to 60 percent in North America, depending on the time-frame measured. See, e.g., Wilfried Decoo, "Feeding the Fleeing Flock," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 no. 1 (Spring 1996): 98, and other essays on LDS retention rates in that same issue. However, conversion rates in the U.S. might be declining toward the low levels seen in the more secularized countries of Europe. During 2002, I heard two church talks, one by a former stake president and the other by a current mission president, both discussing the decreasing conversion rates in the U.S. and citing their involvement in a church study underway on how to reverse that trend.

23. Quoted in H. Bruce Stucki, "The Faith of a Sparrow: Faith and Trust in the Lord Jesus Christ," *Ensign*, (November 1999): 44.

would be a partial reallocation of our missionary force from WCs, which have historically had modest baptismal rates, to LDCs, which have proved more receptive to the message of the restored gospel. We can calculate that since 1970 the LDCs, with only a third of our missionaries, have yielded about five million converts, compared to only 1.5 million in the WCs. If 80 percent of our missionaries were serving in LDCs, instead of the present 40 percent, the number of new converts, currently around 300,000 annually, could be almost doubled. Indeed, if missionary-years had been allocated in such a way since 1970, one might estimate that total church membership would now be larger by as much as 4.5 million, and perhaps an additional two million members could be converted between now and 2013.[24] The largest LDCs, such as Brazil, Mexico, and the Philippines, where missionary density tends to be lowest, would have been especially productive with more missionaries.[25] Population growth rates, moreover, have been (and will continue to be) much larger in the LDCs than in the WCs, further diminishing the "density" of our missionary force in the LDCs. By 2020, well over half the LDS membership will reside in either Latin America or the Philippines.[26]

It is not entirely clear why the church has allocated fewer missionary-years to the LDCs, where converts-per-missionary are the most numerous. One reason might be economic, in the sense that more rapid growth in the LDCs could outstrip the ability of WC members to sustain the material subsidies required by that growth—or, at least, such might be the fear among church leaders. If so, the church is faced with a troubling irony: On the one hand, our scriptures enjoin us to teach the gospel especially to the world's poor, and we are regularly asked to pray that the doors of all nations will be opened to the missionaries.[27] On the other hand, in sheer economic terms, we don't seem to be able to afford much increase in the church growth-rate among the poorest nations. Even with a welfare

---

24. These calculations are distilled from my study of Shepherd and Shepherd, "Membership Growth," 32-57; Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1756; and the *Deseret News Church Almanac* 2001-2002, 148-52 (see also 426-28 for the dates of the establishment of the missions in question, and 152-421 for historical and statistical information on each mission separately).

25. This is suggested by an item in the "News of the Church" section of the *Ensign* (January 1993), which reveals that one-fifth of all Brazilian cities with populations over 100,000 had never yet had missionaries while relatively small U.S. cities of only 30,000 have had missionaries for decades. Calculations from the pages of the *Church Almanac*, cited above, would provide ample support for this generalization.

26. Bennion and Young, "Uncertain Dynamics," 16-22; David C. Knowlton, "Mormonism in Latin America: Towards the Twenty-First Century," page 157-69, both in *Dialogue* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 166-71.

27. See, for example, the scriptural injunctions in Matt. 11:5; Luke 4:18; 1 Cor. 1:26-29; James 2:5; and D&C 1:18-23; 35:15; 58:7-12; and 88:17. There is a practical reason, as well, for making sure that the poor are amply included in our missionary efforts: They tend to be younger and more receptive than the wealthy and sophisticated. Consider that 90 percent of the world's births during the twenty-first century are expected in the LDCs, where 70 percent of the world's Christians already live. As this century progresses, the LDCs are therefore likely to be much more fertile fields for missionaries than are the aging and increasingly secularized populations of the WCs.

program that calls for as much "self-sufficiency" as possible among the Saints in LDCs, church members in WCs will need to provide much more support if LDC members are to achieve minimum acceptable levels of nutrition, health care, and education (as per my earlier essay in *Dialogue*), and if we are going to expand both our humanitarian outreach and the proportion of our missionaries serving in LDCs. All such considerations require a somewhat less costly model for the future expansion of the church in terms of land acquisition, new buildings and other facilities, stake and ward budgets, and paid employees in the various bureaucracies.

Besides whatever economic constraints there might be against increasing the missionary density and rate of growth in LDCs, there is also the problem of providing leadership for the new branches, wards, and stakes that must be created. This is a greater problem in the LDS church than in other denominations which do not depend as heavily on an elaborate lay-leadership structure. Some of the wards and stakes in LDCs are twice as large (or even larger) than their counterparts in WCs because of a shortage of priesthood holders, which results, in turn, from failed retention efforts after new converts are baptized (actually, retention failures and priesthood shortages have a "vicious circle" relationship).[28] This problem of overwhelming numbers is well illustrated by the observations of Elder Neal A. Maxwell and others about the problems of "managing" church growth and welfare needs in Africa. Such management has required that the church be "built from centers of strength" (meaning the more modern urban areas rather than among the hundreds of millions out in the bush). The church in Africa was "born in a day, and it had the potential to become too much too fast." Indeed, "this is a continent that could swallow a Church."[29] Many such comments would be equally appropriate about other LDCs in the southern hemisphere.

Re-allocating missionary-years might also entail a reduction in our historic (and understandable) dependence on the English language. North American missionaries are still called disproportionately to serve in English speaking areas, where they can function without learning a new language, although missions in Hispanic or other language areas would seem to offer far more promising prospects. The United States and Canada contain roughly the same number of missions as do the LDCs of Latin America and the Philippines, but only half the population.[30] This dependence on English reduces the access of missionaries to

---

28. See Shepherd and Shepherd, "Membership Growth," especially 45-52.

29. See Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple's Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 2002), 41, 463, 467-68, 473. The quoted phrases included comments of the author as well as some quoted from Elders Holland, Maxwell, Morrison, and Tanner.

30. If the LDCs of sub-Sahara Africa are included, then the U.S., Canada, Australia, and Great Britain contain only one-third of the population of LDCs, and if India is included, less than one-fifth. Yet these English-speaking countries, with far lower conversion rates per missionary-year, contain a number of missions roughly equal to the total number in India, the Philippines, and Latin America. (These generalizations are based upon my calculations from the *Deseret News 2001-2002 Church Almanac*, 155-66).

Spanish-speaking populations within the U.S., where more than 12 percent of the population is Hispanic but a far smaller proportion of missionary-years is allocated to work with Hispanic populations. It must be acknowledged that the church has established a few special "enclave missions" within North America to serve populations speaking Spanish and other languages, but not yet with a number of missionaries (or missionary-years) proportional to the population sizes of these non-English-speaking enclaves. This disproportion is exemplified by the Las Vegas East Mission, in which I live, where 33 percent of the population is Hispanic with only 15 percent of missionary-years allocated to them. The demonstrably greater conversion rates among the Hispanic population in Las Vegas might well justify allocating at least 50 percent of the missionary force to work with the Spanish-speaking population there.[31]

The recurring bias in favor of English can also be seen in the church's inconsistent policy on language-based branches and wards within English-speaking stakes. Some church leaders have favored the maintenance of Spanish-speaking (or other language) branches, wards, or even stakes in the U.S. as a means of fellowshipping new members in gospel teachings and church procedures within familiar and comfortable environments. Other leaders have preferred a more accelerated integration of foreign-language converts into a "normal" American environment for the benefit primarily of second- and third-generation youth in convert families. Throughout the twentieth century, church policy has alternated between these two arrangements in confusing and unpredictable ways, with drop-outs and other casualties occurring each time the policy changed in one direction or the other.[32] The most recent effort to "integrate" Spanish-speaking members in the U.S.—with no more success than earlier efforts—occurred in 1996, when the church announced the dissolution of all non-English-speaking congregations. Implementation of this policy encountered considerable resistance at the grassroots and a great many practical difficulties, so enforcement has proved desultory, although it has never been formally withdrawn.[33]

---

31. A similar disproportion in missionary allocation can be seen in the African-American neighborhoods of the U.S., which also receive little missionary attention. Given that both the black and the Hispanic populations are younger on average than the surrounding Anglos and typically show higher levels of general religiosity, they would probably yield far more converts per missionary-year than the Anglos.

32. The history of this process has been traced particularly well by historian Jessie L. Embry in the following articles: "Ethnic Groups and the LDS Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 25, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 81-97; "Ethnic American Mormons: The Development of Community," 63-67 in Douglas J. Davies, ed., *Mormon Identities in Transition* (London and New York: Cassell, 1996); and *"In His Own Language": Mormon Spanish-Speaking Congregations in the United States* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

33. In actual practice, the number and durability of Spanish-speaking congregations has been left to local LDS leaders to decide. According to the *Deseret News 2001-2002 Church Almanac* (573), there are approximately 150,000 Spanish-speaking LDS members in the United States.

This brief digression into the language issue should not divert our attention from the main point of this section of the essay—namely, that missionary labor and success make important contributions to the lives of people in three general ways, especially in LDCs. (1) People who accept the message of the missionaries and adopt a lifestyle built on LDS standards improve the circumstances of their lives in material as well as in spiritual dimensions. Therefore, the larger the proportion of the LDS missionary force that can be allocated to LDCs, especially with the appropriate language facility, the greater will be the material improvement of the peoples in LDCs collectively. (2) The funds expended in LDCs by the missionaries individually, and by the church as an institution, will provide a direct infusion of cash into LDC communities. (3) The twenty hours per week of humanitarian service by proselyting missionaries, if well organized and focused, carries a great potential for material improvements in the communities where they serve. In all these ways, we are sharing material resources with our less fortunate brothers and sisters as a secondary but still important consequence of spreading the gospel.

Educational Opportunities

At the April 2001 General Conference, when President Hinckley announced the establishment of the new "Perpetual Education Fund," primarily for members in LDCs; many Latter-day Saints were understandably enthusiastic about the potential impact of such a project in the years to come.[34] However, for many of us with knowledge and experience among the Saints in LDCs, our enthusiasm about this announcement was qualified by the realizations that (1) such a program was long overdue, and (2) it was stringently limited, especially by contrast with the lavish Church resources made available to LDS college-age youth in North America.[35] Educational opportunities for faithful youth in LDCs had long been dependent on various private funds provided by groups of returned missionaries and others with charitable interests in the Saints among whom they had served. Their efforts had been supplemented for some years by a limited "International Education Fund" administered by the Church Education System in Salt Lake City, which had provided loans for books and tuition (but not for living expenses) for some two thousand students per year. Yet this fund, and the various private programs, fell far short of the resources needed for the youth in those countries, and in any case, were completely unknown to many church leaders in LDCs.[36]

---

34. See Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Perpetual Education Fund," *Ensign* (May 2001): 51-53, and the subsequent elaboration by Elder John K. Carmack in "News of the Church," *Ensign* (September 2001): 76-77.

35. As indicated in notes below, even at the present time, 99 percent of what the church spends on post-secondary education goes to the 60 percent of college-age members living in the United States, while only 1 percent goes to the 40 percent living in LDCs.

36. See "Returning Missionaries to Receive Helping Hand," *Church News*, 14 April 2000, 3; and Garth L. Mangum and Bruce D. Blumell, *The Mormons' War on Poverty: A History of LDS Wel-*

The new Perpetual Education Fund (PEF) was intended to supplant the earlier International Education Fund, and with the announcement at General Conference by President Hinckley himself, has been much more widely known than its predecessor. Eventually the PEF will also be vastly superior to all earlier efforts. Yet, for the immediate future, it is important to recognize its limitations: First, the PEF has no reliable base in tithing funds, as does the church university system, but rather is dependent entirely on the interest from an endowment fed by special contributions; for some years, the yield from that endowment will be very small. Second, the PEF is a program of loans, which will be very difficult for many LDC youth to repay, as contrasted with the tuition subsidies available to WC students at BYU, which are, in effect, grants from the tithing funds of the church.[37] Third, the PEF loans are intended to cover predominantly vocational education and training (except funding for nurse and physician training), at least for the foreseeable future, not general university education. Certainly vocational training will have an immediate practical benefit for its recipients, and is the more important component, but again will not be comparable to the more extensive education routinely available to LDS students in the church university system.[38]

Such invidious comparisons between LDC and WC students in the opportunities afforded by church membership should not be ignored or forgotten in our rightful enthusiasm about the new PEF. We can fully appreciate the potential of that inspired program while still pointing to the enormous disparity remaining in the ways in which church resources are allocated between the WC and LDC youth. At the BYU campuses, tuition for church members is kept artificially low (compared to other private universities) so that it will compare favorably to the tuition for state residents at public universities.[39] This policy requires a church subsidy of $350 million per year for some 50,000 students, almost all of whom come from the United States, where a fully adequate education would be readily available to them at state universities.[40] In effect, this constitutes a duplication (one could even say a subsidy) by the church of state services. This subsidy ben-

---

fare, 1830-1990 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 255. Church funds for these loans to LDC students amounted to about a million dollars a year, or $500 per student, at a time when probably two hundred times that went to BYU and other institutions for LDS youth in the wealthier countries. In addition, LDS students in the U.S. can easily obtain a variety of government loans and grants, unlike most of their counterparts in LDCs.

37. According to one informed estimate, 70 percent of the total budget at BYU comes from general tithing funds. See Ostling and Ostling, *Mormon America*, 222.

38. From notes taken by Armand L. Mauss at a talk given by Elder John Cormack in southern California, January 2003.

39. This subsidized cost of a premier education is so low compared to that at other private institutions that the *U.S. News and World Report*, in its 1999-2000 annual report on universities, ranked BYU as the "best buy" in the nation among private universities. See also Ostling and Ostling, *Mormon America*, 222.

40. Of a total budget of $500 million, only about one-third comes from student tuition, which means that about $350 million comes from tithing funds and solicited donations. BYU has been bringing in about $100 million per year through fund-raising campaigns (see "Capital Campaign Achievements," *BYU Magazine* (Fall 2000): 9).

efits only a minority of worthy LDS students, even in the United States, where only about 20 percent of entering freshman are able to gain admission to LDS colleges or universities.[41]

Most faithful LDS youth in LDCs can only dream of comparable educational bargains in their own countries, and only rarely find any way to cover their living expenses even if their tuition and books are provided.[42] How many such potential LDS students in LDCs are we talking about? At recent rates of church growth in LDCs, we could soon have as many as twice the number of active or "faithful" college-age youth in LDCs as in WCs.[43] If we base our estimates on information in the Encyclopedia of Mormonism, perhaps 20 percent of the total LDS population is between 18 and 26 years of age, which would lead to an estimate of 300,000 faithful LDC youth of college age, of whom between 10 and 30 percent might require assistance for post-secondary education.[44] The church could cover the cost of tuition, books, and living expenses for that many LDC students in their own countries, at $1,000 per year each, for $30-$90 million annually, an amount that could be raised immediately by a substantial tuition increase at church universities and colleges. Such a range of support would constitute less than one-fourth of the subsidy going to faithful WC students now attending church institutions. A much smaller amount, of course, would be needed for a program of loans instead of grants, which could operate on the same basis as already established for the new (but severely limited) PEF discussed above.[45]

In pointing out the disparity between WC students and LDC students in the allocation of church funding for education, I do not mean to question the good intentions of the church leaders or professionals responsible for this allocation. There might be many reasons for the disparity, and certainly there are many

---

41. See "University Strives to be 'BYU East,'" *Las Vegas Review Journal,* 2 June 2001, 9.

42. A high quality private university education in most LDCs would cost only about 20 percent of a comparable private education in the U.S., but some of the public universities in LDCs are of dubious quality with a Marxist ideological slant. See, e. g., the review of the public university system in Mexico, the LDC where LDS youth are most numerous: "UNAM: Mexico City's Giant School for Scandal," *Wall Street Journal*, 25 February 2000, 1.

43. See Bennion and Young, "Uncertain Dynamics," 8-32, and Knowlton, "Mormonism in Latin America," 157-69.

44. Tim B. Heaton, "Vital Statistics," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1992), 1528-31.

45. Some LDC students have been able to attend church universities through the largesse of U.S. sponsors (usually former missionaries they have known), and they have consequently enjoyed the usual church subsidy for such students, amounting collectively to about $20 million a year. This is twenty times what the church has been spending directly on students in the LDCs through its erstwhile "International Education Fund" (Mangum and Blumell, *Mormons' War on Poverty*, 255). Ironically, there is a scholarship program to bring students to BYU-Hawaii from Polynesia, Micronesia, and Mongolia at a total cost of $2 million annually, but no such scholarship program has been established for LDS students from Latin America and the Philippines where 95 percent of the LDC membership lives.

ways in which it can be remedied. We can trust that the same inspiration cited by Elder Carmack as responsible for the PEF will be available as the church addresses the chronic needs remaining even after the PEF is fully operational for the faithful students in the LDCs. The disparity will continue until the church finds a way to make a more general university education available to its LDC students, such as that now available to its students in North America. One possible means for achieving this goal would be gradually to convert BYU into an international university, either by building campuses in other countries or by allocating an equitable proportion of its admissions to qualified and worthy students from LDCs.[46] Greater parity could also be achieved, of course, by a new policy moving in just the opposite direction—namely, continuing the subsidy from tithing at BYU, but only for students from LDCs (and elsewhere) who could pass a "means test" (i.e., the worthy poor without access to government grants or loans), up to perhaps 40 percent of all admissions each year. All other worthy students admitted to BYU could easily pay "the market rate" for their education, especially with all the government grants and loans available in WCs.

Conclusion

LDS Church members have demonstrated many times their generosity and sincere concern for the well being of the world's less affluent peoples, whether or not these have been fellow church members. However, if we pose the question differently, that is, "How generous and equitable are we in sharing our 'loaves and fishes' with the world?" then we must also ask the follow-up question, "Compared to what?" As in my previous essay, I have been asking readers to consider not only the sheer volume of the resources we share with others, but also the proportional allocation of those resources between and among the LDCs and the WCs. With that kind of comparison, the church and its members seem to be more generous in distributing our welfare and humanitarian resources to the relatively wealthy segments of the world, where the need is relatively small, than to the impoverished and malnourished segments where the need is demonstrably urgent.

There could be many reasons for such misallocations, many of which might not be readily apparent, and certainly I harbor no suspicions of malevolent motives among these possible reasons. Even with the best of intentions, large bureaucracies often struggle with inefficiencies and obsolescent policies. I wish only to point to the apparent inequities and inefficiencies in the present alloca-

---

46. Deciding on an "equitable" figure in this instance would require careful calculation and judgment, but it might be as high as 40 percent, considering how few alternative opportunities are available to the LDC faithful as compared to those routinely available to faithful WC students at state universities. The current percentage of LDC students in church colleges and universities around the world is 5 percent while an estimated 40 percent of the faithful LDS college-age youth live in LDCs. Preparing LDC students for BYU admission might also entail providing a program of English language instruction in their home countries prior to admission.

tion of our resources, both as a people and as a church, and to suggest ways in which we might do better by our numerous brothers, sisters, and friends in the LDCs with but little additional sacrifice among those of us blessed to live in affluence. We can all begin immediately by increasing our donations to the Humanitarian Fund of the church, but the fundamental inequities cannot be changed without important changes in certain church policies.

It Happens So Often

Heidi Hemming

"WOW, WHERE DO YOU PEOPLE COME FROM? You're the fourth one tonight!!!" quips the emergency room attendant as I am eased out of my car into the waiting wheel chair. I do not laugh at his joke. It has been twenty-four hours since I began to give birth to my first child, and finally my contractions are three minutes apart. My eyes wander vaguely over the smooth checked pattern of the floors as they whiz by and, counter to all birthing class wisdom, I allow myself to imagine that simply entering hospital doors will hasten the end of this ordeal.

The nurse-midwife checks me and tells me that I can lie in the bathtub if I'd like. My sister Jill spends forty-five minutes with her finger stuck in the little Jacuzzi spout that is aimed at my stomach because I can't bear the sensation. A friend is perched on the counter timing contractions while my husband holds my hand and we moan. I close my eyes against the pain.

I am remembering another day. The African sun is baking the top of my head as I follow a fellow Peace Corps Volunteer down the rutted, dusty footpath to her village maternité—the small cinder block building where all local women are encouraged to have their babies delivered. Gail has mentioned that she is going to help with a young village woman who is in labor, and having never witnessed a birth, I tag along as if this were a picnic. The smell of mildew and bat dung brings me up short. Passing the recovery room—two women and their tiny arrivals resting on straw mats on the floor—we next find the laboring woman. There is one table in the room, strewn with old medical wrappers and broken glass, but she is kneeling, naked, on the grimy cement floor. Her eyes are glazed over with pain as she looks up and I suddenly feel awkward, like a voyeur caught in the act. I cast about in my mind for something helpful or comforting to say, but I'm still new enough in the country that I only know the vocabulary of everyday situations. . .enough to argue over the price of onions, and to ask my neighbors to kindly remove their goats from my garden. An old woman enters and sits, cradling the young woman's head in her lap.

I've heard the war stories. . .about how when I was born my mother's uterus stopped dilating and the big nurse was pushing on my mother's stomach while

the doctor propped his foot up on the table and pulled on the forceps. My father, the physician, always ends this story, "Had you been born 50 years earlier, both you and your mother would have been dead."

Someone forgot to tell me that there isn't always rest between contractions. They are relentless, one on top of the other. When the nurse midwife returns from her nap, she says that nothing has changed since she left three hours ago. I think I am going to die.

Standing in the dank hallway the midwife says matter-of-factly that this labor isn't so bad. After all, this woman is twenty years old and has already borne her husband a couple of children. We've been hovering uncomfortably on the fringes of this drama for about an hour when it begins to rain. The windows have no glass or screen, only big, metal shutters on hinges which we close to keep the water from pooling on the floor. The roof is also metal and the sound is so deafening as to make conversation impossible. The room is completely dark so that we are only conscious of the laboring woman hunched in a corner. When the storm is past, I look at my watch. It is late afternoon and I am a three hour motorcycle ride from my village. It will be a while before the child is born. On my way out, I stop to touch the hand of a tiny baby the midwife tells us will probably die.

"Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children. . . ." In the second day of my labor this is something of an understatement. When the urge to push finally comes I am shocked by its violence. My body is a machine—mine (yes, I still feel everything), but also not mine. My great-grandmother did this seventeen times. Countless generations of women have perished trying—but this process is so confounding, so extraordinary that I can hardly imagine that I am not the first woman ever to bear a child. Is it really possible that every living being comes this way?

The light of early dawn is in the window. With a final burning shove he joins us in the world, a small bluish boy with a head of slick, black hair. We are all crying. . .sobbing. My arms are so shaky with fatigue and relief that I am afraid I will drop him.

He is healthy, and in his privileged world the odds are in our favor that this will be a long association—perhaps till he's a balding old man. What about that African baby? I don't need to look up infant mortality rates to be reminded that I hardly knew a woman in Mali who hadn't lost a child.

It's another brittle, hot day when we hear that our friend Koro's little sister has died. "How can that be?" my husband and I wonder. She is twelve years old, with budding breasts, and we saw her only last week when we ate with the family. No one really knows what was wrong with her. She just got sick, and a couple of days later. . . .This is the first time we have tried to learn benedictions for

the dead, "God save her soul," and "May her resting place be cool." We are not sure how to express our own grief at the news and eventually stumble into the family compound with a tin full of flowers from our garden. All composure is lost when tears begin to pool in the eyes of the girl's mother.

I have heard it said that women in developing countries must get used to having children die—after all it happens so often. When I was younger, this argument seemed to me a kind of guilty justification for having so much in an inequitable world. Now I am a mother. Gazing on this beautiful boy who will bear the name of a dear Malian friend, I think of my son's little African counterpart, a child named for my husband. Could it be that when his mother wrapped his tender 18-month-old body for the grave, that she thought, "Oh well, we can always have another one"?

I doubt it.

Reprinted with permission from *Exponent II*

One Hundred Eighteen Years of Attitude: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in the Free and Hanseatic City of Bremen[1]

Jörg Dittberner

> [M]ost areas in Germany are not ready for the Church, but eventually many of the German nations will embrace the Gospel.
>
> —*Daniel Carn,*
> *First mission president in Germay, 1853*[2]

> Bremen is in many respects the freest German city I have so far visited, although city officials did not want to permit me to hold a public service, because there is a great fear of the Mormons. ... Although it was difficult to get started I am sure that a great work will be performed in that area, sooner or later."[3]
>
> —*Abraham H. Cannon,*
> *Founder of the Bremen Branch and later an Apostle, 1882*

---

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the MHA-Conference in Aalborg, Denmark, 29 June 2000.

2. Gilbert Scharffs, *Mormonism in Germany* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 12 f.

3. Albert Riedel, *Die Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Missionen der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage, Teil I* (Salt Lake City: Service Press, 1971), 394. A planned second volume never appeared.

PARS PRO TOTO

I BELIEVE THE HISTORY OF THE BREMEN WARDS to be a good example of LDS history in Germany. The first branch was founded in January 1882 with seven members, and by the year 2000 there were 400 members in two wards. After a slow beginning there was in Bremen, as in all of Germany, a great deal of missionary success from the1920's to the Second World War and again in two periods after the Second World War (1946-1964, 1972-1987).[4] Since the second half of the eighties, no real progress has been made in terms of missionary success. At first this circumstance was concealed by the baptisms of a number of foreign visitors from Africa and Eastern Europe. As these converts subsequently left to return to their home countries, it has become very clear that the membership numbers since the mid-eighties have stayed nearly the same (or have even shrunk) at least in northern Germany.

At the same time, member rention has undergone specific changes as well. From the church's beginnings in Germany up to the mid-1960s, emigration had been very high (except for a pause during the Third Reich). Meanwhile, the loss of membership through apostacy has come in waves, often destroying small branches in the beginning,[5] and—as we will see in the case of Bremen—it is hindering growth in some areas still today.

Both emigration and apostacy have been persistent problems in all of Germany, but they seem to have become especially acute in northern Germany with many young members moving either out of Germany altogether (especially to Brigham Young University to obtain a higher education) or to Southern Germany in order to find better opportunities to make a living. They leave behind very small congregations where tensions may rise very high very quickly, leading to high frustration and waves of apostacy.[6] At the same time, there are persisting differences between East and West Germany. As a culture, East Germany itself is burdened with the unresolved Stasi-problem. The "Stasi" was the East German secret police organization, which coerced countless citizens into spying and reporting on their neighbors, leaving a legacy of deep mistrust and finger pointing about who, in fact, was collaborating with the government to spy and report on whom. This problem is compounded by deeply held prejudices which East and West Germans harbor toward one another. One ironic result of Germany's reunification is that we are likely to see a mosaic structure arising in the German Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (*Kirche Jesu Christi der*

4. The hiatus between these two periods of success may be typical only of Bremen as it was caused by local difficulties which I will explain.

5. For example, in Hamburg, Karlsruhe, and Bremen in 1883.

6. According to Prof. Kelling at the MHA Conference, Copenhagen/Aalburg 1990: "In small wards people know each other well and get on one another's nerves more easily." Personal problems between members tend to enlarge or sharpen conflicts over doctrine or policy. From author's personal notes.

Heiligen der letzten Tage), which up until recently had been quite homogeneous.[7] Therefore, the development of membership in Bremen is, so far, typical for Germany in general, and it also exemplifies the main obstacles to lasting success.

Obstacles to Lasting Succcess

There are three main difficulties hindering lasting success in Bremen and in Germany generally:

1. There are harsh misconceptions of the church and its policies that, before the Second World War, led to police actions and to this day continues to produce a mountain of anti-Mormon literature, published by other churches, which damage the public reputation of the church to an extent that seriously hinders missionary success, especially among educated people. A recent truly blatant example occurred in the 1997 request by the "Enquete Kommission" of the German Federal Parliment (Deutscher Bundestag) to include the Mormon church in a hearing on dangerous cults. (The politicians involved later apologized for not having noticed that the church had been recognized by the state as an official and authorized "church" since 1953 [1954 in Berlin]).

2. Emigration to the United States, massive up to the sixties, but continuing steadily today, robs the church in Germany of well educated potential leaders.

For example, the man who just a few years ago was ward mission leader in Bremen is today an elders' quorum president in Salt Lake City.

3. Internal quarrels block decisions at different levels of leadership and lead to waves of disaffection and apostacy. Such waves tend to start with tensions among leaders or between leadership and members. It has always been a problem in Germany to find leaders who are both qualified by the standards of the institution and accepted by the members.

Periods of the Ward History

Bremen's 118 years of ward history can be divided into six instructive time periods:

1. The founding: between 1862 and 1902 the branch struggled into existence, having, in fact, to be founded twice (1882 and 1899).
2. The period of police harassment, 1902 to 1922.

---

7. Greater missionary success in eastern Germany through the 1930's led to Melchisedec Priesthood growth and a kind of independent leadership that in western Germany came only later and of necessity during the war.

3. The first period of success, 1922 to 1939.[8]

4. The period of struggle after World War II.

5. The second period of success, 1968 to 1993 under the leadership of three outstanding men.

6. The current time of troubles dating from 1997 during which nearly one-fifth of the active members have left.

The Founding: The Second Time is the Charm

The first LDS missionary to Bremen was Friedrich Müller, who arrived in 1862. He was not very successful. The police would not allow him to preach the gospel. But Josef Zollinger, whose family Müller baptized in Switzerland, became a rather successful missionary in Bremen 45 years later.[9] In Bremen there has always been some success in spite of a number of impressive obstacles.

Meanwhile, the first successfull LDS missionary came to Bremen directly from prison. Ludwig Suhrke had been imprisoned in Hamburg for sixty days until mid-December 1881. He refers to his visit in Bremen as "a very pleasant one"[10] and recalls a lot of interest. He was joined by fellow missionary Abraham H. Cannon, who got him out of prison and then went to visit the branches further north. Suhrke had been jailed for visa violation. He had no official permission to preach or proselytize. It was Abraham H. Canon, who founded the Bremen Branch sometime between December 27th when Suhrke left and January 20th when Canon was forbidden to preach in Bremen. He had asked for police permission to hold meetings on January 7th, 1882: "I intend to give religious lectures in the house of the Meiensen family, Wacht-street 14. I. . .never encourage to emigrate to Utah, but I am teaching the pure doctrine of Christ. In doing so, I refer to the teachings of a prophet Mormon, having been in America aproximately 1,400 years ago. In his teachings polygamy is not praised and I am not touching it in my sermons neither."[11] An expert's report was requested, and a senator named Dr. Mohr declared it questionable that Mormonism was in accordance with state laws (context made it clear that he refered to polygamy[12]). He continued that it didn't make a difference whether or not these things were explicitly stated in sermons. Moreover, in as much as Cannon was a foreigner, permission should surely be denied to him that would have been denied to a citizen.

---

8. The reasons for this period of success are described in Bruce Van Orden, "Warum die Kirche im Deutschland der zwanziger Jahre erstaunliche Erfolge hatte," *Betrachtungen* 5 (Spring 1997): 34-37. *Betrachtungen* was an independent Mormon magazine published in Germany from 1995 to 2000.

9. Riedel 1971, 181.

10. Manuscript history of the Swiss and German Mission 1868-1883, Historical Department, LR 8884:2, Vol. 5.

11. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 7th file.

12. Cannon didn't help matters by introducing himself as one of 25 children of four wives of his father George Q. Cannon.

Abraham H. Cannon founded the branch anyway with seven members, but it didn't last long without the assistance of missionaries. The next missionary to visit Bremen was Ward E. Pack, Jr., who came the following September. He reported to the spring conference in 1883: "I found the members of the branch divided and had to excommunicate the branch president.[13] After that things went better but I had very little success. I could find only two people still accepting the gospel, and one of these did emigrate."[14] He drew the balance for the end of the year 1883: "Bremen: 1 member, 3 emigrated, 3 excommunicated."[15] This is a balance which for Germany has in some ways remained emblematic.

In October 1898 missionaries were again sent to Bremen. They went believing themselves to be the first missionaries there.[16] On 9 May 1899, A. A. Thomas requested police permission to hold a meeting with the mission presidents of the German (Arnold Schultheß), the Swiss (Henry E. Bowman), and the European (Platt D. Lyman) Missions. Permission was granted, and thereafter in May 1901 permission was given as well for regular (conference) meetings under the condition that the missionaries would take care to ensure "*Ruhe und Ordnung*" (peace and order—a typical phrase stating the primary goal of the goverment). And indeed, police reports of the meetings state: "No infringement of the regulations occurred."[17]

One example of the popular perception of Mormons at that time comes from an article in the local newspaper Bremer Nachrichten, reporting on the conference: "It was poor and simple people listening to the sermons of similarly simple preachers. Much as the unfortunate once listened to the fisherman of Nazereth in the days of the Apostles. . . .How strange to modern man is such belief, however strong, in miracles."[18] At this time church members were officially recognized by the government[19] as can be seen in the census of the year 1900, which counted Mormons along with all other religious denominations.[20]

The Period of Police Harassment, 1902-1922: Misconceptions about the Church and its Policies Lead to Persecution.

My studies of Prussian files have given me the clear impression that Prussian officers in Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century were generally quite well informed about the early years of Mormonism in America. Often they requested further information through the German consulate in Denver, especially

---

13. The branch president was a lay member without priesthood.

14. Manuscript history of the Swiss and German Mission 1868-1883, Historical Department LR 8884:2, Vol. 5.

15. Ibid.

16. *Der Stern* 31:167.

17. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 7th file.

18. Riedel 1971, 554 f.

19. It is significant that the German members never had problems with the police (accept for emigrating illegally from Prussia). Only proselyting was prohibited.

20. However, they counted only three of the sixteen members.

in the first years of the twentieth century. Two main questions occupied the minds of the officers: First, what was the relationship between the Mormon church and the national government in the USA, which, during the time of the first information gathering, was still pre-occupied with the anti-polygamy bills directed against Utah Mormonism? Second, what exactly was the Mormon concept of marriage? It was the missionary Orson Spencer, who awakened this latter interest when he gave a talk on the "patriarchal order of marriage" during a court hearing in Berlin in January 1853.[21]

As a consequence of Spencer's talk and of government inquiries, on 26 April 1853 the Prussian Department of the Interior issued a decree[22] that Mormon missionaries were to be kept under surveillance, expelled immediately, or brought before the court if grounds could be found. Two explanations were given: The missionaries advocated emigration (which was illegal before young men had completed several years of national service), and they taught against the legal order of marriage. These two accusations, together with the charge of causing civil unrest, have been the basis for police actions against the Mormons ever since. The behavior and attitude of Mormon missionaries toward state laws have been called into question, but never their religious opposition to the Lutheran state church. Police action has, in other words, never been religious persecution *per se*. This can be seen in the limitation of police actions against Mormons to the missionaries. These were never directed against the German members.

Nonetheless, Prussian officers never considered any change in policy toward the missionaries. After 1871 all of Germany had come under Prussian rule, and the Prussian state agencies became German national agencies (this double function was not changed until an administrative reform carried out by the Third Reich). The protests of American ambassadors against the expulsion of LDS missionaries at the beginning of the twentieth century were always ignored.[23] It took a trade treaty[24] between Germany, by then a republic, and the United States in 1923 to convince the government to change its policy toward the missionaries.

Meanwhile, it took until 1902 before Mormon missionaries in Germany were again detected by the Prussian police. Then the Prussian officers worked swiftly. Within weeks every part of Prussia itself had been notified, had reported any missionaries within its boundaries, and expelled them.[25] Outside Prussia, things moved at a different pace although Prussian officers worked hard to force their colleagues into action. For example, the chief of police in Hannover wrote

---

21. See his report: "The Prussian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day saints" (Liverpool/ London, 1853).

22. State Archive of Bremen under Senatsregistratur 3.- A.10.63, also in the Secret State Archive of Prussia.

23. Letter of the Prussian state department from August 7th, 1903, in State Archive of Bremen; Senatsregistratur 3.- A.10.63.

24. State Archive of Bremen, "Senator für die innere Verwaltung" 4, 13/ 1- P.1.f. Nr.11.

25. Secret State Archive of Prussia.

to the Senate of Bremen on 18 April 1903, regarding a missionary expelled from Hannover.[26] But it took Bremen officers until June 20th to come to the conclusion that they should expel the three missionaries then in the city of Bremen. According to records, they found no proof for accusations against them. The police president had accused the Mormon missionaries of tempting young unmarried women to emigrate. The results of police investigations with neighbors and the landlord of the meeting place in Bremen didn't yield much: They described the missionaries as very quiet people, not receiving visits often. The members would drink only water, said the disappointed landlord. Only one unemployed man had emigrated to Utah for sure.[27] However, the authority of the "Reichskanzler" invoked by the police chief in Hannover weighed more heavily than evidence. So in January 1903 the police department began surveillance in earnest by opening a new file.[28] Still, the yield remained poor. The first missionary put under investigation was the Swiss Friederich Albert Rindlisbacher, who was married to but a single wife and had no previous convictions. He made such a good impression on the police that he was regarded as trustworthy, even when he claimed to know nothing about American missionaries passing through Bremen.[29]

The police report of an LDS meeting on January 25th reads as follows: "The attendees followed the sermons reverently. The conduct of the meeting did not seem likely to provoke scenes like those found at Salvation Army meetings in their first years here. Nothing was said about polygamy or emigration."[30] The number of young women was counted in every meeting visited, but without leading to any conspicuous result.

On 1 February, a police officer visited a testimony meeting and reported the members had given "testimonies, which were generally similar." He continues: "In these testimonies they expressed their reasons for believing that they had found the true doctrine that leads to God in Mormon doctrine. These meetings were peaceful; the attendees were very reverent. Nothing was said about polygamy or emigration in the meetings."[31]

As far as the ward files[32] indicate, the congregation consisted mostly of working class people, of whom nearly two-thirds were not native to Bremen. It was not an intellectual or a revolutionary gang, according to the officer, but rather a few hard working families meeting to listen to explanations of the Bible or the books of a certain "Josef Schmidt" mostly in poor German.[33]

---

26. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11.
27. Ibid.
28. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file.
29. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 2nd file.
30. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 12.
31. Ibid.
32. Historical Department Salt Lake City, CR 375 8: "Bremer Mitgliederliste 1899-1920."
33. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 15.

Yet on 14 August 1903, the Senate decided once again to expel the foreign missionaries without having found any proof of accusations that they were "tempting to emigrate" or "disturbing the public order." The Prussian conception of the church as polygamous and disrespectful toward state authority—true in the time of Orson Spencer and the Utah War, but not in 1903 and certainly not in Germany—prevailed despite the good impression made by individual missionaries and members.

Ironically, the missionaries countered by going underground, working without visas or permission. In the following years, there was a lively, unsung competition between missionaries and police officers: The missionaries tried to go unnoticed about their work while the police tried to track them down before they were able to preach a word or distribute a tract. By all accounts, the missionaries won this game.

On their own and without *inside* informers, the police apprehended a missionary just three times over the next ten years: One missionary caught the eye of a policeman while passing out pamphlets in public. Asking what kind of "advertisement" the man was passing out, the policemen found he'd caught a missionary sought by the police department for several weeks.[34] Another policeman got lucky on a night patrol. He noticed a man crawling out of a basement window at 2:30 a.m. Believing he had caught a burglar, the officer was quite surprised to have snagged a Mormon missionary who had secretly been visiting a member.[35] You might say he was caught home teaching.

The third case was even more unusual: Two citizens came to the police to inform the officers of a sexual crime they believed had taken place at a public pool in the middle of the night (9:45 p.m.). It turned out that a baptismal service had taken place. Two children of a pool employee had been baptized. The foreign missionaries found in this way were expelled.[36]

But the police learned the most from informants close to the members in Bremen. On 20 November 1904, a master painter named A. Ahlhorn sent in a letter[37] requesting police action against "the mischief of a cult," which was dealing with "the great stupidness of young virgin girls." "I am able to prove," he insisted, "that they swindled ten marks from a young girl named Friedericke

34. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p.127.

35. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 7th file.

36. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 55 f.

37. "[Die] hochlöbliche Polizei ersucht der Unterzeichnete ganz ergebenst veranlassen zu wollen, das des unfugmäßige[n] Treiben einer Sekte, welche sich die letzten Tage der Heiligen [nennt] und und [sic] welche auf die koloßale Dumheit [sic] jungfräulich junger Mädchen rechnet einhalt [sic] getahn wird. Ich habe den Beweis, dazu junges Mädchen namens Friederike König, geboren zu Lenglern, dient bei. . .Keubler hier, welche auf den Leim dieser Menschen eingegangen ist, zyn Mark abgeschwindelt und in Oslebshausen in die Weser geworfen, wie sie sagen, getauft haben (zwei Männer), also direkt gewisser grober Unfug verübt. Die Bande haust in einem Hause der Steinbachstraße und bin ich zur weiteren Auskunft, da die Verhaftung des Gesindels sofort erfolgen kann, gern bereit."

König. . .who fell for their tricks, and was thrown in the Weser [river] at Oslebshausen to get baptized, as they say (two men) [. T]his is surely great mischief. The gang lives in a house on Steinbacher Street, and I would be glad to give further information, so these riff-raff could be arrested immediately."[38] It turned out that Mr. Ahlhorn was the half-brother of the girl and that she had come into contact with the church through a young man whom she often met "in the kitchen" of the home she worked in as a maid. The girl earnestly attempted to demonstrate to the police that her baptism had not been a "gross mischief": "In the home of a member, the elder of the group, who also preaches the gospel, accepted my request for membership. On the same day, or rather that evening, I was baptized on the bank of the Weser at Oslebshausen. Therefore, I went to this place with six members of the group, including one woman. After I had undressed, the woman gave me the baptismal dress, a long, white gown. The male members were far away from me while I changed dresses. I was baptized by the elder, and I had to be completely under the water for this."[39]

On 17 November 1909, a man informed the police that four Mormon preachers had been in Bremen for six weeks to recruit men and women to be transported to Utah the next day.[40] His wife, he said, would be one of the women. But he had not been allowed to participate in the meetings. The police investigated and found out that the meetings had been announced in the local newspaper, the *Bremer Nachrichten*. The meetings were public with free admission. Married couples had apparently not been prevented from attending together. No one had been denied admission. Mostly complete families attended the meetings. The missionaries or preachers sat at a table across from the attendees. "Religious songs were sung to the tune of `Hinaus in die Ferne´ and `Deutschland, Deutschland über alles´." The file further states: "The missionaries held religious meetings, dealing with a certain Josef ~~Schmidt~~ Smith." Question-and-Answer sessions were held: "The meetings are supposedly all civilized and peaceful. Everyone calls each other 'brother' and 'sister.'"[41] Missionaries attending the meetings were expelled from the city. No transport of German citizens to the USA was detected. Later the police found that the man, who twice brought charges accusing the Mormons, was or had become a member himself.[42]

The third important incident came through a tip by a master painter named Johannes Tegtmeyer[43] on behalf of a colleague, Georg F. Schulze, who had been a member of the church for a couple of years and became dissatisfied when he asked to get part of his tithing back during a time of financial stress. Tegtmeyer declared that "the sect" was only concerned about collecting tithing money and

38. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 6th file.
39. See n. 37.
40. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 61 f.
41. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 63-65.
42. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p.112 f.
43. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 91 f.

used biblical quotations and sermons so that "people are influenced gladly to give everything they have without regard to whether they can afford it or not, and it often happens that the families suffer thereby." From Schulze and from books he had previously owned, Tegtmeyer said, he had found out that "people, mostly young girls" were convinced to emigrate "since everything there is as it is preached here." City officials also recorded that "members of the sect were required to kiss each other as the kiss of brotherhood is highly-prized by the sect." Tegtmeyer testified that Schulze feared revenge. He said there were people posted during the meetings to warn of approaching police. The police tried to prove these accusations but without any success. And Georg F. Schulze, who apparently had left the church, became a member again shortly thereafter.

In all of this we can see that the understanding of the church, its teachings, and policies was hindered not only by the official Prussian misconception of Mormonism, but also by prejudices brought to the attentions of the police by citizens, often with their own conditioned prejudices, who were harboring grudges or pursuing personal agendas. And these accusations and stories were readily believed because they fit neatly with the official concept sustained by the authority of the goverment.

Two other sources of misinformation are also apparent from the police files: newspaper articles and movies. There is, for instance, a newspaper article from November 1909 with the headline, "The Mormon State is dissolved!"[44] It is full of mistakes about dates and persons in early church history and goes on to exclaim: "According to the new religion, there are numberless Gods since every saint becomes a god after his death and also has the possibility of promotion in heaven through the different ranks found in eternity. Polygamy was an excellent tactical move by the first prophet since his cult had to grow faster and obtain more power." The article describes a U.S.-goverment ban calling Mormonism "a remnant of barbarism, which contradicts civilization, morals, and the laws of the land," but the article goes on to point out that Mormons have, in fact, finally been tamed and have had to adjust to civilization. They are now living like every other American. Hence, the former state of the Mormons has indeed been formally dissolved.

For 21 October 1911, we find a formal complaint by George F. Schulze recorded in the police archives against a movie called "Das Opfer des Mormonen" (The Victim of the Mormon). An advertisement for this film called it "A first-class sensation! A hit like 'The White Slave, Part I'. . .a tremendous drama in three acts." A young woman ("an attractive blonde") is seduced by a young Mormon missionary into sailing to America and then taken by him to Utah although she has changed her mind. Eventually she is rescued by her fiancé and her brother. Schulze protested that the movie was misleading and offended his religious sensibilities.[45] The police, however, found nothing to say against the

44. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 73.

45. State Archive of Bremen, Rep. VI. E. 33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file, p. 80 f.

movie because it merely showed what they already believed to be true—even though they hadn't ever been able to prove it.

To contemporary readers the accounts from both sources sound funny, over-the-top inaccurate in their description of Mormonism even in its wildest days. To the Bremen police, however, such information was trustworthy. The impression the police officers got from visiting the reverent and orderly Mormon meetings was never strong enough to thrust this lurid picture aside.

The First Period of Success, 1922-39: In the Shadow of World War II

Beginning in the 1920's, the number of baptisms went up to a record in 1921 of 18 baptisms and approximately ten in the following years. During that period the membership in Bremen rose from 91 members in 1924 to 140 just five years later. They met in a rented room at the "lodge of the Guttemplers,"[46] Sunday mornings (Sunday school) and afternoons (sacrament meeting) and on Wednesdays for Bible study.[47]

During that time Wilhelm Deters was baptized, who later became branch and then district president and the leading figure during the war and right after it. He describes his conversion in a way that sheds light on the situation of Mormons in Bremen:

> In 1922 my aunt Johanne became a member of the church. I still remember her going to the meetings during the summer of 1922 with a neighbor. After she visited the meetings regularly for several months, she persuaded me to accompany her to a meeting. I was at once impressed by the kindness with which I was welcomed and came again on the next Sunday. After I attended the meetings a couple of times, I felt comfortable enough to go there alone when my aunt was not well or was otherwise unable. I noticed that I enjoyed it even more if I met with the Saints often—even more after I befriended some of the young people.[48]

What convinced him to join the church was the Doctrine and Covenants: "I still recall exactly that I began reading this book of the church at 9 p.m., and it turned 3 a.m. when I put the book aside and fell asleep. Never had a book fascinated and impressed me like the book Doctrine and Covenants. . . .I couldn't get these sayings out of my head, and as if written by a burning pencil, it stood on my heart: This is the church of God!"[49] He was baptized on a bitter cold day in December in the Weser river, which had just started to freeze.

---

46. Located around the corner from the former meetingplace in a pub, all in the working class quarter of Walle.

47. State Archive of Bremen Rep. VI E.33 4, 14/ 11, 3rd file.

48. "Life-story of Wilhelm Deters," privately circulated manuscript, copy in author's possession.

49. Ibid.

The missionaries now worked without hindrance in the city, and, pursuing lines of kinship and friendship, they had a lot of success. The church was officially recognized and reported in Bremen's "Statistisches Jahrbuch" (census yearbook of the city) with the number of members, baptisms, funerals, and confirmations.

Within the branch, friendships helped the members to progress as Wilhelm Deters remembers: "I received a lot of help in my calling [as a deacon] from my best friend Ernst Milbredt. We worked together in the Priesthood and the Mutual." Later these two formed a group of four friends with Johanna Schubert and Paul Schwarz. During a time of growing economic troubles, the church provided stability for the members as Wilhelm Deters recalls: "The church has always been my anchor and especially now all my hopes and dreams were connected with the gospel of Jesus Christ. I never lost my courage and always tried to fulfill the charges of my church callings."[50] To some the solution to economic troubles was to emigrate, but the branch grew nonetheless due to an even greater number of baptisms. The Mutual and the scout program[51] were started. The first church services were held in Bremerhaven, a city some 50 kilometers to the north at the mouth of the Weser river.[52]

But there are also reports of internal quarrels, even fights.[53] Wilhelm Deters recalls: "Surely, we had also our problems, mostly because of lack of unity, gossip, and working against each other instead of working together, but we overcame these conditions through much prayer and fasting."[54] He says it was especially difficult for some brethren to cope with receiving authority when the leadership was turned over from missionaries to local members: "Some local brethren, now elevated to responsible church positions, had the impression that they were better than the others and started to act accordingly in their relations with other people."[55] He describes one brother whose whole family began to interfere with the branch business.

Despite such problems, in general the church had become strong and well organized in Bremen by the time World War II began. There had, in fact, been only isolated incidents of harrassment by the National Socialist (Nazi) government. Wilhelm Deters reported as late as the end of 1939: "The conditions in the branches in the Bremen District are generally good. Those members who have always fulfilled their obligations to the Church still do so even under these trying circumstances." During the war, only one sister lost her life although a great deal of property was destroyed.

---

50. Ibid.

51. See "L.D.S. Boy Scout Gruppe Löwe" in *Der Wegweiser*, October-December, 1928.

52. In fact, one session of district conference was held there in May 1929 because of "the great number of friends" who lived there (Historical Department, District Bremen, LR 963 2).

53. Reported by of a former missionary in the mid-twenties.

54. "Life-story of Wilhelm Deters."

55. Ibid.

The Period of Struggle after World War II: Missionary Success is Dwarfed by Emigration and Internal Quarrels

Even before American missionaries returned to Germany in July of 1949, German members had started to take up missionary work. Interest in the church was very high, and Otto Berndt, president of the Hamburg district, warned that this might merely be a product of the welfare goods being sent from the United States to help the German saints.[56] Whatever the reason, the Sunday school classes, opening during that time in areas where no church services had ever been held before the war, had more non-members than members (the Sunday school in Bremen-Burg began with only 12 members among 73 participants[57]). A great number of members also appeared from the east where the church had had large branches and well organized districts before their expulsion (*die Vertreibung*) from what is now Poland and Russia ended German settlement east of the Oder and Neisser rivers. The eastern refugees even opened their own dependent branches, usually within the branch boundaries, such as the first dependent branch in Delmenhorst,[58] a small city close to Bremen.

Prospects could have been very bright for the church in Bremen, but there was the matter of emigration. The First Presidency of the church tried as early as 19 February 1948 to discourage emigration[59]—but without success. Nearly all the members known for leadership and service in the first years after the war soon emigrated to the United States, such as the two district presidents in North Germany, Wilhelm Deters and Otto Berndt, and one of the first missionary couples in Germany, Werner and Elfriede Schmidt, who served a mission from 1946 to 1948. Interestingly, all four returned to Germany later on missions.

The annual branch report for 1951 states that "because of emigration" there were only six priesthood holders, three elders and three priests, left.[60] Before the war, there had been more than 140 members, in 1945 around 50 active members (before the arrival of refugees); now there were 66 tithe-paying members. In 1956 the attendance at sacrament-meetings for the first quarter ranged between only 17 to 39 persons.[61]

By the end of 1958, the numbers had stabilized: 181 members, 7 elders, and 22 Aaronic Priesthood holders were counted.[62] By this time the branch already had its own meetinghouse (dedicated 6 May 1956) because during these years more than 70 people (that is 70 were still on the membership list in 1958) had been baptized in Bremen.

---

56. Church Historical Department, Manuscript History of the West-German Mission, LR 10045.

57. Church Historical Department, LR 11024 15.

58. Personal testimony of Brother Skwara sen.

59. Church Historical Department, Manuscript history of the West-German Mission, LR 10045.

60. Historical Department, LR 962 2.

61. Ibid.

62. Historical Department, LR 2428 30 fd.6.

The increase in members over 30 years, however, was just 41 (140 members in 1929 to 181 members in 1958) although more than 40 families from Silesia had come to Delmenhorst alone and more than 70 people had been baptized. Emigration was the problem, and emigration continued up to the mid-sixties, though with decreasing numbers. Membership by the end of 1959 had gone up by 22 members in just one year to 203, including seven baptisms.[63]

While emigration was the principal factor affecting numbers and growth, a second main issue was internal quarrels: In January 1950 we find the first official trace of this when the entire branch presidency in Delmenhorst was released "because of various difficulties in the branch."[64]

The mission history praises the members of the Bremen Branch for their sacrifice to accomodate the visitors to a district conference in 1951,[65] but the branch history of the same date warns about "jealousy of some members with regard to the missionaries" and "gossip."[66] In 1963 things appear to have deteriorated severely: A sister asked for her release because of "too much spitefulness" against her husband, first counselor to the mission president.[67]

The mission president tried to intervene, called for more charity, politeness, and respect and spoke against gossip, contention, fault-finding, etc. Tension was palpable between some of the "brethren" in Bremen and a mission counselor and former branch and district president. The crisis came at a district conference in January 1964 when a brother from Bremen voted against sustaining the first counselor to the mission president. The branch recording secretary commented on this as follows:

> The secretary allows himself to note that Brother B, within a conspiracy against Brother N, sticks his neck out for brothers who are too cowardly to raise their hands against Brother N and would rather continue to agitate in the darkness. Members of the conspiracy include elders O (a literally continuous agitator), who may have been driven to this by his wife; elder Z, who fears Brother N and is also opposed to the secretary, Brother K, who has been influenced by this brother and has been blinded by a lasting hate for the N family. On the same evening, following a baptismal service, he attacked Brother N junior. Sister B is possibly the motivator, Brother B the acting part. Brother G must at this time also be counted a member of this group—influence of Brother N. Brother A apparently plays an unexpected and ugly role as careful advisor.[68]

---

63. "Almanach Bremen" (1960), internal ward publication, copy in author's posession.
64. Church Historical Department, LR 20736.
65. Historical Department, Manuscript History of the West-German Mission, LR 10045.
66. Historical Department, LR 962 2.
67. Ibid.
68. Historical Department, LR 963 2.

The secretary seems over-zealous (describing himself as "Christ's guardian"[69]) and not a little paranoid. An inquiry into the faults of the late and much opposed leader turned up his strict opposition to American missionaries' marrying German girls[70] and a predisposition to vanity (detractors called him the "the Little King"[71]). Divisions appear to have been less about substance and more about style, but whatever the reasons, the priesthood unity and respect for authority demanded of and widely habitual among Mormons were clearly in tatters.

On 11 October 1964, the mission president acted to deal with this situation, calling a missionary to serve as branch president and to be "absolutely neutral" as "a temporary solution until a German brother in the branch could be found for the calling."[72] This arrangement lasted until 1968. Different missionaries led the branch and trained new leadership around the recently baptized (December 1964) brothers Johann-Friedrich Dierking and Dietrich Behl, supported by an American high school teacher now living in Bremen named Roy Lynn Pugmire.

So we see that during the first part of the years from 1945 to1958, missionary success was quite remarkable, but too many members emigrated. During the years from1959 through 1968, inner quarrels and dissention effectively countered missionary success and hindered internal growth. Therefore, the overall success of the branch during this period was much smaller than might otherwise have been possible in a time when there was no strong external opposition from the state or German religious culture. Soon, however, the oppositional awareness of other churches would rise again during the time of hippie "flower power" when the LDS church would be counted among dangerous "youth cults."

The Second Period of Success, 1968 to 1993: Success in (Mostly) Calm Waters

The conditions in the branch improved under the leadership of Dietrich Behl, who on November 10th, 1968 became the first local branch president in four years. He and his successors and co-workers in the branch and district presidency worked along specific lines,[73] which proved to be successful. They tried to consolidate resources and concentrate effort (for instance, by closing the small branch of Delmenhorst in December 1969), and they removed from membership lists members who were no longer interested in the church. (On 11 June 1977, there were 16 excommunications.) Under their leadership the full church program was developed. They began seminary and genealogy courses in 1970, regular home teaching in 1973, and eventually a genealogical library and scouting in 1977. Contact with church headquarters intensified. General conference

69. Historical Department, LR 962 2.
70. Personal testimony of Sister H. Rögner.
71. Personal testimony of a former missionary, Brother Jensen.
72. Historical Department, LR 963 2.
73. All information taken from the ward files, Historical Department, LR 962 2.

had been broadcast to Germany by radio since 1969, and after 1978 there were regular regional conferences with general authorities. The relationships among members improved greatly through a wide range of activities from socials (regular meetings at the homes of members) and outings (some for the elders quorum and some for the whole branch) to lectures (in April of 1979, for instance, on travel to Turkey and on gardening) and projects of various kinds (a 1978 study project on famous composers, in the same year, the branch newspaper "Sternschnuppe" was begun. A communal "Elders garden" was maintained from 1977 to 1983.) to branch trips to the Swiss temple. (Before 1969 only missionaries had made such temple trips).

Members gained a more intense feeling of belonging to a well organized, international church, not a small, obscure sect and were kept busy by a great diversity of activities. It appears to me that this creative diversity shrank decisively after the church's "correlation program" was fully implemented in 1980. It is at least the case that many members complain that they do far less together with their relief society sisters or fellow quorum members since correlation. And, in fact, the organizational stength of those pre-correlation years was also reflected in the number of missionaries sent out by the branch in Bremen. That number reached its peak in 1978 with five local members concurrently serving full-time missions. The congregation never approached this number again, not even in the mid 1980s when the membership began to grow again.

Public relations for the church in Bremen improved significantly during this period. Press coverage increased and became more positive in the early seventies and then through the efforts of Peter Kemmereit into the early eighties. Relationships with city officials were established and cultivated. Mormon missionaries appeared at the city *Senat* in 1968, and Senator Scherf attended the opening of the reconstructed chapel in 1985. The missionaries sponsored an annual "Week of Missionary Work" (*Missionswoche*) from 1975 on as well as a number of open houses. Although the church was still counted among "dangerous youth cults," especially by other churches, it was well accepted and fairly well known in Bremen during that period.

In early 1980 the question of opening a branch in Delmenhorst became the subject of the only documented disagreement between brother Behl, then district president, and the then current mission president. The recorded account shows that Behl "resisted the idea very much,"[74] but was able to clear the air in a long conversation with Mission President Schreiber, so that "feelings between Pres. Behl and Pres. Schreiber had been restored."[75]

A second disagreement arose between President Behl and Branch President Karl-Friedrich Förster in 1980 over the question of whether the chapel should be remodelled (Behl) or rebuilt (Förster) and ended in a row in a membership

74. Manuscript History West-German Mission, Historical Department, LR 10045.
75. Ibid.

meeting in January of 1981. Brother Förster was released immediately, but shortly thereafter called as mission secretary and then later as branch president in Bremerhaven.

Both incidents show an ability to solve conflicts quickly and with limited damage. No extended period of contention has been reported from that period. Although Brother Behl tended to make decisions on his own, he was not perceived as a dictator, and was well accepted as a moral authority.

In 1980 and 1981, some people from Sri Lanka and Liberia were baptized and integrated fairly well into the congregation through English classes on Sundays. In the beginning of the nineties, the integration of non-German speaking members from Africa and Eastern Europe proved to be much more difficult, but by this time there were no more foreign language classes. Instead there were translators on Sundays.

On November 8th, 1981, the Bremen congregation became part of the Hamburg Stake, Branch President Roy Lynn Pugmire was ordained a bishop (to be followed by Johann-Friedrich Dierking and Dietrich Behl), and the Bremen Branch became a ward.

An interesting project from the latter part of this period (1985-1989) was the periodic "HLT-Forum,"[76] made up of members of the Bremen Ward: Ulrike and Uwe Drews (daughter and son-in-law of Johann-Friedrich Dierking), R. Lynn Pugmire, and Marcus v. Wellnitz. The purpose of the forum was to provide members with translations of articles published in magazines like *Dialogue* or *BYU Studies* and with similar articles by German members. This seemed part of a self-confident regional church culture, which had developed in Germany during the two periods of success (from 1920s to 1945 and from the mid-1960s to end of the 1980s) but has vanished almost completely since.[77]

The Current Time of Troubles from 1997: Rash Actions Ruin the Work of Years

This period began in 1991 with a new stake president pushing for more missionary success, the goal being division of the stake. He was also very leery of intellectual activity.[78] In 1992 Bishop Behl was released, and the newly called bishop promised to change everything. He attempted to gain more control of the auxilaries (the women's and youth organizations) that had formerly operated with a good deal of autonomy. He also called for new missionary efforts and methods (new street displays). But missionary success failed to materialize. There were still just a handful of baptisms each year, except for the baptisms of

76. HLT (Heiligen der letzten Tage) is equavalent to English LDS (Latter-day Saint).

77. During the latter half of the nineties, the independent magazine *Betrachtungen* resisted this dissolution, but, in the face of stark, conservative opposition from within the church, soon turned antagonistic.

78. He had lost a brother to apostacy because of controversial scholarly writing.

people from Africa and Eastern Europe. These baptisms were strongly opposed by the new bishop, who saw the new converts as being "not fully converted" and mostly interested in financial and legal help from the church. Tension soon arose between the new bishop with his "team," on the one hand, and the old bishop, his team, and the missionaries on the other. The accustomed unity and warmth in the ward faded away. At the ward conference in 1994, three members (two former branch presidents with significant ward and stake callings) voted against sustaining the bishop. They were subsequently calmed down by the stake president, but this time the animosities remained.

Then, in 1996, a member of the ward encountered a couple of disturbing articles about the early history of the church from the *Utah Lighthouse Ministry*, a conservative Protestant organization with an anti-Mormon mission. Attempting to come to terms with these, he asked friends in the ward for help and, in so doing, unintentionally started a wave of apostacy. Another brother translated parts of these articles into German and distributed them to members. In the fall discussion circles formed and letters were written to local and regional church authorities, questioning the offical version of church history. The issues at stake were, first, the different versions of the First Vision as evidence of a developing concept of God rather than an initially clear and complete picture through revelation; second, differences between the Book of Commandments and the Doctrine and Covenants as evidence of changed (or possibly forged) revelations; and, finally, controversy over whether the Book of Mormon was a fiction or a genuinely ancient record. The members were especially upset because these papers had been written twenty years earlier (when most of them had just begun their membership in the church), but evidently no church response or explanation had ever been made available.

In February 1997 the mission president tried to solve the problem in one stroke by inviting everyone to a question-and-answer evening. During that meeting tension became acute between the group questioning the church's truthfulness regarding its history and members affirming their testimonies and high esteem for the Book of Mormon and the First Vision. The mission president did not answer the questions specifically, but called for a spiritual approach when hard historical facts were placed in question. When he defined truth as "whatever the prophet says, if he is not mistaken," some members decided to leave the ward. Two former bishops and a former branch president were among those who left. All together thirty people left, most of them long active in responsible church positions such as branch and district presidencies, district and stake high councils. The wards, of course, were left in an uproar and are still trying to regain composure. The Delmonhorst Branch was subsequently dissolved. The remaining dwarf units continue to struggle.

Conclusion

I have tried to show what can be learned from a single ward history about

the parameters of success for a new religious movement, at least in Germany. Even though it is difficult for a centralized religion to cope with cultural specifics at the periphery—and perhaps especially if that culture is German—two means to growth and improvement seem clearly visible in this case:

1) Acceptance by the host culture through good public relations conducted by persons familiar with the culture. In Germany it might really help to seek legal recognition in all federal states, but only if this were done in working cooperation with wards and branches and with an openness to interdenominational institutions and projects[79] so that the church is recognized positively by the general public—and not just legally by some state lawyers.

2) Maintanance of qualified leadership, especially in areas with small membership, by keeping experienced and educated members active in the country and by training members, not just in doctrine, but in a whole variety of leadership skills (not least of all, conflict management). And in connection with this, more openness to a less-correlated diversity of opinions and leadership/fellowshipping methods would help enormously, especially in small German "units" where, in order for the congregation to survive, it is necessary to *invent* synergy. All the members who are there must learn to get along.

79. One example is the good cooperation with the "Rat der Kirchen in Groß-Berlin" (Council of Churches in Greater Berlin) that helped the church gain legal recogniton in Berlin 1954.

I Add Craig to My Prayers

Marilyn Bushman-Carlton

All bones, nose, and trouble.
It hasn't been a year
since he burned the tool shed down
then crouched, crying, at the back
of the garden while firemen watered
the high whipping flames.

And then, they found the cancer
on his foot and took
his leg above the knee.
Just weeks ago, I pushed him
to the ground, the devil alive

and well in him. He'd kept
pursuing me like before,
now dropping his crutches
when they slowed him down.
He teetered like a sawed tree

before he fell, and worried me,
but then was up again
and in my face. Now
he lies passively,
cold beneath a heap

of quilts in the bed his mother
has moved to the front room.
His scalp is pale as fear.
Who'd have thought I'd go
To God in his behalf?

It just seems right.
Like the way his mother knows
to keep the curtains closed.
And how around his bed
we use our reverent voices.

Short Creek: "A Refuge for the Saints"[1]

Marianne T. Watson

WALLACE STEGNER ONCE OBSERVED, "a faith crushed by law or force will merely go underground. . .when outward resistance is impossible, the inward resistance remains."[2] This description might well apply to this story of how Fundamentalist Mormons, before they were ever called by that name, chose a small, northern Arizona village, Short Creek, as a place of refuge to avoid legal prosecution over polygamy. Instead of disappearing from the political and legal landscape as they hoped, the refugees soon became the focus of national attention. The topic of polygamy drew the media to Short Creek just it had drawn the media to Utah in the previous century. News writers, photographers, and even one film maker flocked to the remote town in the autumn of 1935. They came "from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts and north and south from Canada to the Mexican border" to report on the court trials of three men and three women for polygamy-related charges.[3] Wallace Stegner described Short Creek during this extraordinary moment as "the capital of the world."[4]

This story is largely drawn from the contemporary accounts of Joseph Lyman Jessop, a polygamist from Salt Lake City. Jessop was among a handful of men sent by priesthood leaders to Short Creek in May 1935 with the express

---

1. This paper was prepared in fulfillment of a 2001-2002 Floyd O'Neil Scholarship from the American West Center at the University of Utah. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Mormon History Association's Thirty-Seventh Annual Conference, Tucson, Arizona 16-19 May 2002 and at the Sunstone Symposium, Salt Lake City, Utah, 7-10 August 2002.

2. Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country*, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1942), 225.

3. *Mohave County Miner*, 6 Sep 1935. Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 56-63, 224-225. Bradley cites from more than three dozen magazine and newspaper articles reporting Short Creek's polygamy in 1935.

4. Stegner, 223.

purpose of building "a branch of the Kingdom of God."[5] Through the medium of personal accounts, Jessop's diary provides a more intimate perspective on why he and his maverick Mormon brethren chose Short Creek as a place of refuge and why their activities quickly drew such dramatic attention.

Background of Joseph Lyman Jessop

Joseph Lyman Jessop was a third-generation Mormon, born 10 February 1892 in Millville, Cache Valley, Utah. Both his grandfathers were early Utah pioneers who became polygamists.[6] Jessop's parents, however, were monogamists. They had been married only one year when Wilford Woodruff issued the 1890 Manifesto calling for an official end to plural marriage within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.[7] After the Manifesto, the church moved ever more away from polygamy as well as from other distinctive Mormon practices and beliefs of the nineteenth century, such as the United Order, a belief in the imminent Millennial return of Christ, and a duty to build the Kingdom of God on earth. While this new Mormon world view was readily embraced by most LDS church members, the Jessops were among a small minority who resisted adaptation[8] and who continued to believe these abandoned practices were requirements for the goal of Mormon exaltation.[9]

Joseph Lyman Jessop married his first wife Winnie Porter in July 1917 in the Logan Temple. They had been married for five years when Jessop took a step which led to a life-altering decision. He left Millville and followed his father to

---

5. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vols. 1-3 (Privately Published, 2000). Joseph Lyman Jessop was born 10 February 1892 in Millville, Utah. He died 11 February 1936 in Murray, Utah. During the time he was in Short Creek in 1935, Jessop had three wives, Winnie Porter, Maleta Porter, and Beth Allred, and he had 17 children. He eventually became the father of 35 children. Prior to his death, he married Beth's divorced sister, Olive Allred, as a fourth wife. See also Lorraine A. Bronson, Winnie. (Privately published typescript book, 1989), a biography of Winnie Porter Jessop.

6. Joseph Lyman Jessop's father, Joseph Smith Jessop, was the son of Richard Jessop and Mary Ellen Shaffer. Richard Jessop was jailed in 1889 for unlawful cohabitation. Jessop's mother, Martha Moore Yeates, was the daughter of Frederick Yeates and Sarah Webb. Frederick Yeates served two six-month sentences for unlawful cohabitation, one conviction, presumably, for each of his two plural wives.

7. Bradley, 6. Driggs, "'This Will Someday Be the Head And Not the Tail of the Church': A History of the Mormon Fundamentalists at Short Creek," *Journal of Church and State* 43 (Winter 2001): 201. Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Lyman argues that while Mormon leaders made concessions about polygamy in order to gain Utah statehood, it was probably not their original intent to end plural marriages permanently.

8. Driggs, 201-203.

9. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 1 (22 Jan 1916), 105. In 1916, Joseph Lyman Jessop was shown a revelation to John Taylor on plural marriage that "few people [had] ever seen" by his uncles John and Fred Yeates. Jessop was likely referring to the 1886 revelation of John Taylor. Jessop defended the Mormon practice of polygamy on a few occasions during his 1910-1912 L.D.S. mission in the Southern States. His 1910 patriarchal blessing from a Logan temple worker promised him *wives* and children.

Salt Lake City to work at the Baldwin Radio Plant. The factory's owner, Nathaniel Baldwin, was a prominent Utah inventor and industrialist.[10] More importantly, Baldwin was a believer in continued plural marriage and felt it was his religious duty to help others who were also committed to "Old Fashioned Mormonism."[11] His patronage drew polygamists and would-be polygamists from all across Mormon territory to work at his factory.[12] As a result, as many as ten to twenty percent of Baldwin's employees were from families of post-manifesto plural marriages or had inclinations toward continued plural marriage.[13]

For the Jessops and others like them, employment at the Baldwin factory facilitated their introduction to Lorin C. Woolley and his elderly father John W. Woolley. The elder Woolley was a former stake patriarch and temple worker. Earlier, he had been excommunicated for performing post-Manifesto plural marriages.[14] The son, Lorin C. Woolley, was a former bodyguard of the third church president, John Taylor. Lorin now served on the Baldwin factory's board of directors. The Woolleys testified of President John Taylor's 1886 experiences and of apostolic authority given to them by Taylor to ensure the perpetuation of plural marriage.[15] For the Jessops, legitimate priesthood authority to perform plural marriage was essential, and the Woolleys' testimony was reassurance to them that the Lord intended for and had prepared the way for plural marriage to continue, despite the Church's 1890 Manifesto declaring that polygamy could no longer be sanctioned.

---

10. Ibid., 206-207. Marianne T. Watson, "Joseph Lyman Jessop, The Baldwin Radio factory, and 'Old Fashioned Mormonism,'" unpublished manuscript dated 3 August 1992. (Hereafter: Watson, "Joseph Lyman Jessop.")

11. Merrill Singer, "Nathaniel Baldwin, Utah Inventor and Patron of the Fundamentalist Movement," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 42-53, at 51.

12. Ibid., Also Nathaniel Baldwin Diaries, 1897-1961, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah. Baldwin was excommunicated from the LDS Church in 1922 for "insubordination" related to his beliefs in plural marriage. His diaries reflect his close friendships with others who held similar beliefs and attending religious meetings with them as early as 1921. He also provided rooms in his "Omega" office building in East Mill Creek for study meetings.

13. Ibid., Also *Nathaniel Baldwin Diaries*, 1918-1925. Also *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vols. 1-2 (1923 to 1924). At its peak, in the early 1920's, the Baldwin factory employed some 300 workers, the majority of whom were mainstream Mormons who were not interested nor involved in continued plural marriage. Since complete employee records have not been found, the figure of ten to twenty percent is based upon names of people found associated with Baldwin's factory who were later connected directly with the Fundamentalist movement, which total about 30. Baldwin also hired post-manifesto polygamists and members of their families, even some of the children and widows of John W. Taylor, who were not later connected with the Fundamentalist movement.

14. Driggs, 208. John Wichersham Woolley (1831-1928) was excommunicated 30 March 1914 for performing plural marriages. "Excommunication," *Deseret News*, 31 March 1914, at 1."Excommunication of John W. Woolley," *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 3, 1914, at 4. "Excommunication of John W. Woolley," Salt Lake Telegram, 3 Apr 1914, at 3.

15. Bradley, 19.

While working at the Baldwin Radio Plant, Jessop and his family participated in study meetings and firesides with other believers in continued plural marriage.[16] This association, while casual in its nature, served as a catalyst which permanently welded the heretofore loosely connected believers in "the fulness of the gospel."[17] Gradually, these individuals and their families would coalesce into what would later be called the Fundamentalist Mormon movement.

In 1924, Joseph Lyman Jessop's convictions regarding plural marriage were cemented when he married Maleta Porter, a cousin to his wife Winnie, as his first plural wife. They were sealed in a ceremony performed by John W. Woolley in Centerville. Within the year, Jessop, his two wives, and several others believing in continued plural marriage—and also connected with the Baldwin Radio factory—were excommunicated from the Church.[18] At about the same time, the Baldwin Radio factory was threatened with insolvency and was placed into receivership.[19] Jessop and others of similar conviction were among the first to lose their jobs. While some stayed in the Salt Lake Valley, others returned home. Jessop decided to stay. He found part-time work at the Woolley farm in Centerville. During this period he became more intimately acquainted with John and Lorin Woolley.

After John Woolley passed away in December 1928,[20] Joseph Lyman Jessop was among those who were aware of Lorin Woolley's "calling" six men to assist him in perpetuating his apostolic mission from John Taylor.[21] Woolley organized the men as a Priesthood Council. The men were Joseph Leslie Broadbent, John Yeates Barlow, Joseph White Musser, Louis Alma Kelsch, Charles Zitting, and Dr. LeGrande Woolley.[22] The special mission of the Priesthood

---

16. The term "continued plural marriage" refers specifically to the continued practice of plural marriage as an ongoing institution rather than the belief in plural marriage as a doctrine of Mormonism which had been suspended with the 1890 Manifesto.

17. Plural marriage societies often refer to their beliefs as "the fulness," which is a shorthand term for "the fulness of the gospel as restored by Joseph Smith."

18. Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop, vol. 1 (12 Feb 1924, 1 Apr 1924, 5 Jul 1924, 29 Oct 1924, 30 Nov 1924, 1 Feb 1925), 173-183.

19. *Ibid.* "Receiver for Baldwin Firm," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 9, 1924; "Receiver Appointed for Baldwin Radio Works," *Deseret News*, October 9, 1924; "Baldwin Gives Version of Suit," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 10, 1924; "Baldwin Factory Work to Continue Says Receiver," *Deseret News*, October 10, 1924.

20. John Wichersham Woolley was born 30 Dec. 1831and died 13 Dec. 1928.

21. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 2 (13 January 1934), 4-5. Jessop's diary on this date states, "now the Lord has again spoken from the heavens after a silence of many years. ... The Lord had chosen men to act with these Prophets and hold the Priesthood like unto them before the death of John W. Woolley, but they were not notified of this choosing while he lived. In March 1929, these two men were notified and received their ordination according to direction of Almighty God. Joseph Leslie Broadbent and John Y. Barlow then began to function accordingly. A little later Joseph W. Musser was likewise called and appointed, then Charles F. Zitting, then LeGrand Woolley, then Louis Kelsch, until now this body of seven men form a nucleus of the Sanhedrin of God. Mortal men did not select them nor even suggest a name to the Lord, but they were called direct from heaven."

22. Driggs, 208. Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop, vol. 2 (13 January 1934), 4-5.

Council was to keep plural marriage alive.[23] This was to be done alongside the church and not in competition with it. Historian Martha Sonntag Bradley described the path Fundamentalist Mormons aspired to travel as a "road often running parallel to the visible Mormon Church" in order to "maintain the pure and unadulterated church, the 'invisible church,' the church of the original teachings of Joseph Smith."[24]

LDS Church Instigates Surveillance of Polygamists

In 1930, the Church had been struggling for some forty years to convince a doubting nation it was sincere in ending polygamy.[25] Seventh Church President Heber J. Grant especially resented reports of new polygamy springing up among church folds. He made concerted efforts to excommunicate known polygamists and any who might enter into or perform new plural marriages. With increasing determination, President Grant directed church leaders to shun any polygamy which could be in any way connected with the church.[26] In the April 1931 General Conference of the church, President Grant promised that the church would "give such legal assistance as we legitimately can in the criminal prosecution of such [plural marriage] cases."[27] Two years later, Grant presented an official 16-page statement, sometimes called the "Final Manifesto," that went far beyond previous church statements to deny the legitimacy of plural marriages after 1890.[28]

The 1933 "Final Manifesto" marked a change in the way church leaders dealt with polygamists. Under Grant, the church initiated cooperation with government for the surveillance and prosecution of polygamists.[29] A compulsory loyalty oath was introduced for any church members whose actions or loyalties might be suspect.[30] Anti-polygamy legislation was introduced in the mostly

---

23. Joseph W. Musser Diary, 13 November 1936.

24. Bradley, 39.

25. This forty-year period is the subject of Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

26. Bradley, 13-14.

27. Driggs; Heber J. Grant, *General Conference Reports*, April 1931; Messages, V: 292-303. Joseph W. Musser diaries, April 4, 1931. D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983), 183-186. President Heber J. Grant called J. Reuben Clark as second counselor in the First Presidency. Clark could not, according to biographer Michael Quinn, "look upon polygamy after the 1890 Manifesto with the least degree of allowance" and felt it was almost impossible for a Church member to be loyal after becoming involved in what he called the "web of renegade polygamy," which he regarded as tantamount to adultery. So, when Church President Grant "gave J. Reuben Clark a mandate to suppress the. . .practice of polygamy, President Clark went at it with a vengeance."

28. Quinn, 183-186.

29. Marianne T. Watson, "The Fred E. Curtis Papers: L.D.S. Church Surveillance of Fundamentalist Mormons," 1937 to 1954, unpublished manuscript dated 10 August 2001.

30. Ibid., Bradley, 56-57.

"Mormon" Utah State Legislature which significantly increased the penalties for unlawful cohabitation when compared to what they had been during Utah's raid period in the 1880s.[31] In 1935, all these measures created a political and social climate unfavorable for Fundamentalists. More than ever, they felt a need for a place of refuge.

Short Creek, a Place of Refuge to become a Millennial City

In July 1926, Lorin C. Woolley prophesied to some of "perilous times to come in which. . .those who would live the law [of plural marriage] would be at the point of annihilation because the persecution would be so great."[32] With such apocalyptic prospects in mind, Woolley sent Joseph Lyman Jessop and two of his brothers, Richard and Vergel, on a two-week trip to southern Utah and to the Arizona strip area.[33] Their main destination was Lee's Ferry, Arizona, where polygamists Carling Spencer, Jerry Johnson, and Elmer Johnson lived. Their purpose was "to look over the place as a [possible] gathering place for the saints."[34] Then they visited Isaac Carling in Short Creek for the same purpose. They had known Carling since 1924 when they had all worked at the Baldwin Radio Factory.[35] After the men returned and reported their findings, no decision was made to take any action.

Eight years later, the two sites were again considered as possible places of refuge. In March 1934, not long after Joseph Lyman Jessop married his third wife, Beth Allred, he and four other men went to Lee's Ferry and Short Creek.[36] After their return, Jessop made a report of the six-day mission to members of the Priesthood Council.[37] Though Jessop didn't record in his diary his assessment of either place, he apparently did not think "the conditions" at Short Creek were conducive for a place of refuge since he privately discouraged his brother-in-law Axel Fors from moving there.[38]

The idea of a place of safe retreat became even more important when it was rumored that, "The officers of the law are looking seriously into the family life of several of us, and it looks like persecution is nearing."[39] Jessop expressed anxiety

---

31. Ibid., 16-17.

32. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 1 (28 Jan. 1928), 8.

33. Ibid., 7-8. The Arizona Strip area refers to the northern part of the state which is cut off from the main area by the Grand Canyon.

34. Ibid.

35. Driggs, 207; Bradley, 46.

36. Joseph Lyman Jessop and Beth Allred were married 7 January 1934. Beth was the daughter of post-manifesto polygamist B. Harvey Allred and his second wife Mary Evelyn Clark who were sealed 15 July 1903 in Mexico by Apostle Anthony W. Ivins.

37. Since Lorin C. Woolley was ill, J. Leslie Broadbent and John Y. Barlow, as the next senior members of the Priesthood Council, directed the mission.

38. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 1 (3 May 1934), 58.

39. Ibid., 27 March 1934-2 Apr 1934, 18. The four men who accompanied Joseph Lyman Jessop were Richard Jessop, John Y. Barlow, Morris Kunz, and Arnold Boss.

after he heard several sermons preached against polygamy at the April 1934 LDS General Conference priesthood meeting. The last speaker was President Heber J. Grant. Jessop wrote that Grant "assailed vigorously and devilishly Israel Barlow, John W. Woolley and Lorin C. Woolley and all who have said and urged the practice of plural marriage. . .and called these polygamists 'the slickest bunch of liars in existence.'" During the talks, ". . .a packed house of men laughed at all these jests of ridicule and slander against the Lord's own."[40] Jessop said he "sat and prayed in soberness, 'O God, let Thy will be done. Send fourth [sic] thy judgments in thine own due time and way, and I pray help me to be ready by keeping all the laws and commandments and put and keep my own house in order.'"[41]

Only a few days later, Jessop recorded his awareness of the Church's involvement in legal prosecution:

> We have news from reliable sources that Officers of the Federal Government of the U.S. are here from Washington at the solicitation of Heber J. Grant and his helpers to persecute [sic] and imprison and penalize those who are trying to obey the fulness of the gospel. Heber J. Grant says to them, "Give them the limit and the Church will furnish the money to fight the case.[42]

A few days later one man and wife were arrested and briefly jailed on charges relating to polygamy.[43] Quickly, some polygamists went into hiding.[44]

Jessop's diaries reveal that the Priesthood group—those associated with the Priesthood Council—responded to threats of legal prosecution in the spring and summer of 1934 in five specific ways: (1) holding prayer circles; (2) conducting personal and communal fasts; (3) publishing a small religious book in defense of their beliefs; (4) writing an open letter of warning addressed to Heber J. Grant and "all those who are persecuting the saints,"[45] and (5) searching for a place of refuge.

Three events exacerbated the growing crisis. Lorin C. Woolley died on 20 September 1934. Just six months later, on 16 March 1935, Woolley's successor as the senior member of the Priesthood Council, J. Leslie Broadbent, also died. Broadbent's death at age 43 was a shock to the Fundamentalists.[46] The same week, the Utah State Legislature passed House Bill No. 124, which elevated the punishment for unlawful cohabitation from a misdemeanor, punishable by up to

---

40. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 2 (7 Apr 1934), 19.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., 24 May 1934, 22. A few days, later Jessop wrote of hearing a similar report, "One proposition is to send us to Mexico."

43. Ibid., 21 Apr. 1934, 19. Polygamist Abe Teerlink and his wife Rosa were charged in relation to polygamy.

44. Ibid., 15 May 1934, 21.

45. Ibid., 24 June 1934, 25.

46. Ibid., 16 Mar. 1935, 53.

six months incarceration, to a felony, punishable up to five years. The new law was scheduled to go into effect two months later, on 15 May 1935. This legislation set in motion the events which produced the drama in Short Creek later that summer and fall.

When the brethren of the Priesthood Council learned about the "new anti-polygamy law," they studied it with an attorney and determined it was intended "to make trouble."[47] The next day, the "largest assembly ever" gathered for a fast meeting.[48] To reaffirm their resolve, several brethren met with the Priesthood Council and "covenanted to keep *all* the commandments of the Lord."[49]

In early May, with just two weeks before the new unlawful cohabitation statute was to take effect, Jessop told his family ". . .something is going to be done on account of persecution. I may be sent away from you. I don't know where."[50] On 10 May, with only five days left of the countdown, Jessop and others met with brethren of the Priesthood Council to read and discuss a letter from Price Johnson of Short Creek in which he once again recommended the town as a place of refuge.[51] Johnson's plan was accepted as a last-minute measure.

Joseph Lyman Jessop, his brother-in-law Ianthus W. Barlow (John Y. Barlow's brother), and another young polygamist, Carl E. Jentzch, were chosen as a vanguard to join the brethren at Short Creek and assist them in their land and sawmill affairs. Jessop and Jentzch were ordained high priests and set apart to "prepare a refuge for the saints who will come to this country."[52] Joseph Musser promised them water would "break forth as it was needed."[53] Musser wrote of the occasion:

> We met with these brethren and set them apart for their labors. . . .They were instructed to proceed to Short Creek, accept the leadership of Bro. Price. W. Johnson, and not to drive a nail or saw a board, or engage in any occupation except under the influence of the Spirit of the Lord. Not to have their minds on money, but upon the glory of God. The brethren felt splendid and covenanted to carry out instructions.[54]

Musser felt inspired that this action was the beginning of the re-establishing of the United Order. He predicted, "Though it has a very small beginning, it will grow to fill the whole earth."[55]

---

47. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 2 (23 Mar. 1934), 53.
48. Ibid., 25 Mar. 1935, 54.
49. Ibid., 4 Apr. 1935, 55.
50. Ibid., 30 Apr. 1935, 57.
51. Ibid., 10 May 1935, 58.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Joseph W. Musser Diary, 10 May 1935.
55. Ibid.

Jessop felt his course was fixed. He penned in his diary, ". . .I pray, O my Father in Heaven, Help me to fill this great mission acceptably unto thee. . . ." That evening he called his wives together and "prayed in tears. . .feeling keenly the thots [sic] of being separated for perhaps many months."[56] Jessop decided it was best not to tell his younger children about the plan. The next morning, Jessop arose at 4:15 a.m. He gave his wives and three oldest children blessings and kissed them all goodbye. Then he with Carl Jentzch began a 350-mile journey toward Short Creek. They arrived the following evening, believing they were relatively safe from the reach of Utah law enforcement.[57]

Building the Kingdom of God in Short Creek

Jessop, Jentzch and Ianthus W. Barlow, who had arrived earlier, began their mission in earnest. They met with seven men from the Short Creek area in a priesthood meeting to discuss "means and plans of action." Each man "consecrated all to the building of the Kingdom of God." A week later, the presidency for "this branch of the Kingdom of God" was organized. Ianthus W. Barlow was set apart as President, Isaac Carling as First Counselor, and Elmer Johnson as Second Counselor.[58] They and their brethren were instructed to prepare Short Creek "for the coming of the saints. . .to build a city of Zion and feed eventually millions of people."[59]

A little over a week later, Elders Price W. Johnson and Carl Jentzch returned to Salt Lake. They reported to the Priesthood Council that all the brethren involved were willing to put their land and assets into a common fund for the benefit of "our brethren" under the jurisdiction of the Priesthood Council. Like Joseph Musser, they felt that this was the beginning of living in a United Order.

A whirlwind of activity characterized the polygamists' presence in Short Creek. Hardly a day passed without arrivals or departures of those connected in some way with the movement. Family members of the men from Salt Lake began arriving. Jessop's third wife, Beth, came with their first child, four-month-old Winnie Faye.[60] Before the end of the summer, the small flock comprised perhaps a hundred souls.[61]

---

56. Ibid.

57. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, Vol. 2 (13-14 May 135), 59.

58. Ibid., 23 May 1935, 60.

59. Ibid., 17 May 1935, 59.

60. Ibid., 22 May 1935, 60.

61. Ibid., 17 May 1935, 59. The size of this "flood" on Short Creek, in terms of new population, is estimated to have been some 50 to 60 people. Combined with the families of those already from the area, the entire movement was probably around 100. Of the 16 men identified by name in Jessop's journal who were bound by priesthood covenant to the movement, seven came from the Salt Lake area: Ianthus W. Barlow, Joseph L. Jessop, Carl Jenztch, John Y. Barlow, Harold Allred, and Joseph L. Jessop's two brothers, Richard and Fred. Ten were all from the Short Creek area or from Southern Utah. They were Price Johnson, Elmer Johnson, Isaac W. Carling, Leonard Black, Isaac Carling Spencer, Jerry Johnson, Henry Covington, LeRoy Johnson, Vergel Jessop, and Warren

Building "the Kingdom" in the remote desert village of Short Creek during the summer of the 1935, in the midst of the Great Depression, was not an easy undertaking.[62] A great deal of energy, time and attention was spent to obtain the basic needs of water, food and shelter. Daily or weekly chores included gardening, hauling wood for cooking and baking, grinding wheat for bread, and maintaining the few automobiles available. Almost immediately, the group of men began digging a well (though they never found water), drew up plans for a windmill, and began ploughing land and planting crops—beans, melons, corn, rye and other grains. They laid out streets for the city-to-be and began gathering machine parts to construct a power plant. Assignments were given to log trees and to work at the sawmill, and arrangements were made to obtain a planing machine for lumber. Time was taken to write letters to loved ones left behind in Salt Lake City.

As a skilled carpenter, Joseph Lyman Jessop kept especially busy although he often complained about the lack of materials and the difficulty of working with poor or green lumber. He helped to build a privy, enlarge a cabin, and construct a small shop to house power machinery. He built a few screen doors to keep out flies, a great necessity in the hot climate. In exchange for a six-dollar store credit, he built a door frame and drawers for a cabinet. When it was Jessop's turn to work at the sawmill in the canyon, he not only cut logs like everyone else, but made a table and a chair for the loggers' cabin. He was particularly in demand when a new home was started for Ianthus Barlow.

Millennial Fervor Sparked

The movement in Short Creek quickly inspired a millennial zeal among Fundamentalists. To many, involvement in Short Creek, either directly or indirectly, symbolized their commitment to the fulness of the gospel. Some, however, were more reluctant. When Morris Kunz voiced his reticence in a Sunday meeting, Joseph Musser recommended that Bro. Kunz be excused, that his services could be used to good advantage in Salt Lake, rather than in Short Creek, and that he should not go "until he can feel satisfied it is the will of the Lord."[63]

On 20 June 1935, the Priesthood Council met in Salt Lake City and decided that any brethren sent down to Short Creek who became dissatisfied might be released and return home. More importantly, they decided Bro. John Y. Barlow was to move to Short Creek and take full charge of operations there, "using his

---

Black. Over the next three months, Jessop identified a total of 60 persons who were somehow connected with the effort in Short Creek. Of these, 54 individuals were members of the 16 families listed above, a number of whom were older unmarried sons whose labor contributed greatly to the movement. Six others were visiting relatives. Of the 60, 29 or about half, came from Salt Lake, and one of these was a baby born after their arrival—the son of I.W. and Violet Barlow. However, missing from this list are names of some wives and most younger children.

62. Driggs, 210.

63. Joseph W. Musser Diary, 13 June 1935.

judgment and taking action as occasion requires."[64] Bro. Musser, with the help of the other brethren of the Council, was to have similar jurisdiction in Utah in Barlow's absence.

Musser's teachings to Fundamentalist audiences in the summer of 1935 bore four main themes. First, he stressed individual responsibility, preaching that "it is up to all the brethren to know for themselves," and that every person "should place himself in a position to know for himself whether or not the Priesthood is right and then act accordingly."[65] However, he qualified individual responsibility by saying that brethren who were "expressing the hope that [they] may soon get the 'word of the Lord,' should understand that they are getting this word every time the Priesthood [Council] takes official action. . .that is as much of the 'word of the Lord' they may ever expect to get until they accept it as such, when the Lord would give them further direction."[66] He said those who were looking for angels to answer them would not get their anticipations satisfied, for "We are required to live by faith."[67]

Second, Musser emphasized the importance of working communally and preparing to live the United Order. He told the saints that from this time greater responsibility would rest upon them and that "no one present, working selfishly for himself, would succeed. Only community effort would be successful."[68] He promised "they would never become rich in worldly things, except the Lord had something special for them to do, and that from now on none of them would 'make money' to any appreciable degree outside of the spirit of the United Order."[69] He said none were prepared for United Order. "We must overcome selfishness, prejudice, envy and learn to love our neighbor as ourselves" and "quit gossiping and bearing false witness."[70] "When this is achieved," he told them, "we will be able to live in accordance with God's plan and find it so much easier. . .we will wonder why we didn't adopt it before."[71]

Third, he expounded upon the order of priesthood leadership and explained that Bro. John Y. Barlow, by virtue of his seniority, was at the head of the Priesthood Council no matter where he was. Under Barlow's direction, men might be appointed to take charge of certain works, as had been done, and they would be respected in their positions, yet should always be subject to the head.

Fourth, Musser emphasized the importance of individual agency, saying, "individual responsibility must be recognized. Men cannot be saved if deprived of their agency."[72] While Musser preached to the saints in Salt Lake, his admonitions may have been more relevant in Short Creek where unity was crumbling.

64. Ibid., 20 June 1935.
65. Ibid., 13 June 1935.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Joseph W. Musser Diary, 10 May 1935, 27 May 1935.
69. Ibid., 3 June 1935.
70. Ibid., 23 June 1935.
71. Ibid.
72. Joseph W. Musser Diary, 13 June 1935.

Contention Among the Brethren

During the thirteen weeks that Joseph Lyman Jessop spent in Short Creek, one of his greater concerns was contention among his brethren. Manifested at first as discouragement, feelings gradually increased until they emerged as outright strife. Finally, the authority of those in charge was questioned. The source of the deepest division, however, was John Y. Barlow's plan to form a trust or holding company as the beginning of a United Order.

About two weeks after arriving, Jessop wrote of despondency among several: "All present feel glum and under a heavy load until they could hardly smile. I tried to cheer them up."[73] A few days later, several had complained that "the spirit of union is not as great as it should be among the men here."[74] Disunity became even more evident when an "instructive" letter arrived from Joseph W. Musser, and some of the brethren responded with the spirit of fault-finding.[75]

On the first of July, Jessop made a trip to Salt Lake City, his only chance that summer to visit the two wives and the children he had left behind. His main purpose for the trip, however, was to consult with the brethren of the Priesthood Council. He met with John Y. Barlow, Joseph W. Musser, and Louis Kelsch. They warned him to be "very, very careful while in Salt Lake because 'the law authorities have a very clear case against you. . .and the officers are watching for you.'"[76] These brethren then asked Jessop for a detailed report of affairs in Short Creek. He told them, ". . .it was a case of walking by faith and not by sight, for there is no sight in it—I mean no sight of sufficient crops, no water, no building material in sight at present, so we are walking by faith." When asked if he wanted to go back, Jessop replied, "For me there is nothing else to do because I have been called and set apart for this work, and I feel just like going back and doing all I can for the cause."[77] When Jessop mentioned Bro. Musser's yet unfulfilled prophecy that water would come forth in Short Creek, Musser sat in silence a moment, then looked up and said, "It will come when you are united and not until then."[78]

Two days later, Jessop helped load vehicles with the household goods of John Y. Barlow's family for their move south. As previously decided by the Priesthood Council, Barlow was going to Short Creek to take charge of the whole project, temporally and spiritually.

At his departure, Jessop was clearly distressed by his two wives' "love and loneliness inexpressible" and the tears of his children, whom he had to leave

---

73. Ibid., 30 May 1935, 60-61.

74. Ibid., 3 June 1935, 61.

75. Ibid., 23 June 1935, 62. Letter, Joseph W. Musser to "Our Brethren in the Covenant of Christ," 18 Jun 1935.

76. Ibid., 2 July 1935, 63-64.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

once again. "I felt a vacancy that words cannot express. All I can do is Pray. I left them in the hands of the Lord."[79]

In Short Creek, the brethren made efforts to unite. After having prepared by fasting, they met in a special priesthood meeting on 7 July. Bro. John Y. Barlow presented the articles and laws of the United Trust that had been prepared by the Priesthood Council. All present voted to give their property.

Despite such an outward display of unity, controversy over the United Trust was hardly resolved. Jessop learned of the extreme dissatisfaction of Carl Jentzch, who was "much affected by and opposed to some clauses in the document of the United Trust."[80] Jentzch said he could see "oceans of tears shed by this people because of it." He began preparations to "go back to the City and quit. . .on account of the clauses," which he said guaranteed nothing.[81] Jessop agreed that the United Trust clauses in question appeared "harsh and unfair" and felt that they "were not meet for men."[82] His journal records several prayers on the matter.[83] He even personally approached Bro. Barlow, who told him, "I got this [the idea for the United Trust] in answer to my prayers and I know I am right."[84]

At a priesthood meeting held in Short Creek on 11 August, Jessop "tried to unite the spirit of those present." Despite his effort, the meeting erupted into a verbal tug-of-war over the matter of authority of the presiding brethren. Jessop felt he "could not agree in full with either side" and did not say anything during the debate. He confided to his journal, "I'm having plenty of fight with myself of late to try to feel good as I should."

On 15 August, in Salt Lake City, Joseph Musser received word of the "serious inharmony" at Short Creek.[85] It was reported that two of the brethren, Harold Allred and Ianthus W. Barlow, objected to the Priesthood Council entering into temporal matters, claiming their calling to be exclusively to exercise the sealing powers. Musser observed, "They will trust their eternal salvation with us but fear our judgment in temporal matters."[86]

A few days later, at a Thursday evening priesthood meeting, John Y. Barlow called upon each one present to express hinself. Each man "ask[ed] forgiveness of the others and all felt better."[87] The sacrament was administered, and then all joined in prayer. That was Joseph Lyman Jessop's last meeting as a resident of Short Creek. The very next week, on 20 August, he received a letter from Joseph Musser urging his immediate return to Salt Lake City.

---

79. Ibid., 4 July 1935, 64.
80. Ibid., 16 July 1935, 65.
81. Ibid., 17 July 1935, 65.
82. Ibid., 17 July 1935, 22 June 1935, Vol. 2, 65-66.
83. Ibid., 28 July 1935, 16 July 1935, 17 July 1935, Vol. 2, 63, 66.
84. Ibid.
85. *Joseph W. Musser Diary*, 15 August 1935.
86. Ibid.
87. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, Vol. 2 (11Aug 1935 and 15 Aug 1935), 68-69.

CHALLENGING THE LDS CHURCH

The Fundamentalist movement in Short Creek had been created in the midst of a small but very mainstream L.D.S. community. In fact, LDS church authorities had been well aware that polygamists were living in Short Creek *before* the decision was ever made by Fundamentalist Mormons to make it a place of refuge. The previous year, on 30 August 1934, four Short Creek Church members had been excommunicated for preaching or practicing polygamy.[88] So, in 1935, the growing numbers of polygamists in Short Creek and the discussions they generated in the Short Creek Ward drew more than casual attention.

At first, Jessop had refrained from attending the Short Creek Branch, feeling that it was "best not to crowd in upon them because they would think we are trying to run them out."[89] But, after receiving a personal invitation, Jessop was glad to attend regularly. In spite of the fact that he had been excommunicated from the Church a decade earlier, he still considered himself in every way a Latter-day Saint.[90] Almost immediately, he noted tensions over doctrine during class discussions between the regular church members and the Fundamentalists, some of whom were still members of the church in good standing. One Sunday meeting became especially tense when Jessop and others, "Took issue in favor of the laws of the Lord in preference to those of the land."[91]

The following Sunday, leaders from the Zions Park Stake came to set matters straight. Jessop's account of the meeting described the church leaders' remarks as demeaning to the Fundamentalists. He wrote:

> Bro. Jeppson began defending the law of the land against polygamy, quoted scripture and spent much time belittling anyone who should oppose the Manifesto, calling them silly people. He shuddered at the thot [sic] of going against the Govt. of the U.S. [Then,] Bro. David Hershi endorsed Jeppson's remarks. . . .Another Councilman, a Bro. Sandberg, spoke along the same lines.[92]

As soon as the meeting was over, Jessop and Carl Jentzch challenged the church leaders to allow open debate on the subjects they had discussed. Heated debates and discussions erupted both inside and outside the meeting house among men and women on both sides of the issue. Listening crowds looked on for the better part of an hour. Jessop described the commotion:

---

88. Driggs, 210; Bradley, 52. Isaac Carling was excommunicated for preaching polygamy. The other three, all found to have entered polygamous marriages, were Warren E. Johnson, Viola Spencer Johnson, and a plural wife of Price Johnson, Hellen Lucy Hull.

89. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 2 (26 May 1935), 60.

90. Ibid, 181. Jessop was excommunicated in December 1924 from the East Mill Creek Ward in Salt Lake City "for practicing and teaching principles contrary to the rulings of the church."

91. Ibid., 7 July 1935, 64.

92. Ibid.

> I with Carl Jentzch walked to the front to Bro. Edwin Black who had charge of the meeting and We protested them, charging they had been teaching false doctrine and [asked him to] ask the house, that the people may hear the other side. I challenged Sandberg. . .to meet the issue point by point before the people. The other speakers left the building. Harold Allred and wives came up and introduced themselves to him [Sandberg], as also [my wife] Beth, showing up our baby, saying, "And here is one of those whom you said had no right to be born." Orlin Colvin and wife came up defending the side against plural marriage. I challenged him to meet me in open debate before the people. Then John T. Spencer came also on their side, and I said, "I challenge you too, John Spencer." He flew angry and bristled up like a banty rooster. We had a large crowd around us, and some cornered Jeppson outside, so we went after them strong for about 45 minutes, and they refused to listen further and left us. Many of those present argued for the truth and others against it."[93]

That confrontation was the match that set Short Creek aflame in a blaze that all the world would see. It soon became clear that law enforcement and media had been contacted by high-level church leaders.[94] Within the week a report came that complaints had been made to prosecute several men on polygamy charges.[95] Eleven days later, the first photographer, a man from the International News Service, showed up in Short Creek. He wanted to see "the 400 people and 40 new homes under construction and. . .to get a photograph of at least one polygamous family where 3 babies were born to one man by three wives in one month." Jessop flatly stated, "He took a picture of I. W. Barlow's house (the only one under construction), also a picture or two of the village."[96]

By that time, articles about the polygamists in Short Creek had already been published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*. What bothered Jessop most was the report that leaders of the church were "urging the officers of Mohave County, Arizona, to arrest and embarass [sic]" them.[97] Two days later on 9 August, the Mohave County Sheriff and the County Attorney came to Short Creek, looking to find someone to sign complaints, so they could make arrests.[98] After finding a local

---

93. *Diary of Joseph Lyman Jessop*, vol. 2 (21 Jul1935), 66.

94. Bradley, 6. Bradley states: "The *Kansas City Times* quoted Apostle Melvin J. Ballard as admitting to the partial responsibility for the prosecution of Spencer, Allred and Johnson when it shared information with the government that had been gathered for Church trials." Driggs, 213-214. *Truth*, January 1936.

95. Ibid., 26 July 1935, Vol, 2, 66.

96. Ibid., 6 Aug. 1935, Vol. 2, 67.

97. Ibid., 7 Aug. 1935, 67; Driggs, 213-214; *Truth*, January 1936.

98. Ibid., 9 Aug 1935, 68. Also Bradley, 54. Bradley states, that on "16 August 1935, [County Attorney] Bollinger succeeded in surprising the fundamentalists with warrants. . . ."It is not likely the arrests were a total surprise, given the fact that the polygamists had been warned of the probability arrests some three weeks before, on 21 July 1935. Jessop's diary clearly identifies the day of the initial arrests as 9 August not 16 August; he states it was Jack Childers who finally signed the complaints. Wallace Stegner's account (Stegner, 220), as told to him by Short Creek resident [non-

homesteader to do the deed, six of Short Creek's "most solid citizens," including Bro. John Y. Barlow, were arrested.[99] Barlow was charged with "Open and notorious cohabitation" with a woman other than his legal wife.[100] It is no small irony that the very first prosecutions of polygamists following the passage of Utah's 1935 unlawful cohabitation law were not in Utah but in Short Creek, Arizona.

Jessop left Short Creek the morning of 21 August. When he asked John Y. Barlow whether or not to return, Barlow answered that he "thot it best [for Jessop] not [to] go."[101] So Jessop was not an eye witness of Short Creek's extraordinary moment as the capital of the world that brought reporters, photographers, and film-makers "from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts and north and south from Canada to the Mexican border."[102] He did not see the trial, described as "a comedy of errors," when the "schoolhouse filled to overflowing with visitors from all across the state" and reporters from a half dozen newspapers "noted every moment" with flashbulbs "exploding across the makeshift courtroom."[103] Nor did he see "Paramount News set up a movie camera in the schoolhouse and [film] the entire proceedings."[104] Neither was he a witness the very next day when the LDS church authorities presented its newly instituted loyalty oath to the members of the Short Creek Branch, requiring them, under threat of excommunication, to declare their support of the First Presidency of the church "without any mental reservation" and to "denounce the practice and advocacy of plural marriage."[105]

Jessop had been plucked out of the crisis in Short Creek only days before its culmination, a crisis he had helped foment. He could only track from afar the trials and the subsequent conviction of three Short Creek saints—two polygamists and one plural wife.[106] Those who were imprisoned for polygamy were released within a year and returned to Short Creek.[107] The LDS Church eventually withdrew its branch from the town, leaving it to those who had made it a polygamist community.

---

polygamist] Jon Reed Lauritzsen, agrees in substance with Jessop's account, stating that Sheriff Graham and County Attorney Bollinger "had trouble getting complaints," but finally got "Jack Childress," a homesteader, to sign.

99. Ibid., Driggs, 213. Bradley, 55. Those arrested were Isaac Carling Spencer, Sylvia Allred Spencer, Price Johnson, Hellen Hull, John Y. Barlow, and Mary "Roe" Barlow. Charges against all were dismissed in September 1935 by Short Creek Justice of the Peace J. M. Lauritzen based on "information and belief" amounting to rumor. Soon new complaints were drawn and warrants issued.

100. Joseph W. Musser Diary, 20 August 1935.

101. Ibid., 3 Sep 1935, 70.

102. *Mohave County Miner*, 6 Sep 1935. Bradley, 56-63, 224-225. Bradley cites from more than three dozen magazine and newspaper articles.

103. Ibid., 56.

104. Ibid.

105. Driggs, 211.

106. "Short Creek Embroglio," *Truth*, vol. 1 (October 1935), 51. Bradley, 54-55,62. Driggs, 213- 214. The two men, Price W. Johnson and Isaac Carling Spencer, spent not quite a year in prison and were let out early for good behavior. Sylvia Allred, plural wife of Isaac Carling Spencer, who was pregnant at the time of her arrest and trial, received a suspended sentence after the birth of her baby.

107. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

When legal efforts were made in the 1935 to stop polygamy, Fundamentalist Mormons designated Short Creek, Arizona, as a place of refuge. It was a last-minute decision, born of desperation, to go underground and avoid legal prosecution over plural marriage. In their zeal to build Zion, to do more than just an escape, the Fundamentalists inadvertently created a movement which drew inordinate and immediate attention, church excommunications, legal battles, and media scrutiny. Despite Short Creek's 1935 moment in the sun, the Fundamentalist Mormon movement at Short Creek did not wither away, and the opposition did not end polygamy as anticipated by some church and government officials. Large-scale government raids in 1944 and 1953 only strengthened individual and community resolve. Although residents eventually changed its name to Colorado City to avoid stigma from the raids, the town will soon celebrate seventy years since it was designated as a place of safety in 1935.[108] Short Creek's legacy as a "refuge for the saints" survives in a growing, thriving community for a segment of Fundamentalist Mormon polygamists and their families.[109]

---

108. Short Creek's name was officially changed to Colorado City in 1962.

109. Driggs, 51. Driggs states: "Short Creek has today disappeared from maps but thrives as Hildale, Utah, and Colorado City, Arizona. . . .It is important to appreciate that Mormon Fundamentalism is not a monolithic group any more than the larger Christian or Islamic communities are homogenous. The Short Creek Community is but one part of a much larger and very diverse group. There are some sympathies but no formal ties between Short Creek and any of the other Fundamentalist communities."

Disrobed

Sondra Sumsion Soderborg

The moment that I cannot comprehend
is when you took your garments off.

I wonder (though I don't quite want to know)
whether, when the moment came,
it was conscious or was incidental.

I wonder
did you drop them to the floor one day
and decide you would not put them on again
or did you wear them till you wore them out,
sorry there would be no more?

I wonder when you shopped for their replacements
did you look for color and design
or did you stick with plain, white cotton?

I wonder
did you cut away the markings?
did you ever miss the way they sometimes brushed your skin?

Did you grieve or rage or celebrate?

I remember how it felt
to wash and fold my parents' underwear
the first time and the second.
But I got used to it.

And now I wonder (though I don't quite want to know)

Did you?

Search for an Epistemology: Three Views of Science and Religion

David O. Tolman

> Religious doctrines would do well to withdraw their pretension to be dealing with matters of fact. That pretension. . .is the source of the conflicts of religion with science. . . .When [religion] seeks its sanctions in the sphere of reality, [it] forgets that its proper concern is to express the ideal. . . .The excellence of religion is due to the idealization of experience which, while making religion noble if treated as poetry, makes it necessarily false if treated as science.
>
> —*George Santayana*[1]

A CLAIM IS FREQUENTLY MADE that science and religion are not incompatible. The contention is that science and religion can be made to co-exist by compartmentalization, that is, by carefully limiting the scope of each so that neither intrudes on the sphere of influence of the other. Such an approach is folly. Both science and religion claim to be comprehensive and exclusive views of the world. Both make assertions about things that are generally claimed to be within the province of the other discipline. The primary example of such encroachment lies in the question of whether or not there is a God. If either science or religion is constrained to any such arbitrary limitation of scope, it bridles at the restriction and refuses to accept the boundaries of the separation. If science is taken to be Knowledge (investigatable, verifiable, repeatable, etc.) and religion is taken to be Meaning (purpose, values, morality, etc.)—limited definitions and assumptions not happily accepted by either—then science may not be permitted to talk about the "meaning of life" in drawing conclusions about mankind, cosmology, and evolution; likewise, religion may not be permitted to talk about creation or to

1. George Santayana, *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), v-vi.

argue that the knowledge of life, of our existence and history, is bound up with God's plan and man's struggle with good and evil. I think these kinds of limitations are generally unacceptable to both science and religion. And you will note that some areas of major contention, such as history, man's nature, the future, etc., are not mentioned here as belonging to one or the other because they have been the source of heightened and bitter turf conflict over the centuries.

The late Stephen J. Gould, paleontologist, evolutionary biologist, and brilliant essayist, attempts a compartmentalization of science and religion in his book *Rocks of Ages: Science and Religion in the Fullness of Life*. He proposes that the communities of science and religion adopt the principle of NOMA (non-overlapping *magisteria*), in which both scrupulously observe the boundaries of their spheres of influence and leave us a world free of turmoil. "People of good will wish to see science and religion at peace. . . .I do not see how science and religion could be unified, or even synthesized, under any common scheme of explanation or analysis; but I also do not understand why the two enterprises should experience any conflict."[2] Gould's position is a thoughtful one, but ultimately it founders on the hard heads of those in both communities who refuse to observe the boundaries. In truth, it goes against human psychology to maintain two systems. We want a single view of the world, and there will always be those in both communities, not as wise or tolerant as Gould, who assert the primacy of their view over all others. The important part of Gould's statement above is that he sees no ground for a unification or synthesis of the two views. The conflict of science and religion is a serious problem that cannot be ignored because both systems of thought present ideas about the same problems and those ideas inevitably lead to conflict and misunderstandings of both scientific theory and of religious belief.

The sage Hugh W. Nibley once remarked that "Being expert neither in science nor religion, we are relieved of the responsibility of discussing a theme whose treatment has suffered from everything but neglect."[3] This essay will add to that suffering but will not attempt a reconciliation of the two points of view. It will not discuss religion as a system of knowledge. In part, that is because most *Dialogue* readers already understand the basis of religious knowledge—faith, revelation, scripture, personal witness, prophetic statements, etc. The other part of that limitation is that such a treatment of religious epistemology doesn't lend itself to scientific analysis. Religion is based on faith, not on facts. This essay attempts to evaluate the current state of affairs between the competing realms of science and religion when religion is expressed to some degree as anti-science. While this essay addresses the conflict between science and religion, the underlying question is really one of science or anti-science. I rec-

---

2. Stephen J. Gould, *Rocks of Ages: Science and Religion in the Fullness of Life* (New York: Ballantine Publishing Group, 1999), 4.

3. Hugh W. Nibley, *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book, 1954), 115.

ognize that religion is not the same as anti-science and that religion is not limited to anti-science; religion, nevertheless, poses a major challenge to the scientific way of thinking and working. Religious sources of knowledge are unscientific in that they are not verifiable, repeatable, or accessible to scientific experiment, and religious knowledge is not correlated to other branches of knowledge. With those differences are included many of the religious conclusions about science and the world that are drawn from that specific religious knowledge. Sterling McMurrin said it well: "Religion is not science. . .it is not essentially a body of ideas and should not suffer the fate of being categorized, analyzed, generalized, and systematized. It is an experience of the numinous, a confrontation of the divine mystery, an ultimate concern and commitment."[4] But, religion is specifically anti-scientific when it asserts conclusions and methodologies that are contrary to events or principles that have been or can be investigated in a scientific manner.

McMurrin's careful distinction poses a further problem for organized religion. If, as he asserts, religion is a fundamentally individual experience of faith and commitment rather than an exercise in study, intellectualization, collective history, and/or living in a real-world community, what then is the basis on which religious community and authority are established? In other words, how does private belief or experience translate into public real world living? A community based on religion almost invariably proposes that some members, for example Joseph Smith and successive prophets, have superior gifts of discernment, and the authority to rule the community derives from the superiority of those gifts. The religious community collectively accepts the commitment to rules of behavior in its adherence to that authority. If McMurrin is right, then leadership authority generalizes a private view to the community, and therein lies the problem. If religion is only a personal experience, not subject to real-world conditions, then there is no public authority and no basis for practical community. Religion can't have it both ways: either it is only a personal, private experience beyond scientific analysis, or it is a worldly phenomenon subject to the scrutiny of worldly analysis. If members of the religious community are asked to do this or that "because God has revealed it to be this way," then it becomes a matter of examining whether it really is this or that way.

It is worth noting that some religions, generally liberal Protestant ones, have largely abandoned the anti-scientific stance. Many of those religions perceive their role not as challenging science but rather as trying to provide reasons and encouragement for moral living. They are prepared to acknowledge the unscientific nature of scripture, particularly Genesis, and are willing to move many religious stories (virgin birth, miracles, resurrection, etc.) into the realm of interpretive psychology or mythology. On the other hand, many conservative

---

4. Sterling M. McMurrin, *Religion, Reason, and Truth: Historical Essays in the Philosophy of Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982), 18.

religions have built much of their daily preaching and theology on anti-science. Their first point of emphasis is usually the literal nature of the Bible as the Word of God. This literalism conveniently ignores the differing literalism of other sects, the history of the biblical written tradition, the widely differing content of its texts, or the existence of other sacred texts. Higher criticism of the biblical text is treated with the same disdain as science because it uses scientific criteria for its conclusions rather than the revelatory interpretations of the preacher. Conservative religions actively attack evolution and other modern scientific work as well as scientific methodology. Mormonism has moved more and more into this camp, and its leaders have often warned its members about the dangers of science. Many of us know stories of young people having been advised not to pursue careers in science because it will lead them astray and because science is not the real way to acquire valuable knowledge about their lives and the world.

The changed world after September 11, 2001 has focused our attention on a clear, though little-understood, example of the long-term consequences of an anti-scientific orientation. Hatred of American culture and commercialism—and of the science on which they are based—is a force driving the Islamic terrorist movement. The Islamic world, with some notable exceptions, long ago adopted this anti-scientific orientation and consciously chose to reject modernity in favor of a more conservative, literalist adherence to the principles of the Quran. This decision has long historical roots that are brilliantly described in the book *What Went Wrong?* written by my Princeton neighbor, Bernard Lewis.[5] Lewis recounts the history of Islam and its dominance over Christianity, starting in the 6th century as it practiced its proselytizing by conquest. Islam's successive conquests encompassed most of the medieval world and led to an arrogance that for a time defined the pinnacles of culture and civilization as those embodied in the principles and ideals of Islamic religion; everything outside was barbaric and unworthy of attention. As the Renaissance (literally re-birth) took hold in Europe, Islam responded to the challenge by adopting some limited Western innovations, chiefly military in nature and application, but maintained a conviction of the superiority of Islamic culture and rejected any commitment to "progress" or change.

This attitude has persisted to a remarkable degree in a world elsewhere becoming increasingly modern and scientific. The western world experienced explosive growth and power from industrialization and the application of science and technology. Even as the modern Western world (they would say "Christian world") overwhelmed Islam in power and wealth, Islamic leaders continued to respond to the challenge by calling for closer adherence to their religious traditions rather than adopting or adapting to Western innovations. The Islamic Middle East remains the most insular and (excepting military technology) scientifically backward area in the world. The World Bank reports that, excluding

5. Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (New York: Ballantine Publishing Group, 2002). It is interesting that this book was written prior to 9/11/01.

revenue from petroleum, the collective trade economies of the entire region are similar to the trade economy of Finland. Access to the Internet is available to less than 0.5% of the populace. The roles of men and women are rigidly defined in ways that, from a Western perspective, abuse and repress women so as to result in the loss of the skilled contributions of 50% the populace. There are important distinctions between modernization and Westernization in the Islamic mind, but the point remains that the dominance of anti-scientific religious ideas in the larger culture has enormous consequences for the growth of individuals, cultures, and nations.

This example shows the power of a religious system, Islam in this case, to construct a highly refined culture.[6] At the same time, this example shows the danger engendered when that system expresses its religion as anti-science. Theology is a world and a discipline all its own with a rich and valuable tradition of scholarship and commentary on morality and philosophy. Theology is not, however, cumulative in the way that science is, nor is it beholden to other disciplines nor to community consensus nor external evidence as is science. Hence, I believe, religion is finally less attractive as an epistemology, a means of understanding the world around us.

In this essay I will present the views of two men, one representing a scientific and the other an anti-scientific view. Steven Weinberg expresses the view of science and Bryan Appleyard presents a view deeply skeptical of science from an historical and philosophical perspective. While these points of view are personal to these two individuals, they are generally representative of polar views about science. I have chosen an anti-science spokesman for the religious perspective because the views of most religionists may be anti-scientific, but they generally do not address science itself, or they don't understand science well enough to do it in a focused way.

Readers might also quibble over the selection of one spokesman over another—certainly there are many candidates available. I have selected these two—and quote extensively from each—because in a precise and eloquent way they move the discussion of religion vs. science well beyond the circle of familiar bromides in which it has for so long been trapped. Moreover they engage each other fairly directly on the same ground. Of course, science, anti-science, and religion have many other spokespersons and points of view advancing their own arguments. These limitations are designed to keep the argument to a reasonable scope.

The View of Science

Steven Weinberg is one of the leading physicists of the 20th century. He accomplished a major theoretical synthesis in physics in unifying the weak and the strong nuclear forces. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1979 and

6. The other great monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity, separated the political culture from the religious culture; Islam did not.

the National Medal of Science in 1991. He has published a number of books for general readers describing science and its meaning, including a description of the events of the Big Bang called *The First Three Minutes*.[7] The American Association for the Advancement of Science sponsors a Program of Dialogue between Science and Religion. In 1999 Weinberg was asked to participate in this discussion and later prepared an essay, "A Designer Universe?" that appeared in the *New York Times Review of Books*.[8] It is from that essay that much of this material is drawn.

For many scientists who express a belief in God, their God is what has been called a "God of the Gaps." In the history of scientific understanding, the idea of God was sometimes used to fill in the gap between areas of scientific understanding. We understand stars and the Universe, but not the creation of the Universe itself, so God fills the gap and is described as the architect who started it all. We understand the variety of organisms and how they evolved, but not how the first one existed, so God is the source of life. We understand the complexity of animals and life, but not the special intelligence of human life, so God is the source of the spark of the human soul. This latter notion is expressed by Michelangelo's artistic portrayal on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel with God reaching out to touch Adam's hand.

Weinberg believes that it is time to give up on the "God of the Gaps." While there are many things that scientists do not yet understand, almost all of the big gaps have been filled. We understand how the Universe started. We understand how life began and how it has proliferated with such success and variety. We understand the special position of human life and realize that this difference is one only of degree, not of type or quality. We know that other animal species are self-aware. Other animal species have language, tool-making ability, altruism and sympathy, and so on. Weinberg says, "As far as we have been able to discover the laws of nature, they are impersonal, with no hint of a divine plan or any special status for human beings. In one way or another, [we] struggle with the necessity of facing up to these discoveries."[9]

In "A Designer Universe?" Weinberg begins by asking what such an intelligent designer would be like.

> It used to be obvious that the world was designed by some sort of intelligence. . . .Above all, the wonderful abilities of living things seemed to point to a creator who had a special interest in life. Today we understand most of these things

7. Steven Weinberg , *The First Three Minutes* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

8. Reprinted in, Steven Weinberg, *Facing Up: Science and Its Cultural Adversaries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001). Also available in *The Best American Essays, 2000* (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 2000) and *Best American Science Writing, 2000* (New York, Ecco, 2000).

9. *Facing Up*, 233.

in terms of physical forces acting under impersonal laws. We don't yet know the most fundamental laws, and we can't work out all the consequences of the laws we do know. The human mind remains extraordinarily difficult to understand, but so is the weather. We can't predict whether it will rain one month from today, but we do know the rules that govern the rain, even though we can't always calculate their consequences. I see nothing about the human mind any more than about the weather that stands out as beyond the hope of our understanding it as a consequence of impersonal laws acting over billions of years.

There do not seem to be any exceptions to this natural order, any miracles. I have the impression that these days most theologians are embarrassed by talk of miracles, but the great monotheistic faiths are founded on miracle stories—the burning bush, the empty tomb, an angel dictating the Koran to Mohammed—and some of these faiths teach that miracles continue to the present day. The evidence for all these miracles seems to me to be considerably weaker than the evidence for cold fusion, and I don't believe in cold fusion. Above all, today we understand that even human beings are the result of natural selection acting over millions of years. I'd guess that if we were to see the hand of the designer anywhere, it would be in the fundamental principles, the final laws of nature, the book of rules that govern all natural phenomena. We don't know what the final laws are yet, but as far as we have been able to see, they are utterly impersonal and quite without any special role for life. There is no life force. As Richard Feynman has said, when you look at the universe and understand its laws, "the theory that it is all arranged as a stage for God to watch man's struggle for good and evil seems inadequate."[10]

One of the most controversial sections of Weinberg's essay is his treatment of the problem of pain. It is controversial because, in effect, he pursues religion into an enclave where it has generally felt itself safe from the incursions of science—the arena of values and morals:

The prevalence of evil and misery has always bothered those who believe in a benevolent and omnipotent God. Sometimes God is excused by pointing to the need for free will. . . .It seems a bit unfair to my relatives to be murdered [in the Holocaust] in order to provide an opportunity for free will for Germans, but even putting that aside, how does free will account for cancer? Is it an opportunity of free will for tumors?. . .The prestige of religion seems today to derive from what people take to be its moral influence, rather than from what they may think has been its success in accounting for what we see in nature. Conversely, I have to admit, that although I really don't believe in a cosmic designer, the reason that I am taking the trouble to argue about this is that I think that on balance the moral influence of religion has been awful.[11]

---

10. Ibid., 232.
11. Ibid., 240.

Weinberg points out that there are endless historical "examples of the harm done by religious enthusiasm, and he cites a few. Then, however, he points to one example sometimes cited as a benefit of the moral influence of religion, the suppression of slavery. He argues, however, that closer scrutiny provides a very different view. While it is true that many abolitionists had religious motivations, Christianity and most world religions lived comfortably with slavery for centuries. The abolition of slavery in England occurred because of the non-religious influences of rationalism. Weinberg summarizes:

> As far as I can tell, the moral tone of religion benefited more from the spirit of the times than the spirit of the times benefited from religion. Where religion did make a difference, it was more in support of slavery than in opposition to it. Arguments from scripture were used in Parliament to defend the slave trade. . . .With or without religion, good people can behave well and bad people can do evil; but for good people to do evil—that takes religion. . . .One of the great achievements of science has been, if not to make it impossible for intelligent people to be religious, then at least to make it possible for them not to be religious. We should not retreat from this accomplishment.[12]

These are strong statements. Weinberg asserts that all of science denies the existence of God. Further, he condemns religions of all sorts for intellectual bankruptcy and for certain actions done in the name of God. He clearly believes that the world would be a better place without the contentions of religious groups and the behavioral structures constructed in the name of religions. It was a revealing exercise for me to try to imagine the course of history as it might have been without the presence of religion or the actions of religious groups. For example, what might European history or the Middle East look like without the Crusades? But of course the roots of the Crusades extend back to the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, and still further back to the inheritance decisions of patriarch Abraham.

The View of Anti-Science

Of the many types of anti-science, some are simply designed to further self-interest, such as the reported sightings of aliens and UFOs by tabloid journalists or miracle cures promoted by unscrupulous medical charlatans. Other prominent examples are Biblical Creationists. Employing inaccurate or selective data from scientific sources, Creationism is genuine anti-science in that it denies the foundation and methodology of scientific operation even as it employs the label of scientific thinking. Creationism is also a political movement with a political agenda in churches, educational institutions, legislatures, and in the homes of true believers.

---

12 Ibid., 242.

More thoughtful critics of the enterprise of science as it operates within society, especially in our century, claim that science is a destructive force in our culture. Some, such as Oswald Spengler, argue that science is ultimately a self-destructive force in society and doomed in its own operation. Others, like Václav Havel, directly challenge the Jeffersonian model of scientific public policy and submit that science is an enterprise fundamentally disruptive to our social fabric.[13] Havel's perspective is not a familiar one since his, and his country's, view of science were drawn from Soviet science that was malformed and constrained by Communist politics. Soviet science, including such egregious abuses as Lysenkoism,[14] is not representative of real science, but does provide a cautionary illustration of what happens to science when it is directed by an authoritarian system.

Anti-science has had many champions over the years. Some, like Spengler, have been hugely influential in modern culture. In his enormous work *The Decline of the West* (1918),[15] Spengler proposes a kind of historical determinism for various cultures. This kind of encyclopedic cause-and-effect analysis of civilizations through the course of history is not for the faint of heart. Spengler, like Gibbon before him and Arnold Toynbee and Theodore Roszak after him, attempts to create a model for the rise and fall of civilizations by finding common elements of growth and decay. His analysis seeks to identify the fatal flaws in our civilization as well as in earlier civilizations. He predicted the demise of our modern age by the year 2000.

Spengler's work has remained a topic of heated discussion for decades. It has spawned many similar treatments including several New Age and counter-culture books and theories. The Spenglerian model grows from an uneasy marriage of German *Naturphilosophie* with the early philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. Using the metaphor of the seasons, Spengler asserts that each historical epoch begins with a springtime flowering in an "Apollonian" spirit, a world view and culture of organic forms, art, and of faith. This changes slowly into a

---

13. Václav Havel, "The end of the Modern Era," address given at the World Economic Forum, held in Davos, Switzerland, 1992, reported in summary form, *New York Times*, 1 March 1992.

14. Lysenkoism is named after a non-scientific peasant plant-breeder Trofim Denisovich Lysenko [1898-1976]. A powerful Communist functionary, Lysenko was the leading proponent of a view of evolution that rejected "natural selection" and genetics. Under his guidance, science was not directed by the most probable theories tested through controlled experiments, but driven instead by state ideology. The result was the steady deterioration of Soviet biology and the misdirection of huge amounts of capital into agricultural failures. Meanwhile, scientists either groveled, confessing their errors publicly and embracing the wisdom of the Party, or they were fired. Some were condemned and sent to labor camps. See http://skepdic.com/lysenko.html.

15. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West*, Abridged Edition, trans. Charles F. Atkinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes, Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschicte* is insipidly translated as *The Decline of the West*. It would—in a more literal translation—be entitled something like: "The Demise of Western Civilization, Sketches of a Morphology of World History."

romantic longing for the transcendent (*Sehnsucht nach dem Übererdischen*) during the heat of summer. Next, in the autumn of a culture, this view becomes intellectualized—as happens in the tale of *Faust*—a process by which "culture" evolves into mere "civilization," the winter of the epoch. A major component in this change is the rise of science within the society. Ideas of personal destiny are replaced by ideas of causation. Cause and effect analysis replaces the notion of a natural order in life. Mathematics remakes the tangible world into arid, scientific abstractions. Quality of life degenerates into budgetary priorities and human associations become regulated by governments. The idea of government acting as a servant to people is replaced by government acting in its own interest in the ruthless pursuit of power. The idea of scientific causation is forced onto the "natural" phenomena of the world.

Spengler wrote this book during WWI and the decade preceding. European culture was everywhere in upheaval, and he used the most recent developments in physics as supporting evidence to demonstrate the failure of science, not realizing that those years were a time of crisis in physics, the collapse of the old Quantum Theory, soon to be resolved by major new developments. He dismisses quantum mechanics and relativity as "card houses of hypotheses" created with a kind of desperation in the face of intellectual failure. He points to the increasing use of statistics and statistical arguments as evidence of science's failure to achieve its aim of exactness. To Spengler, this illustrates the compromise of science's aims, philosophy, and honesty. He also points to the increasing reliance in science on formulas and symbols (abstraction rather than tangible models), which ironically prepares the winter civilization for a new spring because, in his historical analysis, simple numerical regularities and patterns inspire the birth of religious belief and ritual. Numerical mysticism appears in every new faith, and thus to Spengler, the form of 20th century physics not only points to its demise but also to the immanence of a new epoch, which, arising from the arid exhaustion of science and abstraction, will be infused once again with religion and mystery.

A more recent spokesman for this kind of viewpoint is Bryan Appleyard, an influential British writer on science and philosophy with an important weekly column in *The Sunday Times* (London). He has published a number of books, but most of the material quoted below is taken from *Understanding the Present: Science and the Soul of Modern Man*.[16]

Appleyard presents a fairly complete and accurate history of the development of modern science and with polemical style identifies several villains, especially Galileo and Newton, who disrupted the comfortable harmony of man and the world by letting telescopes and mathematics intrude. Newton especially comes in for criticism. It was Newton who replaced the divinely informed world

16. Bryan Appleyard, *Understanding the Present: Science and the Soul of Modern Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1993).

of Aquinas and Aristotle with the cold mathematics of the modern universe—neutral, mechanical and devoid of value.

> In the weak sense Newton may have celebrated the magnificence of God by demonstrating the overwhelming order of his creation. But, in a much stronger sense, he had demonstrated the power of specifically human reason, unaided by God. Man could now see immense distances, he could forecast the future, he could understand what he could not experience. Was not Newton's real achievement to turn men into gods?[17]

Appleyard continues his history of science by describing the separation of humanity from knowledge by adding the work of Darwin and Freud to the story.

> First Copernicus had turned us into a cosmic speck, secondly Darwin had robbed us of any privileged position in creation, and finally. . .Freud had shown that man was not even master of his own mind. But the scientific procedure offered the possibility of a controlling mastery. "Man's observation of the great astronomical regularities," Freud wrote, "not only furnished him with a model for introducing order into his life, but gave him the first point of departure for doing so.[18]

The 20th century is a turning point in Appleyard's history:

> The public image of science changed in our century. It changed because the smiling mask it had been wearing suddenly fell away to reveal a face that was as horrible as it was wonderful. Primarily this happened because science over the last hundred years has become so visible to so many. A technological explosion as well as environmental anxiety, nuclear weapons, mechanized total war and all the moral and political complexities of economic growth have put science at the center of the public realm. It has been brought to trial before a new kind of jury, the jury of popular sentiment, whose verdicts are cruder and whose anxieties are more politically potent than those of the philosophers. Suddenly science's achievements can simply be viewed as crimes, its knowledge as sin.[19]

Here Appleyard is pointing out that some of the traumatic consequences of science, of its straightforward technological application through mechanized war, for instance, or industrialization with all its attendant social displacement, have lead in the public imagination to the condemnation of science as a kind of Dr. Frankenstein. Meanwhile, however, the classic, mutually exclusionary philo-

17. Ibid., 58.
18. Ibid., 72.
19. Ibid., 130.

sophical definitions of science and religion have provided science with an easy rejoinder to such accusations.

> The division between scientific knowledge and the world produces a cast-iron moral defense [for science]. The question of whether to employ the atomic bomb, the scientist will argue, is precisely the same as the question of whether one uses a gun. A discussion of the moral status of the weapon is irrelevant or meaningless; all that really matters is the soul of whoever might pull the trigger. Nothing has changed except the effectiveness of the tools, the scale of the possible error.[20]

This, of course, is a more elaborate formulation of a familiar kind of defense of technology: "Guns don't kill people; people do." Appleyard, however, finds this kind of logic deeply suspect. He describes our current position:

> Relativity, quantum theory, and chaos reveal the style of our new science. As the nineteenth century ended in a mood of sublime confidence that human knowledge was nearing completion and our power, through the application of that knowledge, was approaching that of the gods, so the twentieth century began—and has continued—by destroying the foundations of that confidence. Extraordinarily, that process of destruction has taken place both from outside science and from within.[21]

Finally, Appleyard comes to his conclusion: "Science made us, science broke us; it is time to start making repairs." In other words, science engendered our optimism that human knowledge would master the world and its problems, but then it was science itself that dashed those hopes and has since even incorporated the failure as part of its theoretical basis. Science is and has been a fundamental part of the problem all along. He lists a few of the efforts made to "repair" this circumstance and rejects each in turn. These attempts include:

Environmentalism. "Environmentalism has expanded to become an entire moral, social and political orthodoxy. As such it has joined forces with a whole range of other anti-progressive movements which advocate the abandonment of economic growth and the return to 'natural' ways of life. . . .[T]he purpose side of the ecological deal says only that we have an obligation to survive—scarcely a significant spiritual insight."[22]

A Return to Orthodox Religion. "Liberally redefining the faith to embrace or coexist with science [the Widtsoe, B.H. Roberts, et al, position] is unconvincing because it is too obviously trying to make the best of a bad job. . . .It merely attempts to pretend it is not a problem."[23]

---

20. Ibid., 131.
21. Ibid., 156.
22. Ibid., 214.
23. Ibid., 215.

A New Spirituality of Science. "In one form this could—and does in writers like Bronowski, Sagan, Hawking, Feynman and Hofstadter—arise from our straightforward acceptance of the progressive, evolutionary vision that science provides. . . .Its proposition is, in essence, that science is the truth, there is nothing we can do about it, so might as well submit. Philosophers have colluded with this. . . .[But] I believe it is self-evident that, if we are to have philosophy or religion, the first qualification of any claimant to those titles must be that they are different from and independent of science."[24]

A New Spirituality Arising From Within Science. "By this I mean the hope many have derived from modern developments like quantum mechanics and chaos theory. Some—like Fritjof Capra—say these point to a possible future convergence between ancient religious insights and new scientific ones. Others—like David Bohm—attempt to construct entirely new visions based on the anti-mechanistic tendencies of the new science. But. . .science is mobile, its very nature is constant change. One generation's certainty is quite likely to be overthrown by the next. It may be true that quantum mechanics points to a deeper, spiritual realm—but the knowledge of that truth must come from outside and be independent of the quantum, otherwise it remains dependent on the whims of science."[25]

With a good deal of courage, Appleyard advances a solution to the difficulty. Unfortunately, it is a complicated argument based on the idea of "private languages" presented in the philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein. But, in fact, it also seems to be the central argument of our time against the rational hegemony enjoyed by science since the Enlightenment.

> A private language would be one that only had meaning to the user. The example is employed of a man who wishes to record the experience of a particular sensation in his diary. It is not a pain or an itch, there is no word that describes it. So he uses the letter "S" to record each occurrence of this sensation. Now this letter "S" might be taken to be a word in a private language that has meaning only to the man. But Wittgenstein concludes that it is not, rather that such a word is quite meaningless. The point is that, in order to get to the word "S," the man had to go through the language we all use. To say that "S" stood for the sensation requires him to employ the word "sensation." He cannot isolate himself and his words from the public realm of language. He must have language before he can have the concept of sensation. There cannot be such a thing as a private language because language is, by definition, a public thing.
>
> As I have said, this may seem to be a technical point. But place it alongside Descartes and its profound significance begins to emerge. Descartes's cogito, ergo

24. Ibid., 216.
25. Ibid.

> sum was an assertion that the one thing of which he could be certain was his own experience on the basis of his own thinking process. But that ultimately is an assertion of a private language. . . .But Wittgenstein destroys the point: the *cogito* is like "S," and we cannot arrive at it without going first through the public realm of language. Language comes before cogito; language gives us our selves.
>
> Locked in this remote and difficult philosophical work [Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, 1953], this is, I believe, the first—and most entrancingly beautiful—sign that we might be in the process of escaping from the loneliness of the classical scientific vision. For, if the scientific self is revealed to be a convention, a delusion Russell would say, then it follows that science too is a convention, a specific choice rather than the privileged road to truth. Science may, at last, be relativized and thereby humbled.[26]

First of all, let's be clear that this is the most serious kind of postmodern argument about epistemology, about getting (or not getting) at truth. It addresses the matter of "discourses," and not of "facts," which in this contemporary view are only available through language conventions anyway. Whatever discourse we use, even the skeptical, questioning, faith-opposed Cartesian language of science, we are locked before we speak into the public convention of words. And if absolutely all "discourses" are a matter of public convention, then all are relative and none, including science, has any more claim on authenticity or on proximity to the "real" than any other. Of course, this would not preclude something like mystical or revelatory confirmations that might not be conveyed in language at all, but through "illumination" or vision or feeling, something available to religion but not to science.

If this kind of thinking about science and philosophy were to win the day, it would constitute a kind of counter-Cartesian (anti-science) revolution, and we would stop talking about getting at or to the "truth" by rational means. I am not persuaded that this is likely to happen. Appleyard misses several fundamental things about science and its operation. It is disingenuous to say that science is a "choice," that the world chose Newton's science over magic as if these were equivalent options. Science works. It has an operational effectiveness and predictive capability that cannot be matched by its competition: magic, religion, philosophy, creation science, space-alien shamanism, or whatever. Science or something like it has always been part of the human condition because as thinking animals, we are inquiring by nature. We have always looked at the stars with wonder and have always needed explanations for our observations.

Moreover, science is unlike other intellectual disciplines in that it deals with the objective world rather than judgments, philosophies, rhetoric, or opinions. The movements of the heavens are real, and the model we choose to explain those motions is demonstrably scientific in nature. The successive replace-

---

26. Ibid., 226.

ment of Ptolemaic, Newtonian, and finally Einsteinian cosmology was forced on us because theories were inconsistent with observational data. New models are always available and will eventually be accepted if their accuracy is superior, but the point is that the comparison is done against the observations, not against a subjective philosophy or an argument from authority. Appleyard glosses over this methodology as if there were a conspiracy of scientists. When the nuclear age began, investigation led to the atomic bomb and also to nuclear reactors, nuclear medicine, and glowing watch numerals. It is unreasonable to think that the process of scientific investigation could include or exclude, by choice, any subsequent discoveries. Meanwhile, there is every reason to believe that external, ideological control (the agenda of non- or anti-science) can and does distort, obscure, even eliminate the horizon of possible discovery.

An Odyssey of Belief

The third view of Science and God mentioned in the title of this essay is my own. Certainly that view is not as profound or as eloquently established as the other two, but it is my own and perhaps has value in the context and autobiography that gave it roots. My credentials as an LDS believer to comment on this subject are good, if rather ordinary. I grew up in the church, served a mission, married in the temple, went to Brigham Young University, and served in bishoprics and on high councils for many years. I am a charter subscriber to *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*. Though "front and center" for most of my church life, I was discontent. I studied Chemistry and Physics at BYU and later at Princeton, then entered a program at Princeton for History and Philosophy of Science where I studied with Thomas S. Kuhn. For some readers, that last sentence probably provided the "Ah hah!" moment in which I've given away my guilty secret, namely that I was led astray by secular influences at a godless university. The fact is that my discontent had much earlier origins in Utah.

As a young man, I probably appeared as too inquisitive and potentially disobedient, especially for a widowed mother with five other children (also bright and challenging) to raise. When I was in my early teens, a kindly uncle gave me what he supposed would be the antidote to my questioning, scientific mind. It was Joseph Fielding Smith's *Man: His Origin and Destiny*.[27] The effect it had was quite the opposite of the one intended. At the time I didn't understand much of what was in the book, but I instinctively knew that it was wrong. I was turned off by its harsh polemic and its descriptions of science that were so different from what little I knew then. It made me distrustful of religion and authority. Looking back over the decades, that was a pivotal point in my intellectual and spiritual life. In some sense, the rest of my life has been spent in resolving the issues raised by that book. But as I moved away from the book

27. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Man: His Origin and Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954).

over my intellectual life, the official church seems to have elevated it (or allowed its elevation) to near-canonical status. Evolutionary biology may be taught at Brigham Young University, and there may be statements to the effect that the church takes no official position on evolution, but many of the assertions in *Man, His Origin and Destiny*, plainly anti-scientific, have been repeated often and publicly by church authorities, and they even appear in the "Chronology" section of the Book of Mormon, 1992 edition. Once again, the church can't really have it both ways.

I studied the church, doctrine and history, and I studied science, quantum mechanics and relativity. I remained active in the church by yielding to the demands and rewards of service. Yes, I told myself, the lessons and sermons were flawed, but I was able to assist in bringing the work forward. I had certainly not been unaware of the tensions in the church, but I was deeply shocked by the "September Massacre," the orchestrated excommunication of several LDS intellectuals that took place in 1993. Though not a direct attack on me, it seemed aimed squarely at people like me with my intellectual position in the church. It and the events thereafter challenged my senses and orientation like the shocks of an earthquake—the foundation of institutional trust was simply gone, and I found no vantage point within the church on which to stand. I resigned my church callings but continued to attend church though I soon realized that this was a futile attempt to hold on to what was no longer there. I encountered the literal truth of the old jibe: "Organized religion is an oxymoron," for the demands of the organization were, in my view, placed far above the demands of religion. Equally offensive to me was the reaction of the community of the church to these events. It was hard to know which was more incredible, the level of willful ignorance about the people and issues involved or the level of indifference. My fellow church members now appeared to me plainly as members of a cult locked in allegiance to a bureaucratic organization, not as concerned believers each struggling with individual challenges of faith and morality. I was no longer comfortable being in the company of cult members. It was abundantly clear that the organization of the church had failed my particular kind of faith though it took years for me to admit this. I have many good and true friends in the church, but our conversation is much thinner these days since we no longer discuss the busy-work of the organization. I am grateful for those friends and treasure their association, but a lot of shared foundation is gone.

Over the course of my life, I have looked back at some rocky stretches and made some wrong turns, but one constant support has been the life of the mind. For years I walked in a *cul-de-sac* by trying to compartmentalize science and religion; every turning brought me back to the original problem. What I heard in religion did not square with what I saw: not in history and not in practice. I have come to believe in science as an epistemology more than ever, especially in its anti-authoritarian operation. It is authority and caprice that are the enemy. Such authority can only be maintained at the expense of truth. If a principle is true, it needs no support from authority. Authority is a terrible foundation for an episte-

mology. In its own operations, the community of science is non-authoritarian. To be sure, there is a scientific bureaucracy with authority figures and some pretense and coercion, but at the core, science and scientists will always finally yield—be forced to yield—to a new idea if it is more in line with the evidence.

The example of Einstein is often cited. Einstein was an unconventional and very poor student, the absolute lowest in any hierarchy of scientists. After graduation he couldn't get a real scientific position, but worked in a post office. From that position as a freelance physicist, he produced three small papers in 1905. The ideas presented in those papers instantly vaulted him to the very top of the physics community. There was no infighting with the scientific establishment or disdain for his lowly rank; his ideas carried the day. At base, science is remarkably democratic, self-correcting in the face of error, and free ultimately from authoritarian influence. Religion should be the same, but it is not.

Little by little, I realized how profound my denial had been. Separated from the community of hustle and bustle and left with the ideas alone, I thought about science and God, and I realized that God was gone. Deep space and deep time change the perspective of life and the world so profoundly that God simply disappears. Deep space and cosmology make the earth miniscule and insignificant, not center stage. Deep time makes our existence as biological entities a small event in a vast process. I don't believe in a creator of the Universe. I don't believe that mankind is different from other species in any fundamental way or that there is a heavenly parent of our souls. I don't believe that God intervenes in human history. I don't believe our history does or could include an event such as the Atonement that is supposed to have cosmic and universal importance. There is no plan in this process or any indication of Godly benevolence. The sacred texts of the world's religions are so different and so fraught with problems that it is incomprehensible to me that intelligent people continue to take them seriously, either for content, historicity, or consistency, much less build an entire world view on them.

I do not feel like an atheist though what I have said makes it clear that the label is accurate. I am not a person without morals, and I don't consider myself as "godless." This simply means that the reasons for my moral behavior are no longer grounded in belief in God. Rather, they are founded in love of the majesty of creation and compassion for my fellow men. I do believe that the human condition requires a spiritual or religious dimension. Certain principles expressed in religion do form a good and necessary foundation for making moral judgments. But I define those principles very carefully—they are ethical principles, not bureaucratic or authoritarian ones. I am in favor of serving my fellow man, but not in favor of proselytizing. I am in favor of feeding my spiritual soul, but not in the ways of organized religions. I hope that we can come closer to the ideal of universal brotherhood, but I see no hope for it as long as we continue to value labels like Mormon, Catholic, Christian, Jew, Muslim, etc.

In defining my current moral orientation as a non-believer, I'm not happy with words like "spiritual" or "religious," but they express the feeling more than

"internal psychology" or some other made-up phrase. It is clear that human beings are more than scientific automatons, as Appleyard complains. I suppose that I might be labeled an Ethical Humanist. I think that people and societies do have a need to believe in the power of good. I'm fairly certain that that power of good is not the same as religion, and it is certainly not the same as organized religion. Valid spiritual impulses are often harnessed to church creeds as a cynical exploitation of good will.

I believe there is a need for an inner dimension beyond the social connection to our community. I believe it is useful to pray though it's hard to say exactly what that is for someone like me—perhaps it is simply communicating with one's own psyche or resetting one's bio-rhythms. Of more interest and concern to me is the internal life of the mind that needs nourishment beyond sociology and psychology. In that regard, I find great appeal in the critical work of Immanuel Kant. Kant is firmly fixed in a scientific world and argues that our senses and innate categories of experience let us generate perceptions of the world as we search for truth. Kant's famous Categorical Imperative describes a morality or moral pressure for ethical behavior based on conformity to laws of nature and the idea that all men should behave similarly as a consequence. A just society and a scientific morality would be the result.

I find great satisfaction in the life of the mind and, despite Appleyard's relativist objection, literally believe the truth of Descartes' phrase *cogito ergo sum*—I think, therefore I am. I take great delight in music and art and find surprise at the joy and pleasure I derive from these. Why does the brain react with pleasure at things of beauty? Thinking as a scientist analyzing the laws of nature, I believe that I have greater wonder and respect for the world and its creatures than I did when I viewed them as products of a creator. With no expectation of another life, this one and the living of it are more precious. I share the feelings of many Jewish friends who believe that their lives continue in what they leave behind.

Charles Darwin realized the profound changes that his work would generate in society. He realized how deeply the notions of evolution would challenge ideas of God and creation and their place in our culture. At the same time, there were satisfying intellectual substitutes. The final sentence of *On the Origin of Species* (1859) expresses Darwin's pleasure at this new view of the world:

> There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.[28]

---

28. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray, 1859), 490.

The world makes more sense being driven by natural law than by a distressingly absent God. My mind shares Darwin's sense of grandeur and is satisfied with those conclusions.

Appleyard is right about this much: science is not a final body of knowledge. It is a process of investigation stripped of the limitations and constraints of context and authority. To be sure, those things do intrude on the process because scientists are people, but they do not last long unless there is some element of correctness in them. The cutting edge of science is objectivity. The final recourse is to the object, whether a chemical element, a star, or a mathematical equation. How wonderfully different that is from judgments in other areas of our lives where the final recourse is based on the arguments of lawyers or the Supreme Court's interpretation of a piece of legislation, or business success is based on the persuasiveness of a marketing campaign rather than the real excellence of a product, or where some arbitrarily labeled moral behavior is based on a tortured reading of selected Bible verses or an ambiguous conference talk.

Meanwhile, fundamentalist believers in the Bible and the Quran hold up their "faith" or "testimony" in the face of every challenge without examining either the challenge or the faith. In a *Los Angeles Times* review of Catholic William F. Buckley, Jr.'s, anti-science book, *Nearer, My God*, Martin Gardner describes the problem. "I put down *Nearer, My God* with unbounded admiration for Buckley's courage and honesty, and the depth of his piety. There is not a trace of hypocrisy in his book. I also came away with the sad realization that Buckley is guilty of what has been called the sin of willful ignorance. He has never considered it worthwhile to learn much about modern science or recent biblical criticism, much of it by Catholic scholars. He has made little effort to think through the implications of his beliefs in the light of such readily available knowledge."[29] Such ardent believers are unwilling to live in the real (or scientifically accessible) world, and from my perspective the rejection of science has led them into mental captivity. It has given some over to the control of possibly unscrupulous leadership with political or economic agendas. Their intolerance and fervor lead to the kind of immoral behavior they rail against.

The "sin of willful ignorance" is practiced by many in the Mormon church as a "commandment of obedience." We are counseled by our leaders not to read science or history or anything that is not "faith-promoting." What can that be called except censorship on the part of the authority and willful ignorance on the part of the audience? I will concede that asking questions is a slippery slope. If one asks difficult questions about science and religion and pursues the implications of their answers, the consequences can be profound. I resisted this deeper level of examination for years, but finally faced up to the need to be honest with myself. The answers that I found to questions about science and religion were

29. Martin Gardner, *From the Wandering Jew to William F. Buckley, Jr.: On Science, Literature, and Religion* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2000), 345.

unequivocal and compelling. It may be good advice to avoid the slippery slope of questioning, but I believe it is an impossible strategy in the long run. Though the risk associated with learning may be high, what is the risk associated with ignorance? What is the purpose of going through life without asking questions or limiting questions to easy ones?

It seems to me that the dangers of anti-science and anti-intellectualism are very strong, especially in the church. The example of Islam makes clear the dangers of failing to accept and assimilate science and technology into our culture, on an individual and societal level, especially as they confront religion. The struggle between science and religion may be seen as a battle between progress and ignorance (or between light and darkness, to use a familiar metaphor), and I am very nervous that the battle is not merely metaphoric. I believe anti-scientists of whatever persuasion are clearly wrong in urging us to choose a non-scientific way. I'm convinced that it is dangerous *not* to embrace scientific thinking and scientific methodology. The solutions to our problems lie not in anti-science nor in denial of science, but in doing more and better science and using more scientific attitudes throughout society. We must free ourselves of ignorance and of dependence on non-objective authority. The world and natural law are what they are; we can't select them, but we can learn to understand them. Acting within the world in an ethical, responsible way is predicated on correct understanding of what it is and how it works. *Homo sapiens* are thinking men—that is our name—and curiosity is our key characteristic. The heavens and the earth have scope and history that is astonishing and awesome to contemplate. The mind is discerning and is able with rigor and honesty to discriminate between truth and falsehood.

What the Universe Means to People like Me

David D. Allred

WHEN I PICKED UP DAVID'S paper to read it, I had a pencil in my hand. Years of reading my students' and my own papers made it natural to edit as I read. However, I heard in my mind the voice of my mother advising me to put the pencil down. This wasn't a time to edit but to hear and understand. Still, I kept the pencil in my hand for the first few pages and made a few notes before I put it down and just read.

I could hear David's voice speaking the words I read. It was good to hear it. I have missed hearing his voice. We met David when we attended the Princeton Ward a little over thirty years ago. That was a powerful time. The ward was a mixture of local people and transplants from the West. Students were not the largest group, but there were enough to leaven the loaf. The Princeton Institute met Friday nights in a room in the Firestone Library on campus. It was still listed as the "Deseret Club" in the university's publications, and the meetings were more like a graduate seminar than a seminary class. The students took turns presenting papers or thoughts on various themes. Most of us were graduate students and were comfortable with a seminar style.

This was in an earlier and less institutional period for the institute program. The church education program had an instructor, Burt, who was in charge of that half of New Jersey. As I remember it, the students had told Burt that he was welcome to attend. If he had something special prepared, we would schedule him a week to present, but he was not expected to talk each week. He came sometimes.

I found the time so refreshing. It was an opportunity to think seriously about our faith and explore its dialogue with the larger world. It was empowering to see people trying to live reflective lives that honestly integrated their scholarship and their religious understanding. Of course, this was never perfect, but I found that there were people there with whom I could discuss, for instance, my dissatisfaction with some arguments derived from naïve natural theology for the existence of a loving Creator.

I remember Henry Eyring giving a lecture to the Princeton University Department of Chemistry while I was there. He had been the chairman of the de-

partment before he'd joined the University of Utah faculty. He freely talked about evolution and gospel insights. These were not compartmentalized for him. It seemed that he openly accepted the truths which natural science taught as well as those which he had learned in the church. He told us that, as a Mormon, he did not have to believe anything that isn't true. I affirm this.

David Tolman had come to Princeton before Janice and I arrived. He was active in the ward and in the discussions we had. I remember David delivering a sacrament meeting talk while we were meeting in the Rosedale Chapel.[1] Standing at the pulpit, he said that God is not like the tyrants of this earth. They demand that their authority be acknowledged. God, however, gives all people their agency. People do not even have to believe in him. What political leader would tolerate that? It was a compelling talk. Understanding that God was not a tyrant was a step in my understanding of the condescension of God, the God taught by the Book of Mormon who gave up his power to become a helpless child, the son of Mary.

I remember some other times with David. I was in charge of the Adult Aaronic program for the ward, shortly before it became the prospective elders program. Many of the home teachers reported to me. David was one of the few people to come to a special meeting that we had called in the interminable struggle to increase home teaching statistics. He was realistic about the prospects of finding people who wanted to be visited, and he expressed that sentiment clearly, but he was also one of those who went home teaching nevertheless. Many did not.

I know that David lived the church program faithfully. He writes of having been hurt by the excommunications of a decade ago. I believe that he has ample reason to understand that the violence of that time was directed at faithful, thoughtful people like him. The smallness of institutions can be a great stumbling block. David identifies fundamentalism as a threat to world civilization. I agree. With the decline of the terrible tyrants of the twentieth century—Mao, Stalin, Hitler, and Pol Pot—secular totalitarianism may be on the decline. The new irrationalities resemble throwbacks to the "bad old" days of tribalism. Ethnic-based oppression is on the rise. Religions are often glued to tribes, and that can make religions part of the problem. Anciently, narcissistic emperors found signs that they had the mandate of Heaven. If you have the Mandate of Heaven, then your thoughts are God's thoughts, and you can do even horrible things, explaining to yourself and the world that God has willed it so. But the problems don't go away if people reject religions. Often things get worse. The big exterminators of the last century were secular. If there is no judgment day, then tyrants are free to assume that power can be used completely arbitrarily, according to the will of him who holds it. So it has been, and so it continues to be. Though God's name and will have been used to justify horrible things, a world

1. We did not have our own building at the time, so we rented a building belonging to a local Protestant church. We met mornings and they met afternoons.

without God relying on modern science has shown itself even more open to tyrants, violence, and abuse.

Two centuries ago, the French mathematician Laplace[2] participated in perfecting Newtonian mechanics by developing mathematics that could account for the motion of the planets in the solar system to a degree of accuracy far beyond what had been possible a century earlier. He was confident that it would be possible, in principle, for an intellect of sufficient power to calculate the future if he were once granted the initial positions and velocities of all particles. Nothing would be unknown. Laplace's vision can be termed "reductionistic determinism"—"determinism" because it states that what the future will be is a necessary consequence of the present and "reductionistic" because it reduces more complex phenomena, including human beings, simply to matter-in-motion.

After Napoleon had considered Laplace's famous treatise on Celestial Mechanics, he asked the mathematician what role he saw for God in his system. Laplace answered, "Sire, I have no need for that hypothesis."[3] Who can measure the empowering effect of that kind of a statement on a tyrant? Napoleon had achieved victory after victory. Fortune smiled on him. The church could not check his power. In the end, Napoleon took the crown from a prince of the church and crowned himself emperor.

But should we care about the effects of an assertion that there is no God, if the assertion were true? I, for one, believe that truth must be honored. We cannot be true to the God of Truth unless we are willing to hear all truths, even if the truths make us uncomfortable, even if they appear to be in contradiction, even if the truths make those around us mad, and even if the statements are about the nature and existence of God.

However, Laplace's breathtaking affirmation of reductionistic determinism simply is not true to the extent that he imagined. It is the case that both reductionism and determinism have been more successful in explanation, prediction, and intervention than most people of his age would have suspected. Laplace was correct in asserting that the solar system is stable in the short run simply through the operation of natural laws. We do not need to evoke a supernatural being to keep the planets in their orbits[4] though their stability over billions of years is re-

---

2. "Pierre Simon de Laplace (1749-1827): French mathematician and philosopher. Laplace's determinism was based on the enormous success of Newtonian mechanics, and in particular he, himself, proved the mechanical stability of the solar system. He thus removed the need for the adjusting hand of god." *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, second edition. (Pan Books, 1984), 197. As quoted at http://www.faragher.freeserve.co.uk/laplace.htm.

3. Steven Hawking, well-known cosmologist, blunts the apparent atheism of the statement by saying, "I don't think that Laplace was claiming that God didn't exist. It is just that He doesn't intervene, to break the laws of Science. That must be the position of every scientist. A scientific law is not a scientific law, if it only holds when some supernatural being decides to let things run and not intervene."http://www.hawking.org.uk/lectures/dice.html. Indeed, scientists proceed, as did Laplace, in rigorously excluding supernatural causes when seeking a detailed account of phenomena.

4. Newton thought that God might play just such a role.

markable.[5] However, two developments of the twentieth-century unstitch Laplace's vision of total determinism.[6] Quantum mechanics is one, and a better understanding of chaos (deterministic nonperiodicity) is the other. Neither would have come into existence without focused researchers energetically pursuing the deterministic enterprise into as many possible areas of inquiry as possible. It was in this pursuit that the limitations to determinism began to become evident in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Moreover, knowing the limits of determinism and how it breaks down now sets the stage for better predictions and control. Take meteorology, for example. Edward Lorenz in the 1960s stated that accurate, long-range weather forecasting was impossible because of the way small effects in an iterative system with feedback could grow to dominate the phenomena. This was a founding work in modern chaos theory. Chaos theory cut the legs out from under one of the approaches that meteorologists, who supply predictions to our local weatherman, used. That approach was to take the existing weather in all the places that are upstream [upwind?] from us and then fold them together in a deterministic way to get tomorrow's weather here. Now instead meteorologists run a large number of simulations and see what each predicts. The forecast, with its chances of wet or dry weather, is then a reduction of the ensemble of possible futures to one pattern with probabilities. If all the forecasts predict rain everywhere nearby then they report 90-100% chance of rain, but if the predicted patterns are mixed then the chance of rain is said to be smaller. The probability-based forecast is, thus, at once more approximate and more accurate. And Laplace's confidence that all could be known can now be seen to be a hopeless extrapolation.[7]

---

5. See for example, Peter D. Ward and Donald Brownlee, *Rare Earth: Why Complex Life is so Uncommon in the Universe* (New York: Copernicus Springer-Verlag, 2000).

6. I am not putting down reductionism and determinism as useless. I am definitely not suggesting either that anything goes or that science is as arbitrary as a person's religion or politics. As a practicing physicist, I rely on reductionism and determinism every day. But they have limits.

7. The word hasn't gotten to many in the social sciences yet where the reductionistic, deterministic enterprise is active. The predictive certainty of the "hard sciences" like physics is an ideal for many. Ideals are fine, but determinism goes beyond ideal to bedrock axiomatic certainty for some. In "A lecture on having a poem," B.F. Skinner expresses an extreme of taking total mechanistic determinism as a description of the universe rather than a discipline of mind for the investigator. This inventor of behaviorism declared that even something as artificial, personal, and creative as the writing of a poem was the same kind of process as having a baby and the outcome just as determined. He ended by saying that he was giving the talk that he had to give and if their positions had been reversed, a member of his audience would have given the same talk. (Skinner, B. F., "A lecture on having a poem." In B. F. Skinner, *Cumulative Record: A selection of papers*, 3rd ed., (New York: Appleton-Century-Crafts, 1972) 345-355. I first came in contact with the piece about a decade ago. It seemed so ridiculous that I put it in the category of "weird, arbitrary and unintelligible assumptions of outlandish groups like Freudians." It took a couple of years for me to realize that Skinner was coming at the human soul and mind from a Laplacian mechanistic mindset. By the time I learned quantum mechanics, atoms and molecules were waves, not machines. I knew that there are only probabilities as to what will happen in any experiment. If something as simple as an elementary particle is governed by probabilities and "the butterfly effect" (chaos theory) can magnify small ef-

Steve Weinberg has told us that the classical God of the gaps, "the idea of God," in the definition David provides, "sometimes used to fill in the gap between areas of scientific understanding," is no longer viable because no longer necessary. As the "gaps" are being filled in, the God of the Gaps will shortly be out of a job if he isn't already redundant. Should we be persuaded by Dr. Weinberg? I am not for several reasons. In the first place, the gaps in the heavens are still there. They have moved out to ever-larger, mind-bending distances and times, and the number of objects in the universe has expanded. In the second place, we can see that there are gaps all around us. Consider the way subtle causes in the world can occasionally produce large effects. The new science of chaos helps us to see that there are many areas, from details of the weather to the beating of our hearts, where small perturbations don't damp out, but can grow larger and larger and eventually dominate the system. Perhaps, instead of Laplace's capable and knowing calculator of the future, it is time to consider again the role that knowledgeable actors could occasionally have in influencing the world using small means,[8] subtly applied at just the right time and place and in the right manner.[9] In the third place, there are many more ways of experiencing the divine than as a cause for as-yet-unexplained phenomena.

Lastly, even if the gaps were all filled, the naïve reductionism championed by physicists like Weinberg does not fit the intuitive experience of most human beings. The map reductionism provides does not fit the terrain of human experience and does not provide good guidance on how to live a good or meaningful life in the world. Physics will not render the humanities irrelevant, just as fundamentalist descriptions of the universe also do not fit the terrain.

Let's consider the core issues of scientific reductionism and immediate human experience in greater detail. First, let's look at the reductionist enterprise. Are the gaps really all going to be filled, rendering God irrelevant? Weinberg's critique of religion is partially based on a model of knowledge that is not universally accepted even in physics. Physicists do not agree on the nature or even on the task(s) of physics. This argument shows up in articulate letters to the editor in magazines like *Physics Today*. Some see the task of physics as a quest for discovering the underlying order of the universe, often expressed as the Theory

---

fects to large ones and change the paths of storms, then the modeling of humans as machines is ludicrous. I had assumed that generally educated scientists and scholars would know that. I have learned that that is not the case and that, in many areas, the news is not particularly welcome. Many consider indeterminacy too theoretical, political, irrelevant, or damaging to their work. And I have learned that, in other cases, there are people who want indeterminacy so as to avoid having to do science at all.

8. The reader may remember: Alma 36:7 "And the Lord God doth work by means to bring about his great and eternal purposes and by very small means the Lord doth confound the wise and bringeth about the salvation of many souls."

9. The falling of dice was one way that unseen, supernatural beings were thought to be able to influence the visible world if they chose. The casting of lots to discover the will of God is well known in earlier ages. Consider the casting of lots in the books of Jonah (1:7) and in Acts (1:26).

of Everything (TOE). This approach is typified in the works of stars like Steven Hawking. There are books with titles like *The End of Physics.*[10] This urge to bring everything into one consolidated theory provides perhaps the common impression that nonphysicists have of physics. But I do not subscribe to it, and there are many individual scientists like me. The unification of forces will not be "A Theory of Everything." It will not account for flightless waterfowl or for the presence or absence of the divine. Instead it will probably show the underlying simplicity and beauty of the universe and that there is greater latitude in possible worlds than we can at present imagine.

The waterfowl reference comes from the comic strip *Bloom County*. Oliver Wendell Jones, the little boy genius, is checking over his calculations. He says that he has the theory of everything completed. Everything fits except flightless waterfowl. There should be no flightless waterfowl. Opus, the penguin, is looking on. He looks down at his lower self in concern. His feet and lower parts have disappeared. Then Jones takes the pencil to his equations. "Missed a factor of two!" he declares. Opus' bottom side comes back into existence, and he finds himself again connected to the floor. "Now, cut that out!" he demands.

In fact, the grand unification theory will likely not have much to say about the existence of flightless versus flight-worthy birds. Some have said that the various disciplines we study are like the layers of an onion. They touch, but the layers are only loosely coupled. Chemistry does not collapse into quantum physics, or molecular biology into chemistry, or the study of tissues into molecular biology. Humans are more than the sum of their organs, and families and other units of society are more than the individuals who make them up. Likewise, each discipline touches others but is largely independent. Taking a phrase from the Doctrine and Covenants, "All truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it. . .otherwise there is no existence" (D&C 93:30).

I have studied both quantum chemistry and the quantum physics on which it rests. The computer programs for the quantum equations exist. Given sufficient computing power, we can calculate any molecule's or group of molecules' structure and the interactions of the molecules to any desired precision. The physical equations are correct. But chemistry has not disappeared. Quantum chemistry calculations involve the computation of large positive and negative energy terms. These correspond to attraction and repulsion in a molecule. The positive and negative energy terms are nearly equal. They are usually the same to about six decimal places. Chemistry resides in the part which doesn't cancel out when the positive and negative terms are summed. The equations give little hint before the computation is made what the sum will provide or how the molecule will fold. Chemistry is in the details. It appears to me that each discipline mentioned above is the same. Each has a natural kingdom based on the balancing of

10. David Lindley, *The End of Physics: The Myth of a Unified Theory* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

forces or causes. They exist in the details. Reductionism has its uses to give insight into foundational causes, but it does not eliminate the discipline. In the end what it means to be a human is more than clothing, food, and water. (Matt, 6:25) Existence resides in the balancing of opposing forces. God and our existence are in the details.

People like me live and work in wonder at the richness and subtlety of phenomena. The expression "infinite in all directions" better captures the awe we feel and more accurately maps the universe we live in. With the things we discover, wonder does not disappear. Familiarity with the mystery does not remove it. It rather makes it larger.

Infinite in All Directions is the name of a book by one the great physicists and thinkers of our age, Freeman Dyson. It is based on his 1985 Gifford lectures in Natural Theology entitled "In Praise of Diversity." The expression itself dates back over a century. In his third chapter, Dyson quotes a portion of a speech made by the physicist Emil Wiechert in 1896 when there was little hint or anticipation of the revolutionary discoveries and insights that the twentieth century would produce. He talked of atoms being actual entities rather than philosophical speculations; then he affirmed that the richness of phenomena leads to the conclusion that atoms themselves are simple rather than complex. But, he stated, that is all right. Wiechert writes:

> I believe that we can abandon this idea (of reaching the ultimate foundations of the universe by going to the realm of the small) without any regret. The universe is infinite in all directions, not only above us in the large, but below us in the small. If we start from the human scale of existence and explore the content of the universe further and further, we finally arrive, both in the large and the small, at misty distance where first our senses and then even our concepts fail us.[11]

Dyson continues. "Today we still find scientists divided into two camps: the unifiers who, like Einstein, believe that nature can be reduced to a finite set of equations; the diversifiers who, like Wiechert, believe that nature is inexhaustible."[12] Dyson is in the latter group, and so am I though Dyson thinks we are in the minority.

I am not claiming that all those who are in the former group conclude that there is no God, only equations, or that the latter group is one of believers in some form of divine existence in the universe. Neither is the case. However, believing in the richness of phenomena and that there is so much more to be understood inclines me to reject Weinberg's conclusions.

This brings me again to the second large issue, the very different and personal ways in which people experience both life and God. My own understand-

---

11. Freeman J. Dyson, *Infinite in All Directions: Gifford Lectures given at Aberdeen Scotland, April-November 1985* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 36.

12. Ibid.

ing of our existence in the world and of my relationship to our Heavenly Parents is grounded in my experiences and native approach, and these speak to me of both a universe and a God of wonder. I write from my experiences and leave it to others to articulate their own.

God has been given many names and titles as human beings have endeavored to understand the universe and our position in it. The roles which God assumes in the universe are an important aspect of the way in which people have seen God. His role in the natural world is clearly seen in titles like Creator and Sustainer. (It is in these roles that the God of the Gaps finds employ.) God's sovereignty has been emphasized in titles like Ruler of Heaven and Earth, King of the Universe, and the Almighty. But these are not the only types of roles for God. If he were not the answer to core questions about the natural world, would he still be God?

Being in a personal relationship with God has been a very important matter for deeply religious individuals. Jesus spoke of God as a dear parent. ("Abba" means daddy). Some Christian mystics have seen God as lover.[13]

I will speak of the God who loves me and whose work I would do. Before I am a scientist or a member of any group, I am a human being. I do not owe final allegiance to any human activity, neither science nor religion. I try to be true to all of the truth I learn and experience, but in humility I say that we do not have access to all truth.

For me the fundamental, experiential truth of human existence is not "I think therefore I am," but "I am loved and therefore I am." Love brought us into the world and love sustains us. The love of a mother for her child in the first two years of life is central. Without that love the infant cannot survive. Without being picked up, held, comforted, and cuddled, the baby will not thrive. I have experienced the love of God and have had the chance to return that love. To have gained a sophisticated understanding of the nature of the creation of the world[14] does not change the fact that I am loved.

---

13. Margaret M. Toscano, "Making Love with God: Sex and Identity in Two Late Medieval Mystics: Mechthild of Magdeburg and Margery Kempe," Dissertation, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 2002.

14. World is an old word for universe. When Copernicus wrote of the motions of heavenly objects in *De Revolutionibus* the first chapter of the first book was entitled "Quod mundus sit sphaericus," "The world is spherical." He did not mean the earth. That was the subject of the second chapter, "The earth is also spherical." By world, Galileo meant all of creation. The word we use for this now is usually "universe," and the word "mundus" in the first chapter is often translated now as universe. LDS may occasionally find it profitable to read the word "universe" when they come across the word "world" in the scriptures. It doesn't always mean universe, but often does.

It is, however, not clear that the word "universe" will continue to mean all of creation. Universe is now used to refer to all of creation that is within our light (and gravitation) cone, whether we can see it or not. But various meditations on the subject of what came before the big bang or of what creation may look like beyond places from which light has reached us have led some to talk of "multiverses."

In addition to the question of the existence and nature of God, there are questions about the interactions of the powerful institutions of religion and the sciences each soliciting adherence to their principles. Human experience is larger than the realm that the physical sciences take as their scope. To me this is a statement of fact. In the hearts and minds of people, the physical sciences are unlikely to replace religious accounts of the world or of humanity's place in it. The soil is too thin for growth, the place too remote to live in. Many people experience scientists as just one more group of authorities claiming preeminence. A natural question is: Why should they have more right to our allegiance than other authorities? Besides, we scientists keep changing the scientific account. Even subtle changes in our understanding of the world can produce monumental changes in our understanding of our role and position in the universe. What are we to believe?

Even when people escape the antiscience approach of Creationism or other narrow readings of scripture, many do not find that the map provided by scientific reductionism fits the territory of their personal lives. Some people have natural faith in God, life after death, and the existence of the transcendent. Some have had experience with life-after-death, transcendent love, seeing angels, empathetic contact with animals, plants, and the other. Others find the remoteness in time and space of the big bang creation and the esoteric mathematics and the claims of cosmology simply irrelevant to their lives. For still others, including religious scientists, ancient or modern religious texts can suddenly gain new meaning with the discoveries of natural science. If some, nevertheless, feel that Weinberg is correct in asserting that science shows that there is no God or ultimate purpose in the universe,[15] my own response is that science has not shown any such thing.

At the same time, the maps provided by fundamentalists of all religions manifestly do not fit history, science or, most often, the best impulses of their own traditions. Living with a good mind but in deliberate ignorance is deplorable state. I appreciate David's quoting Martin Gardner's thoughts on the "sin of willful ignorance." Here my own negative experiences with religion come powerfully into play. There is no question that religious people do and have done bad

---

15. Cosmology as it has been done may not be the right science for Weinberg's task. Dyson observes that Weinberg in *The First Three Minutes* takes only five pages to dismiss the future. "He (Weinberg) sums up his view of the future in twelve memorable words: 'The more the universe seems comprehensible, the more it also seems pointless.'" Dyson counters, "Weinberg here, perhaps unintentionally, identified a real problem. It is impossible to calculate in detail the long-range future of the universe without including the effects of life and intelligence." Cosmology gives us a view of the present universe whose grand structure unfolded from the big bang, but it has little to say about life. Life doesn't come out of the equations, except, as some have observed, in that the physical constants which enter into the equations are finely tuned to allow life. Dyson points out that life changes the world, and intelligent life can do that even more so. We must take into account the presence of intelligence and life to understand purposes, values, and the future. Chapter 6 of *Infinite in All Directions*, "How will it all end?" [99-100]

things in the name of piety. This is especially hard to bear for me. Janice Allred, my wife, was excommunicated and those who carried it out claimed that this action was for the protection of the church. I know that this hurt Janice. Our whole family was damaged. I do not believe that the action protected the institution.

I remember there was an incident at the dedication of the Princeton Ward when David led the choir. Among other things he had chosen "How Lovely is Thy Dwelling Place," from the Brahms Requiem, sung in the original German, and the Latin "Sanctus" from the Faure Requiem. It was beautiful music of a kind and quality we had become accustomed to in that ward. Both pieces use scripture as text, both deal with the theme of sacred space, we had the English translations of both texts in our programs, but a very high church dignitary who'd been invited to the dedication took offense. Red faced and angry, he stepped to the microphone and announced that the congregation would sing four verses of "Come, Come Ye saints." What followed was, of course, not the comfortable singing of a familiar hymn; it became, instead, the awkward execution of a highly dubious public reprimand. Many of the "little ones" Jesus spoke of, who are offended by those with power are not little, not children at all, but mature and accomplished adults. These are, of course, small matters compared with the great crimes of religion to which David refers. But small or large, because they address evils attendant to the very institutions from which we derive our moral ideals, we have to look at them squarely and honestly.

At the same time, being honest also requires that we put such religious crimes into historical perspective. Truly, the greatest murderers of history have been, and are likely to remain, secular or ethnic. In the last century, tens of millions were murdered for political reasons, like the millions of Kulaks in the Ukraine, the later millions across the USSR killed by Stalin, the millions of Chinese by Mao Zedong, and the millions in Cambodia by Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. Millions more were minorities killed by majority populations: the Armenians in Turkey, later Jews and Gypsies in fascist Germany and the countries it occupied, then still later, those killed through ethnic cleansing in Indonesia, the Balkans, and central Africa. Weinberg, of course, is not the first antireligious man to point to Galileo, the Inquisition, anti-Jewish pogroms and the like. I have confronted this kind of rhetoric at social gatherings of scientists for years, but Weinberg is not at a cocktail party. Conceding such religiously motivated atrocities, I maintain that even a cursory, unprejudiced look at the numbers shows an overwhelming lead for secular powers and governments and individuals in the aggressive failure to value and defend human life.

Turning to a specific issue mentioned by Weinberg as evidence of the moral failure of religion, the US abolition of slavery; it seems to me that Weinberg shows selective reading. I believe he is wrong when he says, "Where religion did make a difference, it was more in support of slavery than in opposition to it." The dominant forces in the north in the issue of antislavery were religious communities. The abolitionist Beecher family is a particularly salient example. Daughter of a minister and sister to others, Harriet Beecher Stowe skillfully de-

scribed the horrors of slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Lincoln greeted Harriet Beecher Stowe, saying, "So you're the little woman who started the big war." In the antebellum south, antislavery preachers were intimidated, murdered, and expelled. The division over slavery split many American churches. The hegemonies which the rich and powerful promoted co-opted religion as much as possible. It is remarkable that in high slaveholding areas in the south there were any religious people who were antislavery. But there were.

It is also true that many preachers in the antebellum South told their congregations what they wanted to hear. As a Latter-day Saint I am used to the practice of our church and the presumption that a lay ministry is superior to paid ministries, particularly those paid by and, hence, in some degree beholden to a central government. Protestant pastors in Germany, however, see the matter differently. They think that their paid position has a moral advantage over that of their American counterparts. Since they do not have to look to prosperous people in the congregation for support, they can tell people truths they may not want to hear. The Book of Mormon talks of apostate groups who wanted their preachers to be "popular" and supported by the people. Such preachers told the people just what they wanted to hear, and this was surely also a problem in the antebellum south.

But were scientists any better in this time? Many were not. The concept of the "European" race was partially a scientific invention. Many of the prominent promoters of separation of races and the supposed superiority of one race over another in the early twentieth century were scientists. It was only after the horrors of fascism had been fully disclosed that scientists rejected racism and discovered scientific reasons to justify their revulsion. Such after-the-fact discoveries, however welcome, seem far more a product of political necessity than of scientific method.[16]

Weinberg believes that the moral tone of religion benefited more from the spirit of the times than the spirit of the times benefited from religion. What is the source of the spirit of the times? It is difficult to tease this out. In most Christian countries the development of a moral sense and restraint has been strongly mediated by religion.[17] Before there was secular humanism, there was the religious

16. If a critic of science like Appleyard were to challenge certain social sciences as being the product, at least in part, of willful choices rather than of an unbiased interrogation of natural phenomena, this physical scientist might agree.

17. The Roman Empire found it strange that Jews and Christians connected morality to religion. In the traditional communitarian pagan religions, religious piety was about sacrificing to the Gods and supporting religious festivals and events. It had nothing to do with abstaining from sexual contact. Many religions had exactly the opposite attitude toward sex, promoting ecstatic rites. The pagan religions most definitely did not promote serving the poor as the ideal of a religious life. By the third century CE, however, carrying for the despised was expected of religious communities. We know this because when Emperor Julian (the Apostate) sought to reinvigorate the Empire by promoting the old Roman religion, he gave grain to the priests of the gods and told them to feed the poor as the Christian bishops had been doing. The priests, however, were confused as this was not part of the old time religion.

humanism of Reassume and of St. Francis of Assisi, which helped lay the groundwork for humanism of later ages.[18] I believe this rephrasing of Weinberg is more accurate, "As far as I can tell, the spirit of the times and the current moral tone of religion grew out of the people's religious and secular past."

In the final analysis, I believe it is as damaging to live one's life totally by science as it is to live it totally by religion. I was told of a sociology professor who tried to live entirely by science and who, though he was an academic success, ended his life rather than go on through personal troubles. There are, of course, people who have committed suicide because of their allegiance to religion. Steering a middle course has much to recommend it.

How does one live with both the knowledge science brings and those experiences very alive in the self that we call spiritual or religious? How should I live? David says "For years I walked in a cul-de-sac by trying to compartmentalize science and religion; every turning brought me back to the original problem. What I heard in religion did not square with what I saw, not in history and not in practice." He brings up the issue of compartmentalization in the first paragraph of his essay. "The contention is that science and religion can be made to co-exist by compartmentalization, that is, by carefully limiting the scope of each so that neither intrudes on the sphere of influence of the other. Such an approach is folly."

I feel called to examine and to ask myself, "Is that what I do?" Consciously, I see no profit in compartmentalization, but it is possible to fool one's self. I have done that on occasion. So I ask, "Do I carefully limit the scope of science and religion so as not to allow the one to intrude upon the other?" I have not thought this to be the case, but I acknowledge that there have been times when I've not let my values critique my scientific work and other times when I could have examined my religious beliefs more thoroughly. I also see that the knowledge of the world which I gain by reading and study often runs together with the personal experiences of my life, my reading of scripture, etc. I often reflect on both kinds of things in the same periods of meditation. (But then, I don't keep a neat desk either. Things get mixed up there as well.) The effect can be both disconcerting and exhilarating. I have no detailed, complete and comprehensive picture of the universe, and I have many questions and some speculations. Some are the kind that I feel I can share with my gospel doctrine class. Some are not.[19]

---

18. The invention by certain so-called "Christians" of a new enemy, "secular humanism" is lamentable. I would rather have the company of a "secular humanist" with a sense of irony than a "Saint" who was out to see that I always use my "agency" properly. Dyson's definition of a secular humanist is interesting. "Roughly speaking, a secular humanist is someone who believes in science and humanity but not in God. If that is the correct definition, I do not qualify as a scientific humanist. I cannot regard humanity as a final goal of God's creation." *Infinite in All Directions*, 8-9.

19. Consider the length of time the universe and the earth have existed. Geological time is vastly longer than people thought based on scriptural accounts. If Christ came in the meridian of time, are we to think that this means geological time? It has been about 4.5 billion years since the creation of the earth, 14 billion years since the probable creation of the universe we can see. Does

When I was a teenager, my father brought me an article on multiple working hypotheses from a trade magazine. The article taught that early in an investigation it might be useful to hold in mind several of the various hypotheses that can account for phenomena. Experiments are made and observations; then the ways in which these observations support the various hypotheses are noted. Judgment is deferred. I have made a habit of deferring judgment. Here are some of the data that seem important to me.

While I have found various "proofs of the existence of God" from the natural world not to be compelling, some are inviting. I have tried to live with an open mind, observing the variety of phenomena. I have had experience with blessing the sick, and I have had hands laid upon my head and felt the pain go away. I have had sudden flashes of illumination and felt the warmth of the Holy Spirit within me. I see beauty in the world, a phenomenon that transcends biological need and eludes any obvious evolutionary basis. I meditate on the wonder of being an individual who can communicate with other beings.[20] These experiences are anecdotal, not scientific, but they have moved me and left me thoughtful. I also feel that I have been in the presence of a being who loves me and accepts my love, and that experience has been transforming.

So I do not conclude from our increasing knowledge of the universe that there is no God. I believe in God because of having a relationship with my divine parents. I find in the increasing size of the known universe, humility and wonder.[21] Wonder that we can understand so much of it, small as we are com-

---

that mean that the end is also to be reckoned in geological time, perhaps another 4.5 or even 14 billion years from now? If so, isn't the second coming a very long way off as well as our own resurrection and judgment day? Doesn't this render all our "last days," "latter-day" talk kind of silly?

20. Here are four things about the universe which cause me to wonder.

1. How is there beauty in things which do not provide air, drink, food, or reproductive potential, things which in fact by their very nature are deadly, big enough to kill us?

2. How is there such a thing as communication possible at all? People talk about how interesting it would be if there were such a thing as telepathy. It would be magic. But in fact any communication between two separate beings is remarkable.

3. How is it that the universe is comprehensible, intelligible at all by a 1.5-kg brain?

4. Abundance. Everything is running down, making heat death appear to be inevitable, but all around us we see great extremes. These extremes make it possible for life, but should there not some day be a heat death of the universe? How is it that with entropy we can hope for eternal life in a finite universe? The preacher observed. "The rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full." (Eccl. 1:7) We know of the hydrological cycle but we know of no self-renewing energy creation process in the heavens. Still, there are hints that such a thing may occur in special circumstances.

21. It is particularly sad when people became jaded to awe. Immanuel Kant declared, "Two things fill the mind with ever increasing wonder and awe-the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me." As quoted by Pastor Bruce Booher at http://members.aol.com/starpastor/Openingselves.html. I went to Google and typed "Kant stars wonder" and got this. (As an aside, I am constantly impressed by what the web and fast search engines can find. Google coupled with a fast internet connection is probably the closest most of us will come, in this mortal existence, to having an Urim and Thummim. We stare into our own "sea of glass," and the computer monitor displays to us things panoramic things about our world and others. It even translates pages written in other lan-

pared to stars and galaxies. And wonder that God knows us. "What is man that thou art mindful of him?"[22]

I do not feel that I have a final understanding. Our scientific knowledge continues to bring me new vistas of the organization of the universe. Syntheses which any of us produce will be outdated soon because our scientific knowledge continues to change, so we must stay humble. I do not regard my living this way as compartmentalization, but as realistic humility. If we are willing to let the "truths" stay in conversation, I believe we will continue to learn of heaven and earth.

Every person must choose and walk the path that he or she sees open ahead. It is good when each person can do that with the blessings of intelligence, an open mind, good friends and books, thoughtfulness, humility,[23] confidence, and the faith that what we are learning is worth sharing. David has done that here, though he has come to a different place than I.

I believe that many people take a similar approach. David talks about there being proponents of both science and religion who claim comprehensive and exclusive views of the world. This reflects a view of the institutions and their leaders as forceful entities in a position to demand ultimate allegiance. It may be what many people experience some of the time. I cannot, however, support putting institutions or their champions above ordinary individuals.[24] Each person must claim his or her eternal agency and deny final allegiance to any human invention, system, or institution be it a business, a political party, a religion, or scientific school. All these will finally fail our most basic human needs; only love can prevail.[25]

---

guages. Still, we must show discipline in what we look for. And avoid looking at what we should not.)

Walt Whitman also spoke of the need for wonder in the midst of learning:

When I heard the learn'd astronomer;
When the proofs, the figures, were ranged in columns before me;
When I was shown the charts and the diagrams, to add, divide, and measure them;
When I, sitting, heard the astronomer, where he lectured with much applause in the lecture-room,
How soon, unaccountable, I became tired and sick;
Till rising and gliding out, I wander'd off by myself,
In the mystical moist night-air, and from time to time,
Look'd up in perfect silence at the stars.

22. Psalms 8:4

23. On the topic of humility and arrogance, Dyson says, "On the other hand, as I listen to the arguments raging in recent years between biologists and creationists over the teaching of biology in American schools, I am shocked to hear voices among the scientists sounding as arrogant as the voices of the creationists. . . .The tragedy of (the parents') situation lies in the fact that their religious beliefs are in conflict with the evolutionary doctrines of modern biology. But the scientists, by and large, show no respect or understanding for the human anguish of the parents." *Infinite*, 11.

24. Nor other creatures of flesh and blood. Consider "The Hippopotamus" by T.S. Eliot, *Poems* (New York: Knopf, 1920). (See, for example, http://www.bartleby.com/199/20.html) The hippopotamus will go to heaven but institutions cannot.

25. 1 Cor. 13: 7-8. The J.B. Phillips paraphrase is instructive. "Love knows no limits to its endurance, no end to its trust, no fading of its hope; it can outlast anything. It is, in fact, the one thing

I wrote earlier that I have many questions and some speculations. Put another way, as our scientific knowledge continues to expand, it brings me new vistas of the organization of the universe. And in the universe, I see echoes of the scriptures. If the past is a guide, any syntheses that we produce will soon be outdated. But it can be enlightening to think about them. I find aspects of the scriptures, which seem to echo insights modern physics brings. I would like to share one such exercise in natural theology.[26]

My text: "Which Kolob is set nigh unto the throne of God, to govern all those planets which belong to the same order as that upon which thou standest."[27]

In the last decade there have been a number of studies of the role of Jupiter in the organization, stability, and properties of the solar system, particularly the four inner, that is, the terrestrial planets. It has been pointed out by a number of researchers that Jupiter is likely responsible for many of the characteristics that have made the Earth capable of bearing complex animal and plant life.

Jupiter is a governor. It has an exceptional circular orbit. It is worth noting that, except for the sun, it carries most of the angular momentum in the solar system. Its effect on the planets which lie closer to the sun than it does is to keep their orbits almost circular as opposed to elliptical. This has kept the climate of earth more stable than it would otherwise have been over the eons, allowing more complex animal life and ecosystems to arise, develop, and diversify.

Jupiter is also a protector. "Long-period comets enter the solar system from its outer reaches. Jupiter's gravity slings most of these fast-moving ice balls out of the solar system before they can get close to Earth. So long-period comets are thought to strike Earth only about every 30 million years. Without Jupiter nearby, long-period comets would collide with our planet up to 1000 times more frequently."[28]

When some of the early computer simulations of the long-term (millions of years) behavior of the solar system were done, the investigators put a planet the size of Saturn in the place of Jupiter to see how this might effect the system. Saturn is a gas giant like Jupiter, not quite as massive, but very large, compared to

---

that still stands when all else has fallen. For if there are prophecies they will be fulfilled and done with, if there are "tongues" the need for them will disappear, if there is knowledge it will be swallowed up in truth."

26. Natural theology is a neglected discipline. Dyson says, "According to Christian doctrine, God gave us two books in which his actions are recorded. One book is the Bible; the other is the Book of Nature. By reading the Book of Nature we can obtain knowledge of God's work, whether or not we also read the Bible. Natural theology is the reading of God's mind as expressed in the works of Nature." *Infinite*, 3-4. Latter-day Saints are used to finding harmonies between multiple books of scripture. So LDS can claim the right to try to harmonize in humility the Book of Nature and other scriptures.

27. Abraham. 3:9 (partial)

28. From Deborah Byrd and Joel Block, "Friendly Jupiter," *Earth & Sky*, April 23, 2001. "http://www.earthsky.com/2001/es010423.html." See also: "http://learningexplorers.com/mike/Jupiter.htm" and http://www.pnas.org/cgi/content/full/98/3/809."

the terrestrial planets. Nevertheless, it is not nearly as successful as Jupiter in stopping comets. The calculated bombardment rate of KT class, "dinosaur-killer" comets went up by a factor of 10 to 100 on Earth. This would be devastating for higher life on Earth. Comets and asteroids vary in size. Some are smaller. A few are considerably larger. It is the larger ones that are particularly noteworthy. It has been estimated that an object twice the size of the KT object could extinguish all animal life on earth.

Jupiter may also have been instrumental in the initial organization of Earth. It blocked the formation of a planet between it and Mars and, instead, left the matter in smaller chunks.[29] There is a suggestion that it brought water to the earth early on by flinging to the Earth chunks from the outer reaches of the asteroid belt where the composition of rocks is about ten percent water. This speculation is based on the isotopic ratio of water on Earth's matching the isotopic ratio of water from some asteroids better than that of water from comets.[30] Having just the right amount of water has been essential for higher life on Earth.

One of the reasons Jupiter's role in maintaining life on Earth is significant is that Jupiter appears to be uncommon as well as special. A decade ago there were no extrasolar planets and planetary systems known. Now we know of more than 100 planets and nearly as many systems.[31] Most do not resemble our solar system with its Jovian planet (Jupiter) at about five AU with a circular orbit.

Lunine observed that, "The most striking, and oft-quoted, characteristic of the extra-solar menagerie is the preponderance of Jovian-mass planets at small orbital distances from their parent stars. Although the statistical overrepresentation of such tight orbits in the observed cohort of planets is biased by the fact that Doppler spectroscopy is most sensitive to smaller orbital semimajor axes, the mere existence of such objects forces a paradigm shift in our expectations regarding planetary system architectures."[32] Many other Jovian planets have elliptical orbits. Jovian planets with elliptical orbits tend to destabilize smaller objects nearby, pumping their orbits to where they collide with their star or another planet or are hurled out of the system into the deep freeze of interstellar space. It appears that governors for terrestrial planets may not be common in the universe.

As this information became available a decade ago, I wondered if Jupiter might not be a type of Kolob, set at the beginning of the solar system to govern and protect the earth. Perhaps the word "govern" in Abraham could be referring to political and social issues, but the physical aspect is more clearly important

---

29. *Rare Earth*, 235-242, has an excellent analysis of the potential role of Jupiter in keeping the earth habitable for animal life. It also has some comments about the moon's role.

30. See for example, Jonathon I. Lunine, "The occurrence of Jovian planets and the habitability of planetary systems," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 98, no. 3 (2001): 809-814.

31. http://www.obspm.fr/encycl/catalog.html Saturday, June 07, 2003. Check Google for the latest count.

32. Jonathon I. Lunine, "The occurrence of Jovian planets and the habitability of planetary systems," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 98, no. 3 (2001): 809.

for sustaining life on earth over geological time. It would be worthwhile to consider how the moon has also functioned as a type of Kolob for the earth since its creation over four billion years ago.

Let me end with the Natural Theology pillars of my own faith:

1. The universe is what it seems. God is not trying to fool us. "Subtle is the Lord, but malicious he is not," said Albert Einstein.[33] The world is not like a movie set. For example, it looks old because it is. (I explicitly reject the creationist fantasy that the universe was created just a few thousand years ago but was created to look as if it had come into existence over 10 billion years ago.)
2. We are meant to be able to understand the universe, though diligence, care, cooperation, humility and time are required. It amazes me that the universe is comprehensible, intelligible at all to a 1.5-kg brain? Nevertheless, this does seem possible.
3. Each individual human is more important than the institutions we have created to help us understand, discover, and honor truth. Love and respect are the appropriate way for me to relate to other beings.
4. The divine is accessible to each of us, but the modes and times of access differ as do the details of each individual's experience. Therefore, differed people will come to different conclusions about their experience.
5. God's love is eternal and amazing. God, who knows me, will not leave my soul in the grave. (Psalms 16:10) The universe is so large and full that there is room for miracles, including the survival of the individual soul.

A statement of faith is not a statement of fact, but I'm grateful for the opportunity to write in response to David Tolman's thoughtful paper. If his essay were delivered at a Sunstone Symposium, it could be in a "Pillars of my Faith" session. I love to hear someone with a deep spiritual concern speak from life's experiences, and that is what David has done. The fact that he has concluded there is no God is part of his own kind of affirmation, a statement of faith, in the face of much negative evidence. I hold the greatest respect and reverence for his thoughtful account. What he wrote calls me to examine myself. Our conclusions lie far apart, but I feel that we share a community of intention and that such a community is a natural home for the most challenging questions and most probing and significant kinds of dialogue.

---

33. This saying, now engraved above a fireplace of the faculty lounge of the Mathematics Department in Princeton, is the translation of "Raffiniert ist der Herr Gott, aber boshaft ist Er nicht." See Denis Brian, *Einstein: A Life* (New York: John Wiley & sons, 1996), 127.

Response

David O. Tolman

WHEN I SAW THE TITLE DAVID ALLRED chose for his remarks, I wondered if he would directly address the issues I'd raised in my essay. I'm afraid I don't think he did, and I will outline those that I believe need response. But first let me take up some points of disagreement and some matters of clarification.

My observations about fundamentalism were not aimed at religion only but at authoritarianism in general, whether in religion or politics or in any other social entity. I agree that religion, as it is expressed as principles of morality, is a necessary part of society. But most religious groups are not content with dispensing ethical principles; they seek to exploit the power given to them by their followers. The problem is authoritarian institutions (which may include religions) that use their influence to create divisions and hatreds and to spawn persecution and war. I do not believe that, as David seems to assert, Laplace's comment was interpreted by Napoleon as empowering or justifying his wars of conquest, nor do I believe that the power of religion could or would have checked him. I also do not believe that the fear of meeting God at the judgment bar would have deterred any of the 20th Century dictators David lists.

The related arguments about whether greater numbers of people have been slaughtered in the name of religion or in the name of secular politics miss the point, which I will try to frame in a different way. It is finally immaterial what the labels of the ideology are or to which authoritarian hierarchy blame may be ascribed. Science teaches respect for all organisms and denies the basis for ethnic cleansing or racial superiority. Having said that, I must concede that there remain many very bad reasons—including very bad science—for one group to oppress another. I may be naïve in thinking good science can overcome this circumstance, but it certainly offers more hope than other ideologies. In some ways, science continues to offer insights that can either benefit us or give us grounds for discrimination (genetic abnormalities, mental illness, etc.). Our society must use the information wisely and must try to find humanistic ethical guidance. But I am not persuaded that religions or political movements can or will bring about these improvements without the clarifying analysis of scientific methodology.

David Allred is critical of Weinberg's account of slavery, and the fault is probably mine because I greatly shortened the quotation. Weinberg used Eng-

land in his example, rather than America, because it was much earlier, and the earliest British criticism of slavery rose from rationalism and humanitarianism with Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The Somersett Case, which ended slavery in England, was written without mention of religious arguments at a time when the polemic surrounding the issue in America had not yet reached a fever pitch. In my mind, the foundation of slavery in theological principles would have remained strong in religious communities (as it has in Islam) without the exposure to rationalistic and scientific pressures from outside. Stephen J. Gould's The Mismeasure of Man (1981) offers an extended examination of the social attitudes and bad science concocted in support of racial policies.

In the matter of science itself, David questions the reductionist enterprise—is there a Theory of Everything (TOE) or Grand Unification Theory (GUT) and should we be looking for it? He may be right that to achieve this is a futile hope, but huge numbers of scientists have been working toward it for a very long time. He is right that many prematurely say that the TOE is here, and they claim more than the evidence supports. But I don't understand how he concludes that the TOE is somehow more directly related to the question of God's existence than the collected scientific work leading up to it.

With regard to aspects of that scientific work, I was disappointed by David's use of Alma 36:7 as a kind of proof text for Chaos Theory. Of course, prooftexting is typically Mormon—one makes an assertion, even a scientific one, and then supports it with a quotation from scripture—but it is not helpful in illuminating any scientific point. He uses this technique again when he challenges Grand Unification Theory by quoting D&C 93:30, but this too is off the point. Use of such methodology, in fact, illustrates the improper overlap of one area of thought into the other. The concept of "sphere of influence" is well known in science and is a useful tool in understanding the limitations of research conclusions. Rules of nuclear and subatomic behavior can usually be ignored in working on problems in chemistry, but that doesn't invalidate their existence or importance in their proper sphere of influence. Likewise, moving from small to large systems involves the same considerations of new and different effects. Indeed one of the most uncomfortable interfaces in science is the inability to integrate the very small and the very large. Similarly, sociological systems and the rules for analysis change as the subject matter goes from individuals to families, to cities and nations. Adding history to the research scope further expands the number of operative factors. But none of this is new and none of it challenges the reductionist enterprise. It is, in fact, an expression of reductionism. The addition of each factor is a clear reductionist tactic. Keeping the spheres of influence clearly defined is successful reductionism.

Meanwhile, David's chief support for God's existence is his testimony. I do not minimize this as evidence. It is clearly important to him and to many like him, including other religious scientists. But that is the issue. God is widely invoked in this "testimony" mode, but the content of God is different *for different*

persons. I think a real analysis of the problem (using belief assertions as a founding epistemology) has to account for those differences—different holy texts and traditions and so on. At least in the first pass, all stories and claims have to be given equal weight. This is the issue of moving from personal experience of God to a community of believers and from there to an organized political and social movement based on that religion. If God is out there, He's not managing his followers very well. If, on the other hand, one or more of those gods are creations of the followers, we would expect to see varieties and differences of the results reflecting their origins.

Of course, David feels that I am throwing out the baby with the bathwater. "Human experience is larger than the physical sciences," he argues. But replacing everything religious with laws of physics is not my practice and was never my intention. I remain a moral person. My life is full of culture and joy. Rejection of anti-science, relinquishing a nebulous God from my belief system, and distrust of organized religious bureacracies don't eliminate any of that; I do, however, ask us all to be cognizant of careless thinking, thinking across "spheres of influence," and I wish to be especially wary of assertions made by people speaking outside their areas of knowledge.

David Allred's connecting Jupiter to Kolob is fanciful physics, though no less interesting for that. My response, however, is that it does not change my scientific or spiritual life to have that connection made. It does not affirm a belief in God nor demonstrate the truth of scripture. For me it only raises much larger, much deeper questions. If God is seated at Kolob, how can he create, rule, or regulate the universe from such a tiny spot? With what we know of the universe, how can one being control it? What does it mean to create a universe full of immense, violent objects like black holes, supernovae, quasars, and gamma bursts? Biological systems, molecules, atoms, even subatomic particles are ripped to shreds in such environments. No thing or being can govern them. If God the creator means only God as a distant observer, having set out the blueprints for the creation and adjusted all the critical parameters, how has he earned the title? A lab technician could read out the values. And if God's role was to "flip the switch," given the age of the universe, why would he hang around to watch the blinking lights? Modern theories of deep space, on the other hand, claim that the events between then and now are orderly processes naturally consequent to the laws and conditions at any given point.

Consideration of deep time leads to the same negative conclusions. If Man was God's objective in Creation, why wasn't creation more efficient? Assembling the necessary components (heavy elements) for life needed three or four cycles of stellar evolution (stars being formed, burning themselves out, and exploding in supernovae) taking perhaps 10 billion years before the universe was even ready to form the earth. The process of moving from atoms to molecules to primitive biological systems to more complex structures is a lengthy one. We cannot overlook the large number of false starts in the evolutionary process. There were huge numbers of failed biological forms, which is understandable if

your model for species is random generation, but is not as easily explained with a purposeful, directed model of evolution making a path to mankind. And that last phrase, "path to mankind" betrays a completely non-scientific impetus of teleology. These considerations, taken with all of the detailed supporting information, simply excise God from the discussion. Of course one could say that God performed every one of the individual steps, the few efficacious ones and also the countless that failed, but what is the point? David claims that my affirmation of moral values in the face of much negative evidence is a statement of faith. I'm afraid I think that the evidence for God's existence offered in his comments is, at base, merely a statement of faith, his affirmation of his place in family, community, and church. I'm familiar with that experience.

The principle issues that to me still invite response and ongoing discussion are these:

1. *The Rise of Anti-science in the Church.* While many point, quite properly, to the persecution of intellectuals or the pressures to create "faithful history," I believe that anti-science needs to be added to that list. Indeed, it may be the easiest to recognize and confront. I had hoped that David, who is a working physicist on the faculty at BYU, would have insights and comments on that bias. I am especially concerned about Creationism and responses to it at the grassroots and at the higher levels of the church.

2. *The Consequences of Anti-science Attitudes on Scientists in the Church.* The Encyclopedia of Mormonism indicated a strong representation of scientists among church members and, while my story and actions are probably not typical, the conflicting pressures I felt from the church and from science are surely not unique.

3. *Hierarchy vs. Democracy.* There are institutional differences between an authoritarian organization like the church and a democratic (even anarchic) one like science. In the computer world (my other life), the difference and struggle are portrayed as "the Cathedral and the Bazaar," and this metaphor tries to make sense out of the processes of developing complex technology, on the one hand by the directed, orderly authority of a large corporation (the cathedral, such as a Microsoft or IBM) versus the random, voluntary non-authoritarian mechanisms of the Internet community (the bazaar, represented by various open-software groups). While this would seem to be a no-contest competition, in fact the Internet is based on the creations of the bazaar and the incredibly successful core software of the global community was produced there, not in the cathedral. How does the church's increasing centralization of authority in the cathedral effect the bazaar, the grass roots of its membership, and what are the implications for the future? To what extent can or should the model of the organization change?

4. *Bryan Appleyard.* I expected the major criticism of my essay to be the use of Appleyard as the contrasting viewpoint to Weinberg. Is it appropriate to restrict one side of the conflict to religion as it is expressed in anti-science? For the sake of argument, it seemed useful, but in the larger sense, it may be an over-

simplification with other consequences. Appleyard would not, I suspect, represent the views of most Mormon scientists themselves.

5. *Deep Space and Time.* The astrophysics of my student days was interesting but not challenging. The universe was very big, but stars and galaxies floated placidly like Christmas lights on the dome of the sky. The new astrophysics is exploding with new information and theories. The universe has expanded enormously in size and is now populated with violent objects of staggering size and power. These changes seem to me to require a new view, one that is different in kind, not just in scale. While ideas about God could live in the old universe, I'm not sure about this new one. I would like to have other viewpoints on these new discoveries.

Deep time is also new, based on vast new amounts of information about the earth. We knew about the huge stretches of time in our past since Charles Lyell published his new geological theories in the 1830's, but the explosion of new information from geology and geophysics has created a need for a different view of life's origins and development. This new view is full of geochemistry, plate tectonics, paleomicrobiology, genomics, and so on. Evolutionary theory has also undergone considerable enrichment and the older naïve view of "evolution's ladder" has clearly been discredited. Man, as a species, is seen now, not as the crown of creation, but as a plague animal, that is, a species that dominates its environment and allows its population to explode leading to a destruction of the species. The behavior of lemmings is another well-known example. The views of informed scientists would be interesting and beneficial here.

David Allred laments the conclusion I have come to about God, and so do I. I would like to have a loving Father who is in charge of everything. He would relieve us, finally, of all the burdens of humanity and stewardship. The god-centered religious model is a far simpler model than the scientific one and has the advantage of warm reassurance. But I don't see the evidence for it. I could simply choose to believe in an amorphous power informing the universe, but I would know that such belief only functions to put a label on a hope. I understand that temptation. I long stood in its sway, but on the evidence I am finally persuaded—though clearly I have failed to persuade my old friend—that there is life outside his religous community, and that it is intelligent, moral, principled, and satisfying life.

The Empty Cistern

Sally Stratford

Silence and grace,
the only words I know
in either of their languages,
so I don't say much.
I stand at the small spring
and look over their valley
dotted with log houses.
The village seems abandoned.
Everyone's working the fields,
clearing the skeletons of last year's harvest
that could blow away with the dry soil.
We talk about water lines and pumps,
the cistern we built last year,
barely a dozen of us, professors,
students, a translator.
I climb up and peer into the cool cube,
dust covering the bottom.

A woman carries water down
the hill and washes clothes
with the same muscles she uses to grind corn.
Too far away to make eye contact.
I look up and the sky stretches tight
across the valley, tree line to tree line.
Then I understand how the night will come,
the sky crammed with stars
and the people will tell their stories,
each one a kernel,
alternating colors like a corn necklace,
maybe even a few about us, the gringos.

Tonight, back at Margarita's,
we will stare at the ceiling
and tell our stories,
whispers fading into the music
coming from the bar across the courtyard tile,
while the Tarahumaras sleep in their open valley.
The cistern alone on the hill,
without even a drop of water
steadily filling with stars.

Spinning Gold: Mormonism and the Olympic Games[1]

Jan Shipps

AS IN THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS, certain events in the lives of cities leave such a mark that time is thenceforth measured in terms of before and after. For example, following the Columbian Exposition that brought more than 27 million people to Chicago in 1893, that city would always be something more than "hog butcher to the world." The dazzling Midway Plaisance, one of the fair's highlights, soon disappeared. But an amazing stretch of parks and buildings along Chicago's Lake Michigan waterfront continues to be a reminder that this Midwestern metropolis was once host to the world.

With the era of world's fairs apparently over, the quadrennial Olympic Games come closest to being the pre-eminent time-focused occasions that attract people from everywhere to particular geographic spaces. And just as the mammoth exhibitions of earlier days always left their mark on the urban spaces in which they were held, so Olympic sites are forever changed. Sometimes the municipal arenas in which the games are held are so immense—Los Angeles and Atlanta come to mind—that their long-term impact is diminished by the very complexity of urban existence that gushes in to fill the vacuum left when the sports figures and the observers who came to watch them perform go away. But urban cultural lacunae are often created in the aftermath when the games are held in mid-sized or even small cities, as is usual with the winter Olympics.

While permanent physical changes in urban landscapes always remain, the years of preparation and anticipation lead up to periods of intense activity and excitement that turn out to be all-too brief. As a result, a let-down stage usually ensues in Olympic cities. When the weather is all wrong and tourists stay away, disappointment is palpable. But when the weather is fine and visitors to the games arrive in droves, as was the case in Salt Lake City in 2002, the situation

---

1. An earlier, much shorter version of this article entitled "The Mormons Score a 9.6" appeared in the Spring 2002 issue of *Religion and the News*, a publication of the Leonard E. Greenberg Center for the Study of Religion and Public Life at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.

changes. Rather than the vinegary disappointment of dashed hopes, a feeling of nostalgia develops when everyday reality testifies to the fleeting nature of this exhilarating, once-in-a-lifetime experience. Even so, questions gradually reappear. Everyone from the city fathers to ordinary citizens begins to wonder whether it was all worth it. Were, as the cliché puts it, the games worth the candle? Did the effort to be the center of the universe for two or three weeks produce much of permanent value?

As far as Utah's capital city is concerned, answers to these significant questions appear to be somewhat mixed.[2] If image making is taken into account, however, there is little question that holding the Olympic games in Salt Lake City had what appear to be enduring positive consequences for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In fact, if stereotypes were literally frozen, the ice-covered floor of the stadium where the closing ceremonies of the 2002 Olympic Winter Games were held would have been difficult to negotiate. Because of the disintegration of two conventional stereotypes that, before 2002, had been almost as solid and compact as crystal, the rink would have been littered with shards of shattered ice.

During the publicity blitz leading up to the February 8, 2002, opening ceremonies and in the following three weeks when reporting from Salt Lake City reached Olympian proportions, the notion that Mormonism is a provincial out-of-the-way faith tradition mainly ensconced in the inter-mountain American West gave way. It was replaced by a conception of a worldwide church led by forward and outward looking, albeit elderly, men. The other stereotype that came crashing to earth was the notion that members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are all clean-cut and polite but somewhat spooky zealots whose main goal is making converts.

Demolishing these stereotypes was not entirely the media's doing. During their three weeks in Utah, tourists new to Mormon land saw for themselves how mistaken were notions of the Latter-day Saints as goody-goody quaint folks who are part of a decidedly odd, slightly fantastic, and unusually mysterious religious organization. Rather than being pestered to convert to their faith, most visitors encountered Latter-day Saints who were doing their best to be "gracious hosts." They lent assistance when asked but otherwise were simply friendly to the max. Youthful "lady missionaries" on the church's historic Temple Square were eager to answer questions, but only at that site. Elsewhere the Saints were simply there to be helpful and, equally significant, to join in the fun.

On the other hand, many Olympic visitors had their attention solicited away from the celebratory atmosphere by pushy representatives of the independent

---

2. In many instances, Olympic site cities lose money, but thanks to the efforts of Mitt Romney, who was brought in to head the Salt Lake Organizing Committee, this was not true in Salt Lake City. The games turned out not to be a financial drain on the city's coffers. See the many reports of the financial success of the games that were printed in the *Deseret News* and *Salt Lake Tribune* in the weeks following the close of the games.

Baptists and a variety of other conservative Protestant groups who warned that the time for being "born again" had come. In addition, around Temple Square and the LDS church's new 21,000-seat Conference Center, members of several different ex-Mormon and anti-Mormon organizations issued warnings to sightseers. Their message was that what they were seeing of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on its home turf is not what you get if you become a follower of the Mormon prophets who lead the church.

But visitors come and they go, usually without making enough difference to truly alter perceptions. In this instance, the print and electronic coverage of Mormonism accompanying the coverage of the athletic contests served as the real impetus for a changed view of the Church of Jesus Christ and its members, a perceptual transformation that is unlikely to be ephemeral. While certain elements of the older Mormon image may linger for a long time, the themes and substance of the media's reportage created a new image. The tattered, pre-Olympic, popular portrait of the Latter-day Saints as a weird people controlled by the leaders of a downright menacing ecclesiastical institution will never again take quite the shape that it had before the happy Olympic crowd heard the familiar exclamation, "Let the games begin."

The splintering of the older Mormon stereotypes was not accidental. Getting rid of them was the result of a public relations campaign that was carefully planned by Mormon leaders and effectively orchestrated by the Public Affairs Division of the church's bureaucracy.[3] In the largest sense, the campaign's objective was to take advantage of the holding of the games in Salt Lake City by turning the Olympics into an occasion for introducing modern Mormonism to the world.

The opening move in the church's elaborate public relations undertaking was the distribution of miniature faux leather briefcases with the LDS Olympic logo stamped on them in gold to 3,600 journalists across the U.S. and elsewhere in the world. Cute and catchy enough to get attention, this card-holder sized gimmick contained an extensive list of "great story ideas" about Mormonism-the church's "worldwide humanitarian service," for example, "health code helps Mormons live longer," "a day in the life of a missionary," and on and on. Implicit rather than explicit in this list was the assertion that, in the opening years of the 21st century, such stories would be far more appropriate as accompaniments to Olympic coverage than stories about polygamy or the Mountain Meadows Massacre.[4]

---

3. The author is grateful to Michael Otterson for several face-to-face interviews and a series of telephone conversations in which he shared with her information about how the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints planned and carried out a media campaign in connection with the holding of the Olympic Games in Salt Lake City. Otterson also provided information gathered by the church's Public Affairs Division about media coverage during and after the games.

4. Modern media attention would be directed to the dreadful 1857 catastrophe first as a consequence of Sally Denton, "What Happened at Mountain Meadows?" *American Heritage* (October 2001). Of greater significance was Will Bagley's *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the*

This opening gambit was followed up with the distribution of a handsome four-color "Glimpses of Utah" calendar in which nine of the fifteen images and well over half the accompanying text dealt with Mormon themes. Then came the mounting of an easy-to-use link from the church's home page (www.lds.org) designed for reporters from the electronic as well as print media who would be covering the games. This web site provided all sorts of resources that would make it easy for journalists to write or produce stories about the Latter-day Saints and their church, including downloadable, high-resolution photographs and TV and radio sound clips about virtually every aspect of Mormonism. It also served as the base for a rapid response mechanism that allowed Public Affairs staff members to provide accurate information to correct error-filled stories and to challenge negative depictions of Mormonism and its role in Utah's culture.[5]

In the 12 months prior to the opening of the games, the points the church wanted to get across were refined and honed to a sharp edge. These points were positive rather than negative. They were, first and foremost, that Mormonism is "Christian but different." Also, Mormonism is a practical religion that bears fruit in the quality of family relationships as well as in health and longevity; and the Mormon gospel brings joy that bears fruit in the self-esteem of believers, leading Latter-day Saints to have happy and satisfying lives.

During this same time span, the Public Affairs staff was gradually increased so that help would always be available to journalists assigned to do lead-in stories about the coming of the games to Mormon land. But this addition to the church's PR staff was only preliminary to the opening in mid-January of an LDS News Resource Center staffed by Public Affairs specialists assisted by 350 volunteers. This facility turned out to be such a boon to accredited journalists that 1,324 reporters registered so that they could have access to the Center's rich store of information—and to all the croissants, fruit, and other snack foods they wanted. But, naturally, no coffee.

Almost two-thirds of the working journalists who registered to use the Center's help were from the United States. Substantial numbers were from Japan and Korea, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, Germany and Austria, Switzerland and Italy, Scandinavia and the Netherlands, Russia and Eastern Europe. Smaller numbers came from South America and elsewhere. Most worked for newspapers, magazines, television and radio networks and local stations, and even for "webzines." Since, however, it was necessary to have credentials and a definite assignment to register to use the LDS church's Resource Center,

---

Massacre at Mountain Meadows (University of Oklahoma Press, 2002). No evidence suggests that the media campaign conducted by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in connection with the Olympic Games had anything to do with heading off the negative Latter-day Saint image that would be portrayed by Denton and Bagley. The church's reaction to those works would come from its Historical Department, not from Public Affairs.

5. The church's official website has a permanent link to media mistakes that is called "Mistakes in the News."

most of the army of free-lance journalists who were in the city for the games hung out at the Salt Lake Organizing Committee's press station in the Salt Palace located nearby.

Surely all this effort figured into the way that Mormonism was covered in the tens of thousands of stories about the Olympic Games filed all across the world between early December 2001 and the end of February 2002. An overwhelming majority—perhaps 95 percent—of the stories that featured Mormonism and/or the LDS church were either "positive or fair," according to Michael Otterson, the LDS church's Director of Media Relations, who was responsible for the creation of the News Resource Center. He became the church's primary spokesperson during the games and has said that a much higher percentage of the print and electronic media reports had mistaken information in them, but that "he could count on the fingers of both hands" the truly negative articles published in English language newspapers.[6]

International coverage of the Latter-day Saints and their church underwent a significant shift during the period leading up to the games and during the games themselves. Before the games opened, the coverage was mostly fair, in that it was correct as far as the facts were concerned. But lots of cynicism was exhibited in the materials (both print and electronic) that were collected by the "clipping service" dimension of the Public Affairs Division. Once the games began, Otterson said "cynicism disappeared." Instead, funny articles about not being able to find a Mormon when you want one, and so on, started appearing in the international press.

Naturally, most of the international coverage was concerned with the games themselves. But as an example of the connection between the games and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in German print coverage, 6600 articles at least mentioned the church; 2700 articles mentioned the church "substantially;" and 1700 articles were directly about the church. In its extended examination of media coverage after the close of the games, Public Affairs analysts concluded that the tenor of media coverage in the international arena did not differ substantially from the overwhelmingly positive coverage of the church in the U.S. media.

Because the payoff on the church's efforts to influence media coverage was so successful, one might be tempted to think that the possibility of mounting such an orchestrated campaign (explained in the interpretive language of the faith as "being helpful" and serving as "gracious hosts") was the reason that successful LDS business leaders in Salt Lake City led the charge to get the games. No evidence suggests that the church was, in fact, the animating force behind the effort to get the games for Utah. Indeed, quite the reverse seems to be true.

The reasons are obvious. In the 1980s, when the Olympics for Salt Lake

---

6. Collecting and analyzing media coverage is one of the responsibilities of the church's Public Affairs Division.

City movement was first taking shape, the attention of the leadership hierarchy of the LDS church was directed elsewhere. The church was then experiencing virtually exponential growth that was stretching its central leadership cadre thin. A new bureaucracy had come into being in the 1960s and 1970s to handle the logistics of being a worldwide church. Still, without a paid clergy, the members of church's First Presidency and Council of the Twelve—who would have had to make the decision to get the church involved in seeking the games—were fully engaged in the cultivation of the lay leadership all across the globe. They were also busy with other activities directly connected to the church's membership growth and geographical expansion.

Probably never in modern memory has there been a time when the church hierarchy was not mindful of what outsiders thought of the church and its members. But at this particular juncture in the church's history, the matter of outside perception was of much less concern than finding a means of translating scriptures, creating intra-church communication networks, and developing leadership at the local level, without which the church would have been unable to function.

Besides that, the occasion of the church's sesqui-centennial made 1980 a time of celebration. At least for the short term, the attention of church leaders was directed inward and backward to the past. A great majority of Americans still thought of Mormonism as a curiosity and its adherents as quaint but nice people who didn't smoke or drink and who took care of their own. But at the time when the Olympics for Utah movement was initiated, worry about public image was not at the top of the Mormon agenda.

During the church's first hundred years (1830-1929), the Saints' image had been negative, sometimes extremely negative. Fifty years later that image had been replaced by a much more positive notion of Mormons as admirable, patriotic people whose primary concern was protecting family values. When the committee to seek the Olympic bid for Salt Lake City was first formed, the incendiary charge that Mormonism is not Christian, a charge that members of conservative Protestant groups have been using to vilify the Saints for the past two decades, was just beginning to surface. Neither the members of the church's hierarchy nor the staff of the LDS church office charged with public relations, then known as the Public Communications Department, seem to have anticipated the lengths to which the church would need to go to counter the "Mormonism is not Christian" accusation.[7]

Actually, success in getting the Olympic Winter Games for Utah was a development devoutly wished for by the state's burgeoning tourist industry. Hosting the games appeared to be the most effective possible means of telling the world that Utah is a perfect natural habitat for skiers and other devotees of win-

7. The title of the part of the church bureaucracy charged with media relations has changed several times across the years. As indicated, it was once known as the Public Relations Department. Currently it is known as the Public Affairs Division of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

ter sports. Besides that, nearly everyone believed that the prospective presence of hundreds of thousands of visitors to the city in a brief yet highly visible stretch of time would generate significant development such as an improved airport facility, an expanded and improved ground transportation system, and new hotels and restaurants. All this, it was assumed, would help to make Utah an even more popular tourist destination.

What's more, placing the spotlight on Salt Lake City and Utah would reveal to the world that this intermountain metropolis is city of the future, not of the past. Being described as the "Intermountain Silicon Valley" (something many were certain would be a central part of Olympic hype) would also be a boon to the state, making it appear to be on the economic cutting edge.

Perhaps the notion was never fully articulated. But it is very probable that those who led the charge to get the games—Mormons and non-Mormons alike—were much more interested in putting Salt Lake City on the map as something other than Mormonism's center place than they were in making the games a Mormon showcase.

Church President Gordon B. Hinckley has been quite forthcoming about the fact that the church hierarchy was divided on the issue of whether the LDS church ought to support the effort to get the Olympic bid for Salt Lake City. Soon after the announcement that the games would be held in the Utah capitol, I interviewed President Hinckley about Mormonism's current role in Salt Lake City. During that interview, I asked him what own his position had been with regard to the coming of the games. The president responded that he would not state his position, but the Olympics "are coming and we are honored." When I asked whether he thought that its being an Olympic city might undercut Salt Lake City's symbolic importance as the center of Mormonism, he said, "I am not at all worried. I am optimistic. I think the gathering here of people from all nations will be a significant thing. Salt Lake City will be on the map for those few days across the world." Continuing, he said, "Mormonism will be a part of that inevitably. . .this is the headquarters of the church and it is going to be a great thing. And it is a great opportunity for us, and we must seize that opportunity."

Our conversation moved on to other things, and I failed to ask why some of the Brethren were less than enthusiastic about the holding of the games in Utah. The fact that the Olympics might divert attention away from the church to the city and state could be one explanation why church leaders might not have fully supported the bid effort. Surely there were other reasons, including concern that the Olympics could divert the church from its primary mission, as often stated in official church literature in those days, of "perfecting the Saints, redeeming the dead [through proxy ordinances in Mormon temples], and preaching the gospel."

Some image matters might have figured into the question of whether the church should actively bolster the city's attempt to get the games. Some leaders may have had visions of using the Olympics as a platform from which to catapult public relations weapons that could destroy negative images of Mormonism. But many of the Brethren were afraid that the inevitable media atten-

tion to the state would ignite new interest in modern polygamous groups. This, the Brethren correctly feared, would serve as an unwelcome reminder of the church's practice of plural marriage in the nineteenth century. Perhaps they also worried that the coming of the games would generate renewed attention to the Mountain Meadows Massacre[8] or that such attention might lead to a call for increased scrutiny of the church's ownership of public lands and media outlets as well as its reputed fabulous wealth.

The Media's Coverage of the 2002 Olympics

The announcement in 1995 that Salt Lake City would be the site of the 2002 Winter Games was the inaugural event in the first of four distinct periods of Olympic news coverage. The first started with the announcement and moved on to early consideration of what the coming of the games would mean to Salt Lake City. The second period opened with news of a bribery scandal in which members of the Olympic committee were revealed to have been paid to vote for Salt Lake City as the 2002 site for the games. This was followed by a spate of stories about what, on the one hand, could be done to save the Games and how, on the other, to ready northern Utah for their arrival. This last would be necessary to prevent the addition of insult to injury by holding a world-renowned athletic event in a place where chaos would be ruling supreme. The third period, lasting almost 10 months, was an era of in-depth media treatment of the history and culture of the area that would be the home of the 2002 winter games. The final period began in early January 2002. It lasted through the Games and closed with analysis of three main things: the significance of the success of the games for the Olympic movement; the consequences of holding the games in the area for Salt Lake City most particularly and for Utah generally; and their implications for the future of Mormonism as a religious movement and for what its changed image would mean for Mormonism in Utah and the rest of the inter-mountain West.

Accounts of the 2002 Olympics opened with the 1995 announcement that the winter games would be held in Utah. A big story, but most of the excitement connected to the announcement was local. An international wire story published the news of Salt Lake City's triumph without significant fanfare. Although a few follow-up feature stories mentioned that the city was better known for its world-famed Mormon Tabernacle Choir than for winter sports, more of them pointed to the fact that Salt Lake City was the most urbanized site ever selected for the Winter Olympics. Aside from some early rather rudimentary coverage in the national press, however, the forthcoming games mainly made news in Salt Lake City.

The Utah capital has two daily newspapers, and their positions on many issues peripherally on directly connected to the Olympics reflected their histories. The *Deseret News*, founded in 1850 as an official organ of the Church of Jesus

8. See footnote 3 above.

Christ of Latter-day Saints, turned into a more or less standard daily newspaper in the early twentieth century. An afternoon paper until a very recent shift to morning delivery, the *News* is still owned by the church. Although the church ordinarily keeps its hands off the paper's editorial positions and its content, as the owner it could still exercise some sort of final control in overall direction of the paper and what is published in it.

Founded by Mormon dissidents in 1870, the *Salt Lake Tribune* was acquired by the family of mining magnate Thomas Kearns in 1901. This paper has always represented itself as an independent voice in the city and state, that is, independent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Until well into the 1930s, the LDS church hierarchy and many church members regarded the *Tribune* as an anti-Mormon rag. Some still see it that way, but the newspaper situation in Salt Lake City is changing rapidly.

The mid-twentieth century saw considerable mellowing of the *Tribune's* opposition to the activities of Mormon leaders and what its earlier editors often described as the Saints' control of the city and state. If the relationship between the owners and editors of the *News* and the *Tribune* could never have been described as cordial, in the 1940s and 1950s, the hostility between the editors of the two papers was not so active as it had been in the early years of the century or as it would become in the years just prior to the announcement that the Olympics would be held in Salt Lake City. In 1952, while the two papers remained editorially and financially independent of each other, an accelerating need to cut costs led to the creation of a joint operating agreement (JOA), making it possible for the two papers to share advertising, circulation, promotion, and printing facilities.

In the 1980s, especially during the years when William Smart edited the *Deseret News*, there was a period of respite in which, although the papers remained competitors for readers and influence, a certain respect existed between the two. In the 1990s, however, the historic enmity reasserted itself, and, on both sides, competition turned to antagonism. In addition, all across the nation, innovations on the media landscape started making things difficult for afternoon papers. Although Utah's Latter-day Saints were surely aware that the *Deseret News* was the church's paper, this time-of-publication difficulty had long given the *Tribune* a great subscription advantage. As a result, the *Deseret News* considered mounting a challenge to its rival. Not long afterward, complicated financial considerations connected to ownership of the *Tribune* and the nature of the joint operating agreement turned what had been reasonable comity into enmity.[9]

This was the state of affairs on the Salt Lake newspaper scene when it was announced that Salt Lake City would be the Olympic host for the 2002 Winter

9. The ownership of the *Tribune* has now passed out of the hands of the Kearns family, changing the entire newspaper situation in Salt Lake City dramatically. But as that development occurred after the conclusion of the Olympics, it is not a part of this account of media coverage of Mormonism during the Olympic Games.

Games. One way the *Tribune* reasserted its role as the independent voice in the Mormon state was by becoming editorially skeptical about the role the LDS church had played in obtaining the Olympic bid. Initially, the *Tribune's* distrust of the actions of the church was directed to particular leaders since the early Olympic news dealt primarily with where specific sports venues would be located and who might well benefit financially. Such stories were covered in both Salt Lake papers as were ongoing stories about how traffic was being disrupted by the construction of TRAX (trolley car) lines and the expansion and upgrading of the interstate highway system.

If a review of local coverage reveals little initial difference in the way Olympic stories were covered in the city, it also reveals that this situation did not last very long. The *Tribune* exhibited editorial outrage when, at the time when traffic patterns were being altered to allow construction of the new TRAX lines, the LDS church gained permission from the City Council to buy the block of Main Street that stood between Temple Square and the remainder of the church's central Salt Lake City campus. Announcing plans to close the street in order to build a connecting plaza between Temple Square and its Joseph Smith Building, the church made it clear that the plaza would be open to the public in much the same way that public parks are open to the public.

Noting that the affirmative vote in the Council reflected the religious orientation of Council members, the *Tribune's* editors picked up on the fact that the plaza was intended as public space, but that neither tobacco nor alcohol would be allowed there. Consequently, their editorials indicated that they agreed with an appreciable number of non-Mormon citizens that the sale undercut the separation of church and the system of civil government. Although only not directly connected to the Olympics, this closing of Main Street was interpreted as an unfair effort to position the LDS church as the tourist center of a metropolis that, with an equal population of Mormons and non-Mormons, was becoming increasingly diverse.[10]

Taken up by the *Tribune*, this cause would be the first in an extended series of issues the paper with the "independent" voice would champion as the city prepared itself for the coming of the games. Because political demonstrations are more and more an integral part of any huge public activity, where such demonstrations would be allowed was another thorny issue the *Tribune* covered. Other issues were where gays and lesbians would be able to exercise their rights to public expressions of affection without facing harassment from law enforcement and what would happen to the city's homeless during February. Most espe-

10. In the time since the Olympics ended, this issue would take on all sorts of legal ramifications as citizens challenged the right of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which owned the land, to control access, thereby preventing political, social, or even religious demonstrators from entering an area that had been obtained with an understanding that it would function as public space.

cially, the *Tribune* editorialized about how Utah's restrictive liquor laws could undermine the success of the games as a great civic endeavor. This last issue never stopped being a matter of great concern to *Tribune* editors and news personnel. Perhaps that was one reason it became a staple of national news coverage of the Olympic story.

As intense media attention was directed to Utah, enduring cultural tensions between the saints and the non-Mormon inhabitants of Salt Lake City and its environs started surfacing. Although these were by no means new, they were revitalized by the appearance of the notion that the saints and their church were engaged in a conspiracy to control the games. That this might be true was clearly intimated in some of the *Tribune's* coverage, most especially that having to do with the question of where the Medals Plaza would be located. Once a decision about the Medals Plaza placement was made, *Tribune* writers agreed with many of the city's non-Mormons that the placement of the Medals Plaza was scandalous. Because it would stand in a direct visual line with the towers of the Salt Lake Mormon Temple, it could give the church unfair media advantage, especially in visual coverage.

That worry, however, did not emerge until long after the bribery scandal opened a new period of media coverage of the Olympics, one in which local reporting was put into the service of the national and international media. Stories that questioned the actions of Tom Welch, David Johnson, and other members of the Olympic Bid Committee appeared in both Salt Lake papers. But the charge that those responsible for the successful site selection decision had essentially bribed the members of the Olympic Committee to get votes was not a story that could be contained in Utah. Immediately described as reprehensible, the huge sums of money revealed to have been expended to influence votes catapulted Olympic coverage into the national and international news. The revelation made headlines in many American newspapers. From there media coverage extended in two directions. The story quickly moved overseas, as questions about what had happened when Nagano, Japan, was awarded the games became grist for the journalistic mill. It also moved onto the talk radio and cable television scene, generating interest because it was so very controversial.

What had happened was a signal embarrassment for the city and the state. But from the standpoint of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the most significant outcome of the news frenzy that followed is that—especially within the United States—the bribery story became a Salt Lake City story, not a Mormon story. Some of the men who were involved were Latter-day Saints to be sure. But they were not acting as agents for the church. Moreover, while it turned out that church-owned corporations had joined with other local business entities to support the bid financially, it was not until a week before the scandal broke that the president of the LDS church had started encouraging members to volunteer their services during the games.

Still, outside the United States, Mormonism and Salt Lake City are so completely linked in people's minds that creating distance between the church and

the scandal proved impossible. Because media people from both inside and outside the U.S. called me to ask for background information when they were working on Olympic stories, the difference in the way the scandal was perceived manifested itself to me directly. In general, reporters from outside the U.S. who talked with me before and during the games tended to be much more suspicious of the activities of the Saints than reporters from domestic media outlets. Several reporters from Europe displayed impatience when I failed to verify their hunches about the actions of church officials, and one or two of them transferred their suspicions about the church to me. They complained that I probably knew the story's "ins and outs" and made it obvious that they were troubled by my failure to indict the church for its actions in connection with the way in which the deal to get the games for Salt Lake City had been consummated.

Inside the nation, however, the bribery story by and large remained a civic scandal rather than a religious one. Accordingly, it was easier for the church to move forward with its publicity campaign without being defensive regarding how the invitation had been secured.

The third of the four distinct periods of Olympic coverage opened on February 8, 2001 with the publication in *USA Today* of a cover story that it headlined "One Year to Go." With the conspicuous exception of polygamy, this cover story (along with stories about the opening ceremonies and NBC's plans for its television coverage) made mention of virtually every issue about Mormonism that would be revisited in the media in the next 10 months. The *Minneapolis Star*-Tribune also published an account of the beginning of the year-long countdown to the games. Reminding editors that the big event was just a year away, wire stories were carried in newspapers large and small all over the country, as well as in radio roundups of the news. The *Christian Science Monitor* also looked ahead with a cover story, but theirs was not published until February 28, 2001, exactly a year before the games would come to an end.

Perhaps it was that the LDS church had the attention of media during these three weeks; perhaps it was merely coincidence, but at some point between February 8 and February 24, 2001, the Brethren who run the church decided to reiterate as strongly as they could the church's position about nomenclature. In an interview, Apostle Dallin H. Oaks told Gustav Niebuhr, then a religion reporter for the *New York Times*, that the church would be advising journalists and reminding its own members that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints should not be called the "Mormon Church." Neither should it be called the "LDS Church." If, in their stories, writers needed to make a second reference, it should be to "The Church" (note upper-case letters) or "The Church of Jesus Christ." A letter to this effect from the First Presidency to the faithful was read from the stand in Sacrament Meetings throughout the church.

But those Saints who read the *Times* already knew what this letter would say because Niebuhr's story was published before its distribution. Actually Niebuhr's story included more than the First Presidency letter. It pointed to the obvious: the renewed emphasis on the full name of the church and the effort to

end the use of the "Mormon Church" nickname were directly related to the church's concern that it be understood as a Christian church. But in the stories about the First Presidency's letter that followed in the Salt Lake papers, the *Arizona Republic*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, the "but different" part of the "Christian but different" message was sometimes blurred if not entirely lost.

During the spring and summer, reasonably sound descriptions of Mormonism and the Utah scene were published in a variety of papers that are in the Dow-Jones "top 50" list. Many of these articles paid close attention to a personnel shift that would have a profound influence on the outcome of the 2002 Olympics, i.e., the appointment of Mitt Romney, a successful entrepreneur and sometime Massachusetts politician, to be president of the Salt Lake Organizing Committee.[11] Drafted—by whom is not entirely clear—to move from Boston to Salt Lake City to take this post after the bribery scandal broke, the former LDS stake president was asked to clean up the mess. Just as important: he would have to raise millions and millions of dollars while at the same time getting ready for the games.

Many give equal credit for the success of the Olympics to Romney and to the extraordinary break in a multi-year drought that produced absolutely perfect weather for the games. Surely both were important, but the former had nothing to do with the latter. What Romney did manage was to chart a course whose motto might well have been "these are NOT the "Mo-lympics." While he certainly needed all the help he could get, Romney avoided taking too much help from the LDS church, something that might have made it appear that the Brethren were the ones who were really making all the key decisions. Certainly he was aware that other monies would probably dry up if it looked as if the Olympics were a Mormon project.

This explains why the SLOC president was especially bothered by stories in the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Boston Globe* that addressed the question of whether the games would be the "Mo-lympics." Romney told every reporter who interviewed him—and there must have been hundreds—that the forthcoming celebration *cum* athletic contest could in no way be described as the Mormon games.

As the opening came closer, church spokespeople echoed Romney's declaration. President Hinckley said that while the church was willing to assist, it would only do so "upon request." Reiterated time and time again, this willingness to help, but only if asked formulation probably helped to convince influential reporters that the "Mo-lympics" charge was unfounded.

Besides newspaper accounts, the dual story of Mormonism and the Olympic Games was also reported in-depth in cover stories in *U.S. News and World Report* and *Newsweek*. Both were competent and useful, but Kenneth L. Woodward's *Newsweek* article was particularly significant because Woodward made

11. In 1994 Romney opposed Teddy Kennedy in the race for the U.S. Senate. In 2002, he made a successful bid for the Massachusetts governorship.

an effort to represent the LDS belief system as fully and fairly as is possible in a news magazine. While the LDS Public Affairs rapid response mechanism was brought into play to correct some minor inaccuracies in the *Newsweek* story, the author made a real effort to explain where Mormonism and traditional Christianity differ. In fact, of everything that had been published about the Latter-day Saints in connection with the Olympics, Woodward's story—along with a story published in *The Economist* after the games opened—came closest to fully characterizing the "but different" part of the church's own claim to be Christian but also dramatically different from all other forms of Christianity.

Meanwhile, for all its length, a substantial story in the *New Yorker* did not come to grips with this matter of how the Mormon faith might, at the same time, be both Christian and different. Instead Lawrence Wright wrote an account in which today's Latter-day Saints appear caught in such an intellectual and spiritual time warp that Mormonism is not merely different, but entirely other.

For the record, we should note that many see Lawrence Wright's *New Yorker* story as the biggest missed media opportunity in the entire saga of Olympic coverage. Others regard it as a media coup that failed. Actually, it was both. To wit: In making plans to get the Mormon story out, a member of the staff of Edelman Public Relations in New York City, a firm that has a continuing contractual relationship with the LDS church, had the idea of approaching the *New Yorker* and suggesting a profile of President Hinckley. (In view of his interviews with Mike Wallace and Larry King, Hinckley had become something of a media personality.) This idea was approved; the project was "sold" to the *New Yorker*, and the story was assigned to Wright.

He took the assignment very seriously, reading practically everything about Mormonism that he could get his hands on. He spent almost an entire month in Utah doing interviews, expanding his focus from the church president and contemporary Mormonism to the history of the faith tradition and the peculiar culture that it had spawned.

Unfortunately for an article about the Latter-day Saints intended as a lead-in to the Olympics, the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers altered the *New Yorker's* publication schedule. Because anything about the attack and its aftermath became high priority, Wright's piece was put on hold. It was not published until January 21, 2002. Moreover, before its publication, the editors so reduced the space available that the piece had to be cut almost by half. This reduction in length makes it hard to assess what long-standing impression the article might have had on the Mormon image if it had been published in its uncut form.

Of greater significance in assessing the effect this article might have had on the way people view the Saints was the altered schedule. By the time Wright's article appeared, the Olympic torch was already on its way to Salt Lake City. Wright started his story with the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but readers were far more interested in what the opening ceremonies would be like and more curious about the city's preparations to entertain the world than about any impact the history of that horrible episode might have had on the Mormon psy-

che. In addition, Wright emphasized the polygamy story. But many previously published articles had pointed out that polygamy is such an abomination to the contemporary church that any member found involved in plural marriage is excommunicated. As a consequence, Wright's lengthy focus on polygamy read like something from the 1970s or 1980s, rather than a new and intriguingly original piece of writing.

In the final phase of Olympic coverage, the period lasting from the beginning of 2002 till mid-summer of that year, the Mormons were pushed aside by all the attention that journalists paid to the pairs skating controversy and, in general, to athletic contests. Background articles all over the country (and indeed the world) continued to be published, but they did not deal so much with the story elements that had filled the news in the year leading up to the opening of the games. Instead, the news about the Latter-day Saints was that the Mormons were not news. Their low profile, their refusal to mount a proselytizing crusade, and their willingness even to laugh at themselves generated articles that were surely interesting to long-time observers of the Mormon scene, pieces that Latter-day Saints must have found it a pleasure to read.

All the journalists who went to Utah expecting an insular and repressive culture found instead a reasonably ordinary American cultural scene that was made more engaging because of the celebratory milieu, the perfect weather for winter games, and incredible mountain scenery. Curiously, almost no major journalist appears to have written at any length about the church's multi-media extravaganza that was presented in the astonishing, brand new Conference Center. They focused instead on everyday encounters with friendly and helpful members of the church.

Not much notice was given to Mo-lympic talk and discussions of a Mormon conspiracy to take over the games. Few reporters wrote stories that dwelt on either the 19th century history of polygamy or the new polygamy. Almost none of the stories filed from the Olympic site discussed the matter of whether extra wives could be found behind every closet door in Salt Lake City. And not many accounts included descriptions of people who did not drink and, therefore, did not know how to have fun. A few over the top stories were published like the one in the *London Daily Mail* that ran under the headline "Sex, God, and Skis: Welcome to Polygamy City." But rarely did articles that departed from the general positive pattern get published. One exception was a Woody Paige column in the *Denver Post*. This one was so outrageous in its screed against the way Jell-O-eating Salt Lake City had "royally screwed up the Olympics" that the negative reaction led him to write a second column, this time apologizing to Mormons, to Utahans, and to anyone else he had angered with a "satire that did not work."

What seems to have occurred is that the media culture that rapidly developed in Salt Lake City started to police itself with regard to stories about the Latter-day Saints. Offensive articles were so obviously out of line that their very negativity backfired. Surely they did less damage to the Mormon image than had nineteenth-century and twentieth-century writings whose authors were de-

termined to pen exposés that would tell the world the "truth about Mormonism."

Looking back, it is obvious that many of the timeworn stereotypes of Latter-day Saints have been decisively revised. Readers of newspapers, radio listeners, television viewers, and internet users who carried Mormon stereotypes about in their heads will likely have very different ideas about Mormons and Mormonism.[12] For the LDS church, this was surely a positive outcome of the holding of the games in Utah.

Because this article deals with media presentations of the Saints and their impact on changing patterns of understanding the Mormons outside the culture, this is not the place for a careful and detailed assessment of how the Olympics might have changed Utah's economy. But since surface perceptions are important in the success of the tourist industry, this is the place to inform readers not familiar with post-Olympic Salt Lake City that improvements in inter- and intra-city transportation, the presence in Salt Lake City of new and/or improved hotels and the flourishing of a lively restaurant and entertainment scene, as well as enhancements to skiing establishments are likely to help attract paying visitors to the state.

Perceptions are likewise critical to cultural change. In light of this, an underlying question of greater significance comes into view. Did the holding of the Olympics in Mormonism's center place have much long-lived effect on the culture of Salt Lake City and the state of Utah?

As the Olympic feeling has finally dissipated, some signals, perhaps most especially the plaza dispute, suggest that not much has changed in the culture of Salt Lake City and Utah. Possibly tensions were exacerbated because, however positive was the national and international coverage of the Saints, the shining of the media spotlight on Mormonland revealed deep cultural stresses and strains. Except for the challenge mounted to Mormonism by the Baptist contingent and a few other Protestant groups, the Olympics appear to have smoothed over the stresses and strains temporarily. But whether the initiative jointly undertaken by Mayor Rocky Anderson—who was reared as a Mormon but no longer considers himself one—and Mormon industrialist John Huntsman to create an "Alliance for Unity" that will bring LDS leaders together with leaders of the non-Mormon

12. It is interesting to note that a renewed assault on the positive Mormon image is currently developing around the Mountain Meadow Massacre and the reprehensible behavior of some modern polygamists. Mounted not by the members of the conservative wing of Protestantism who were responsible for the "Mormonism is not Christian" campaign, but by investigative journalists and other professional writers, it focuses on violence. By indicting Brigham Young and other church leaders for the horrible massacre at Mountain Meadows and other violent acts, much of this recently published work once again calls the notion that Mormonism is benign into question.

The surprising magnitude of the bibliography of such materials is shown in the June 2003 issue of *Benchmark Book News*. It lists 18 works (three of them reprints), ten of which have been published since the Olympic Games ended.

community will bear enough fruit to "to start healing the wounds of the state" remains to be seen.[13]

Now that the games are finished and Olympic euphoria is a thing of the past, will such efforts to heal long-standing cultural wounds go forward? A 25 February 2002 story in the *New York Times* was headed, "Utah's Changes May Be as Fleeting as Olympic Glory." The story dealt mainly with the economy, but its headline is an important warning. All sorts of cultural and religious stresses and strains made their way to the surface as the Olympics approached. If these are once again buried, things in Salt Lake City and the state of Utah will not have changed in any fundamental way. But if, having been brought to the surface, relationships are re-negotiated, the city that sits on the edge of the Great Salt Lake could be more than just a place for tourists to visit that now has better facilities than it had before the Olympics. The city could also be a better place to live for neighbors of every religious persuasion. If that happens, the 2002 Olympics will, in fact, have been the occasion for something far more significant than an alteration in Mormon stereotypes.

13. Trying to bridge the divide, in a conference address President Hinckley warned the Saints not to adopt "holier than thou" attitudes, and other LDS leaders encouraged church members to stop calling the members of other faith groups non-Mormons, thereby defining by negation rather than affirmation. During the same general conference, Apostle Dallin Oaks weighed in, saying that "neighbors" was the term he endorsed.

Nobody's Grandpa

R. A. Christmas

He paid the three-twenty-
three and slipped the familiar
red and white box into
his jacket pocket.

He wouldn't light up
outside the convenience
store (if this was to be it
had to be special)—

so he strolled to the park,
stripped the foil from
under the flip-top and raised
the filters to his nose.

(Some things you could change—
a woman's love, the faith
of a child-but never,
never that smell.)

He knew that after the first
puff he wouldn't be quite
himself-he wouldn't be anyone's
grandpa anymore.

Cigarettes were expensive these
days-but maybe not if
you adjusted for the increase
in the cost of living.

Endowing the Olympic Masses: *Light of the World*

David G. Pace

REFASHIONED BEYOND RECOGNITION, Salt Lake City hosted the Winter Games in February 2002. While the world partied Olympically—Budweisers in hand, whooping it up in chaotic street fetes—Latter-day Saints found haven in the LDS Conference Center. With its open door and rich collection of cultural artifacts, the center functions not just as an auditorium, but arguably as the Latter-day Saints' first cathedral, with side "chapels" designed for devotional and historical art and architecture, and deeply symbolic fixtures, from doorknobs and seat upholstery to windows and waterfalls. The new building is not only an ecclesiastical seat, as in traditional cathedrals, but also a multi-use common where Mormon and non-Mormon can potentially converse with the highest values of the Mormon community.

It thus seemed especially appropriate that this was where the church offered to visitors *Light of the World*, a theatrical extravaganza of filtered light raining down and flying up. Yet most of the audience (at least on the night I saw the show, February 13), seemed to consist of Mormon families and church youth groups, despite the best efforts of the efficient box office to recruit out-of-towners by putting them in the short, fast-moving line, after asking for identification.

More than a pageant and somewhat less than a traditional book-musical, *Light of the World* is best described as a truncated endowment ceremony for the masses. Its presentation proved to be less an ecumenical offering than a mirror to church members anxious about their place in a world perceived as indifferent to them at best, hostile to them at worst. In the 21,000-seat auditorium, the early narrative—if not the actual ritual—of the temple endowment was presented commercially, perhaps heralding a first step toward lifting Mormon temple worship out of the "religious pornography" in exposés like *The Godmakers* and into the public realm of sacred texts, where I believe the endowment belongs.

In the show, familiar temple tropes were everywhere. A seventy-foot, floor-to-ceiling drape hung front and center of the stage, reminiscent of the mighty temple veil which symbolically separates humanity from the presence of God. This time, however, the gauzy white surface was a screen upon which striking,

high-resolution images of galactic space (borrowed from NASA's Hubble telescope) undulated. These were followed by images of the creation, including the "firmament," plant, and animal life. Such use of the temple veil would otherwise have been a desecration, but here (ostensibly for the benefit of Olympic visitors) Mormons likely saw it as an accommodation to the world, a Disney-esque light show mixed with the book of Genesis. When the veil was penetrated (or more accurately, raised), we learned this was indeed a veil separating God from man, but not the one through which signs and tokens are given in preparation for celestial rest. Instead, this represented the first veil drawn, in Mormon theology, over the memories of spirits as they are born to earth, which appeared suddenly before us as a 130-foot domed stage.

The semiotics of *Light of the World* are pure Mormon genius. The show presented metaphysics as simply metaphor by rewinding and compressing temple iconography for the public. The effect was both high-voltage spectacle and—as in other Mormon outings of this type—theologically obtuse. To a tribal Mormon like myself whose last temple recommend bears a decade-old expiration date, *Light of the World* might have been seen as a corroboration to the account of *Time* magazine reporter Terry McCarthy, who, on his way into President Gordon B. Hinckley's office to interview him, said he felt like he was in a David Lynch movie, as if "one has been dropped into the middle of a plot, without knowing the beginning or the end."[1] Jack Mormon that I am, the show made perfect sense to me.

What McCarthy didn't know was that Joseph Smith's "restored" understanding of God's plan for humanity does have a plot. This is true both in Plato's causal sense as well as E. M. Forster's, who distinguished story, which arouses only curiosity, from plot, which requires intelligence and memory.[2] Knowing life's overarching plot in detail is one thing that defines the Latter-day Saint. For this reason, *Light of the World* encoded the journey of the human, not as a simple picaresque, but as a plan, or plot, driven on high by the glory of God.

The oath-giving endowment, which takes place exclusively in the temple, is more obliquely known outside the House of the Lord as "the Plan of Salvation" (or "the Plan of Happiness" in post-Madison Avenue Mormonism). This, coupled with the first and most public part of the endowment ritual, is what was dramatized through the secularized veil at the conference center. The show, whose title comes from the Gospel of John, was an airbrushed version of "the plot," complete with thunderous folk dances, the Tabernacle Choir, a giant storybook, big-screen projections, and actors flying on wires as high as seventy feet.

Subtitled "A Celebration of Life," *Light of the World* was hard to follow because of its myriad diversions, but the church provided a slim, full-color, fold-

1. Terry McCarthy, "The Drive for a New Utah," *Time*, 11 February, 2002, 58.

2. C. Hugh Holman, ed., *A Handbook to Literature*, 4th ed. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1980), 335.

out program deftly designed to function for the audience member as pull quotes in a magazine article do for a reader. Section headings followed the Plan of Salvation, sans both church ordinances and the doctrinal lingo common to traditional proselyting materials. This tack was not unlike Stephen R. Covey's sly co-option of LDS principles in his *Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*, which the *New Yorker* once called "charmless and absolute"[3] while comparing it to the baffling rhetoric of Newt Gingrich. Unlike the brainchild of Covey, *Light of the World* was all charm. It was also surprisingly non-absolute in ways that could mean a broader definition of what Latter-day Saints can think, say, and do, and still be considered one of the rank and file.

For example, the term "light" replaced "plot" or "plan," a brilliant re-imaging of Book of Mormon doctrine which grants the light of Christ, or conscience, to all human beings regardless of belief. Despite the change in terminology, life's phases—the plan—are performed on stage and even listed in the program: birth, discovery, adversity, achievement, and finally, testimony.

To the late Elder Bruce R. McConkie, a testimony was one's encapsulated belief, the expression of which could only be based on a handful of specific restoration tenets. But in the Conference Center show, testimony was defined as God's "light [which] gives meaning to life." Perhaps this re-reading of testimony suggests that Latter-day Saints are not incontrovertibly beholden to McConkie who, as an apostle, not so much suggested certain definitions of Mormon terms, as insisted on them. Indeed, if word gets out that testimony can refer simply to the meaning that God's light gives life to earth, a broader, more shaded Mormon identity—one that is in conversation with, but clearly separate from, the corporate church—may be close to emerging. This is a development I champion because it would, in my view, be invigorating not only to the individual but also to the institution.

The co-directors of the 1,500-cast show were the ones responsible for its text, which shared temple knowledge with non-Mormons and allowed for different interpretations of notions like testimony. Randy Boothe is a Disney consultant who has been associated for years with the BYU Young Ambassadors, and *Light of the World* has the toothy, polished, tingle-and-Wow! of those globe-trotting performers. But it was the show's writer, David T. Warner, the fiercely talented eccentric from my youth, who was the mastermind behind the fusion of temple worship, multi-ethnic spice, and Olympic jingoism. As the division head for the church's music and performing arts, Warner has an uncanny eye for which on-ramps are necessary for a church determined to be a part of the world's superhighway of mediated messages. He also knew that the rounded earth-stage—veiled or unveiled—passed as a giant fish bowl wherein powerful lighting hid as much as it revealed Mormon parameters to the world, but most importantly, to Latter-day Saints themselves.

---

3. David Remnick, "Lost in Space," *New Yorker* 70, no. 40 (5 December 1994): 84.

Pioneer heritage is not only the bedrock, but the driving ethos behind what Latter-day Saints feel is their mission: to colonize the world. So it was no surprise that the most moving moment of the show was when the stage dome cut away like a horizontal door while actors, knee-deep in fog, staged the heroic efforts of three eighteen-year-old boys who carried on their backs each of the stranded handcart pioneers caught in a freak storm at Wyoming's Sweetwater. In the alchemy of the Mormon mind, expressed sentiment of church history often changes into a spiritual witness that, not only is the church true, but so is the Latter-day Saint who aligns him or herself to it faithfully. If the Plan of Salvation defines Mormons, it is loyalty to the collective which is their litmus test. Joseph Smith's highest virtue, as he demonstrated, was an unflagging commitment to himself, the prophet, as well as to the body of believers.

Besides pioneer heritage and institutional loyalty, *Light of the World* also pulsed with the relatively new prescription of Christ as center. But like the fusion of individual to institution which I believe is common in the LDS church, Latter-day Saints apparently cannot separate Christ from their corporate church as do traditional Christians. So while the LDS church is in over-drive to prove it is Christian, it has positioned Christ as a sanctifying code of the church, a code one can hear intoned over and over—irreverently, it could be argued—in a walk through the new Temple Square Visitor Centers. His name is not only the required imprimatur placed at the end of prayers and sermons, but also the boldface print on the church's new logo, the necessary nod to Christian America so that the work of God can move forward.

To be fair, the central role of Christ has always been a presupposition for Mormons, as it was in nineteenth-century frontier America. But for today's Latter-day Saints, it is the great work bolted to the institution—which is far more than an institution to them—which is "of the essence." Christ does not seem to figure, for most Latter-day Saints, as the be-all-and-end-all, the deity incarnate celebrated by the apostles John and Paul.

This was what lay uneasily in the shadows of *Light of the World*, in the darker corners of the earth orb where I believe Mormons still struggle like half-molded clay. Yet the show trumpeted the more devotional message of traditional Christianity, a reassurance embodied in the four-story projection of the Christus statue rising above the stage, the warmth of its bare chest between slightly upraised arms embracing the stage earth. Though the symbols intimated a personal Savior whom devoted disciples adore, the Mormon Jesus came across as a curious mix of Christ-as-code word and Christ-as-the Newtonian god who created the world like a finely tuned watch before its gentle launch into the universe. The Son of God, as corporate mascot, leaves the industrious Saints to carry on the work. I believe Latter-day Saints are stuck under these constraints, as were the early Jewish Christians during the first three centuries A.D., between being a variation of an established religion (Judaism) and a completely new one (Christianity).

This "stuck-ness" was borne out by the sudden appearance on the stage near

show's end of a giant projection equal in size to that of the Christus—of President Gordon B. Hinckley. "That which is of God is light," he quoted for us, "and he that receiveth light, and continueth in God, receiveth more light; and that light groweth brighter and brighter until the perfect day." The aging prophet seemed almost bashful in his warmly wrinkled way, but pleased. The living prophet—not Christ—is the head of the corporation and the resident gnosis of this great, shining cathedral, wherein the story of man's search for happiness is told, however carefully, however commercially, for the world. As the veil with its projections of outer space closed in, quieting the teeming earth inhabitants in their colorful, ethnic garb, there was a collective sigh in the largely Mormon audience. The prevailing sentiment was that when the 1.5 million Olympic visitors leave Zion, there will *be* even more work to be done. But who will they be as they put their "shoulder to the wheel"? Are the good works of the kingdom—with a nod in the direction of Jesus—the only thing that proves someone is a Mormon?

"The games will come and go," reported the *Los Angeles Times* at the close of the Olympics in February 2002. "Then the people can return to the. . .truly important work that gets done in some shape or form in every city. They can return to defining themselves."[4] The city of angels knows something about shaping an identity, having hosted the games once themselves. Until that "perfect day," civic identity in the Saints' holy city will always be tied to what Mormons think of themselves, to what they are allowed to think of themselves, and to the open spaces wherein individual believers find expression—open spaces like *Light of the World*, in which re-interpretation of dogma seems to have tentatively reared its head.

4. "The World Watched," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 February 2002, A7.

Trouble in Eternity

Joann Farías

The trouble is in eternity, the Angels say,
Where my Mormon husband twenty years
Divorced believes in his sleep that we
Are married still. Always he is sleeping
And always he is at my side, crying
Wife, wife, wife, wife, and I am jacking
Up the car he's crying *wife*, and I am
Building a set of shelves, he's crying
Wife, and I am harvesting the garlic
That I've planted in the yard, he stands
There, eyeless, crying *wife*, though I've long since
Thrown my cubic zirconium into the Puget Sound.

"Without a Cause" and "Ships of Tarshish": A Possible Contemporary Source for Two Unexplained Readings from Joseph Smith

Ronald V. Huggins

ON TUESDAY, THE SECOND OF JULY, a fatigued but cheerful Sydney Rigdon took up his pen and addressed himself to a blank sheet of paper laying before him on a wooden writing table. At the top of the sheet he wrote, "To the Brethren of Zion." Then, after a few preliminary niceties, "We this day finished the translating of the Scriptures, for which we returned gratitude to our Heavenly Father."[1] Rigdon was understandably weary as he wrote, because he was doing so almost immediately after finishing work on the Joseph Smith Translation (JST). At that moment, the words we now find written at the end of the manuscript for Malach—"Finished on the 2d day of July 1833"—may still have been damp to the touch. When the letter was finished, it was signed by Rigdon and the other two members of the First Presidency, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Frederick G. Williams. Then it was sent on its way.

That same month the official church newspaper, the *Evening and Morning Star*, published in Independence, Missouri, sought to prepare the way for the JST by explaining its significance under the headings, "Errors of the Bible" and "The New Version":

1. *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 3 (Feb. 15, 1845): 802.

> As to the errors in the bible, any man possessed of common understanding, knows, that both the old and new testaments are filled with errors, obscurities, italics and contradictions, which must be the work of men. As the church of Christ will soon have the scriptures, in their original purity, it may not be amiss for us to show a few of the gross errors, or, as they might be termed, contradictions.[2]

Then later:

> With the old copy full of errors; with Dickinson's and Webster's polite translation, with Campbell's improved, and many more from different persuasions, how will a person of common understanding know which is right without the gift of the Holy Spirit? . . .the bible . . .must be PURIFIED! . . .O what a blessing, that the Lord will bestow the gift of the Holy Spirit, upon the meek and humble, whereby they can know of a surety, his words from the words of men!

However, this was not to be. Despite Joseph Smith's best efforts, the JST was not published until 1867, and then only by the RLDS Church (which is now called the Community of Christ). The JST has never been officially recognized by the LDS church, which continues to use the KJV, the Bible damned in the 1833 *Evening and Morning Star* for being "full of errors," as their official version. Since 1979, however, excerpts of the JST have been included in the LDS church's edition of the King James Bible. Popular LDS writers and scholars extol the JST's virtues.

Whatever its admirable qualities, it cannot legitimately be argued that it is a restoration of the original uncorrupted text of scripture. Some have suggested that the almost total lack of support in the ancient biblical manuscripts for the JST corrections only proves that all the ancient manuscripts which exist have already been corrupted by the "Great and Abominable Church," an apostate ecclesiastical organization credited with taking "many plain and precious things" out of the Bible (1 Nephi 13:28). This is merely an argument of convenience that attempts to solve the problem by placing the claim of restoration out of the reach of contradiction by evidence. It is not merely a problem of Joseph Smith making changes where no manuscript evidence can be found to support them, it is also the JST's adherence to the King James readings, even where the ancient manuscript evidence demands that changes ought to have been made.

There are two places, however, where the JST makes a surprising break from its pattern of non-contact with the ancient evidence: Matthew 5:22 and Isaiah 2:16. Interestingly, both verses were incorporated into the Book of Mormon as parts of larger passages taken over from the Bible (Matthew 5:22 [5:24 (JST)] = 3 Nephi 12:22, and Isaiah 2:16 = 2 Nephi 23:1). The purpose of the present article is to suggest two possible sources for these changes, each of which could account for both.

---

2. *The Evening and Morning Star* 2, no. 14 (July 1833): 106.

SHIPS OF TARSHISH (ISAIAH 2:16)

In his recent book *By the Hand of Mormon* (2002), Terryl L. Givens's summary of the significance attached to the unique reading of Isaiah 2:16 is typical of earlier LDS writers:

> One variant reading of Isaiah deserved special notice. In Isaiah 2:16, the prophet writes (in the King James version and all other early English versions save Coverdale's), "And upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant pictures." The Septuagint version of Isaiah reads, "And upon all the ships of the sea, and upon all pleasant pictures." Nephi's version incorporates both: "And upon all the ships of the sea, and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant pictures" (2 Nephi 12:16). Unless Joseph had access to both versions, which seems unlikely, one reasonable implication of such variations is that the Book of Mormon version predates the other two, each of which dropped a different phrase over time.[3]

Reflection on the history of this passage, and ways in which the differences between its Hebrew and Greek versions might have arisen, suggests a different solution, a solution that goes back to a confusion of words in Greek, but no further. *The sea* in Hebrew (*HYM*) is not likely ever to be confused in either sound or appearance with the Hebrew word *Tarshish* (*TRSHISH*), but the two words might easily be confused in Greek. If, for example, a Greek scribe copying from a poorly written Greek uncial (capital lettered) manuscript encountered a clumsy transliteration of the Hebrew *TRSHISH* as, for example, *thaarsses* or *tharasses* (with the final *-es* representing in both cases a first declension genitive ending), he might easily have imagined he was looking at *thalasses*, (of the sea) rather than *tharasses* or *thaarsses* (*of Tarshish*). Such a scribe might then, in his manuscript, quite understandably go on to replace the odd transliteration with the more conventional indeclinable one: *tharsis*.[4] If the error did originate with the Greek translation, a number of significant consequences follow:

---

3. Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University, 2002), 137.

4. It should be noted, however, that the confusion might go the other direction. The Greek words translated as "every ship of the sea" are *pan ploion thalasses*. The old Greek manuscripts used all uncials (Greek capitals) rather than the miniscules (lower case), so that *thalasses* would have originally appeared as THALASSES. If a scribe accidentally left out the *lamda*, the third letter from the beginning and one of three triangular letters standing side by side, the form of the remaining word would be THAASSES. A scribe later trying to read this word might read it not as *thaasses*, but as *tharsses*. Seeing the –HC ending, he then would have believed this must have been a somewhat unconventional transliteration of *thaarsses*, cast in the form of a first declension noun with a genitive ending, making it read just as expected: *of Tarshish*. The next natural thing for him to do would have been to replace the unconventional transliteration for the standard one, *tharsis* for *tharsses*. The thing to keep in mind is that, in both cases, the change is secondary, deriving from Greek and not from the original Hebrew.

(1) It was not original to the Hebrew, since it only happened after someone had translated the Hebrew text into Greek. This would be consistent with the fact that the Dead Sea Scrolls support neither the Book of Mormon reading nor the Septuagint [=LXX], but rather the Hebrew.

(2) The suggestion that the Book of Mormon reading is more ancient than the Hebrew reading of the text is not only unlikely, it is impossible, since the text had not yet been translated into Greek. If *of the sea* initially arose out of a confusion of the Greek for of *Tarshish* (or visa versa), then very clearly both cannot be original, and Joseph Smith cannot have been right in including both in 2 Nephi 23:1 (=JST Isaiah 2:16). If you have an original reading and a corrupted reading, you cannot have a more original reading that includes both.[5]

(3) The Book of Mormon rendering must be the least original of the three. The Hebrew is the most original,[6] the Septuagint takes one step away from the original with its confusion of look-alike words, and the Book of Mormon takes yet another step away from the original by combining the correct Hebrew reading and the incorrect Septuagint one.

Givens is not justified in supposing that "unless Joseph had access to both versions [Hebrew and Greek] which seems unlikely," a supernatural source must be sought for this Book of Mormon reading.[7] He is merely repeating an argument that goes back at least as far as Sidney B. Sperry's *Our Book of Mormon*

---

5. Joseph did the same thing in his last public sermon (16 June 1844). The first word of the Bible is *Berosheit*, which is also the Hebrew title of the book of Genesis. Most Bible versions translate it *in the beginning*. However, in the King Follett Funeral Sermon (7 April 1844), Joseph said that the *Be* in *Berosheit* was not original, but had been added by "an old Jew without any authority." The *Be* is an attached preposition which means *in* ("*in* the beginning"). What was originally written, said Joseph, was not *Berosheit*, but *Rosheit*. Joseph then goes on to drop the "grammatical termination" *–eit*, so as to arrive at *Rosh*, which he translates as *head* in "*head* one of the Gods." (The word head (*Rosh*) is arrived at by stripping *Berosheit* of its beginning and ending.)

In his final sermon two months later, Joseph again preached on this passage but apparently forgot how he had originally derived *head* (*Rosh*) from *in the beginning* (*Be-rosh-eit*). Instead, he included both: "In the beginning [*berosheit*] the heads [*rosheit*] of the Gods. . . ." Here again, though, it has to be either *in the beginning* or *head(s)*. It cannot be both. If *head(s)* was corrupted by "an old Jew without any authority" to read *in the beginning*, then the most original text could not have included both *head(s)* and *in the beginning* (see *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* [Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976] 348, 371; and *The Words of Joseph Smith*, Religious Studies Monograph Series 6, comps. and eds. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook [Provo Utah: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 1980]).

6. However, as noted earlier, someone might legitimately argue that the LXX preserves the more original reading on the grounds that it seems easier to confuse THALASSES with THARSES, than THARSES with THALASSES. Ultimately, it does not matter whether *of the sea* or *Tarshish* was more original, since the confusion occurred on the secondary level of the Greek rather than the primary level of the Hebrew.

7. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 137.

(1947), which was afterward copied verbatim into several of that writer's later books. It has subsequently been included in a number of other works, right down to the present.[8] Here is Sperry's argument as it appeared in 1947:

> In 2 Nephi 12:16 (cf. Isaiah 2:16) the Book of Mormon has a reading of remarkable interest. It prefixes a phrase of eight words not found in the Hebrew or King James Versions. Since the ancient Septuagint (Greek) version concurs with the added phrase in the Book of Mormon, let us exhibit the readings of the Book of Mormon (B.M.), the King James Version (K.J.), and the Septuagint (LXX) as follows:
>
> B.M. And upon all the ships of the sea,
> K.J. .....
> LXX And upon every ship of the sea,
>
> and upon all the ships of Tarshish
> and upon all the ships of Tarshish
> .....
>
> and upon all pleasant pictures.
> and upon all pleasant pictures.
> and upon every display of fine ships.[9]

---

8. For example, it has been copied more or less verbatim into Monte S. Nyman's *Great Are the Words of Isaiah* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 33 (CD-ROM version on Infobase); Daniel H. Ludlow's *A Companion to Your Study of the Old Testament* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1981), 284; and into the Religion 302 student manual, *Old Testament: 1 Kings-Malachi*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1982), 140. It has also been essentially restated in a slightly expanded form by Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 30-31; and by Royal Skousen, "Review of Brent Lee Metcalfe's *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon*," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994): 129; and in Skousen's "Textual Variants in the Isaiah Quotations in the Book of Mormon," in *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, eds. Donald W. Parry and John W. Welsh (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998), 376-77. It is from Skousen that Givens gets the additional detail about the Coverdale Bible not having "ships of Tarshish" in its Isaiah 2:16. Skousen in turn credits Andy Stewart's 1991 unpublished research paper "KJV as a Source for the Biblical Quotations in the Book of Mormon" (see Skousen, "Textual Variants," 376-77, 389n7).

9. Sidney B. Sperry, *Our Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Steven & Wallace, 1947), 172-73. The same passage appears almost verbatim in Sperry's *The Voice of Israel's Prophets* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965), 90-91; *The Problems of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 92-3 [later renamed *Answers to Book of Mormon Questions* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967) 92-93], and in *Book of Mormon Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 508.

> The Book of Mormon suggests that the original text of this verse contained three phrases, all of which commenced with the same opening words, "and upon all." By a common accident, the original Hebrew (and hence the King James) text lost the first phrase, which was, however, preserved by the Septuagint. The latter lost the second phrase, and seems to have corrupted the third phrase. The Book of Mormon preserved all three phrases. Scholars may suggest that Joseph Smith took the first phrase from the Septuagint, but the prophet did not know Greek, and there is no evidence that he had access to a copy of the Septuagint in 1829-1830[10] then he translated the Book of Mormon.

The only proponent of Sperry's position who has in any way moved beyond him is John A. Tvedtnes, who notes that "the Greek *talassa*, 'sea,' resembles the word Tarshish." However, Tvedtnes appears to miss the significance of this when he points out that "both the Targum and the Vulgate have 'sea' with LXX instead of Tarshish."[11] Tvedtnes's claim is the same one made in the textual note for 2 Nephi 12:16 in *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholars.*[12] Two points should be made here:

> (1) If the Vulgate agreed with the LXX against the current Hebrew Bible, then possibly Jerome, who translated the Vulgate in the late fourth century and who knew Hebrew, had encountered the reading "ships of the sea" in the Hebrew manuscripts of his day. This would only prove that the confusion of the Greek words had affected the Hebrew manuscript as well as the Greek, a possibility already contemplated here in footnotes 4 and 6. However, this was not the case. Tvedtnes and the *Book of Mormon Critical Text* are simply in error here. The Vulgate actually does have *Tarshish*, not *sea*: "et super omnes naves *Tharsis*." Current editions of the Vulgate also use *Tarshish*. Jerome himself noted that the LXX was alone in having seas here, while all the other versions had *Tarshish* ("Pro *Tharsis*, quod omnes similiter transtulerunt, soli LXX *mare* interpretati sunt").[13]

---

10. In some of the repetitions of Sperry's passage, the dates are given instead as 1827-1829.

11. John A. Tvedtnes, "Isaiah Variants in the Book of Mormon," in *Isaiah and the Prophets: Inspired Voices from the Old Testament*, Religious Studies Center Monograph Series 10, eds. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984), 170. Tvedtnes's remark concerning *talassa* may reflect his familiarity with James A. Montgomery's statement that sea in the LXX represents a "phonetic development from a transliteration" of *Tarshish* (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, International Critical Commentary Series [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926], 409). John W. Welch also repeats Sperry's basic argument, and he mentions the reading of the Targum (*Reexploring the Book of Mormon* [Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992], 78).

12. *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly Reference*, 3 vols., 2d ed. (Provo Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1986), 1:206: "LXX Isa 2:16 sgl [singular] 'and upon every ship of the sea' (so Targum and Latin Vulgate); not in KJ MT."

13. Quoted in *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: sive Veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964), 2:435n15.

(2) While it is true that the Isaiah Targum has *seas*, only one manuscript, B.M. [British Museum] 2211, which is dated around 1475 A.D., has "ships of the sea." A better attested reading is "islands of the sea."[14] The lateness of the Isaiah Targum limits its usefulness as a witness of the original form of the text of Isaiah 2:16. If the very titles of certain Targums actually reflect the names of revisers of the Greek Old Testament (Onkelos and Jonathan = Aquila and Theodotion),[15] how can we be sure that the targumic tendency to translate Tarshish as sea does not ultimately derive from a memory of or familiarity with the variation in the LXX?[16] All that was really necessary for a cross-pollination between Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek manuscripts was for all three to be available for comparison, as they were for example at Qumran, where Biblical manuscripts in all three languages were discovered together at a single ancient location.[17]

The fact that Sperry's argument continues to be repeated, even after half a century, does not mean it is a good argument. Indeed, the logic of Sperry's argument—that there were only two places Joseph Smith could have gotten "every ship of the sea," from divine revelation or from the Septuagint, and since he probably did not know the latter, he had to have gotten it from the former—is specious. If these really were the only two possible sources, there is still no basis for denying that someone who did have access to the Septuagint could have passed the information along to Joseph. However, these were not the only two possible sources, as was made plain more than twenty years ago in Wesley P. Walters's *The Use of the Old Testament in the Book of Mormon* (1981). Walters wrote:

> It should be noted that popular family Bibles and commentaries of the day pointed out the fact that the LXX here read "the ships of the sea," so that such knowledge was available even to the laymen of Joseph Smith's day. In fact, several commentaries of that period give the word of the Greek version as plural, "the ships of the

14. Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes*, The Aramaic Bible 11 (Collegeville, Minn.: A Michael Glazier Book, The Liturgical Press, 1987), xxix and 6-7.

15. See, e.g., the discussion in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, eds. Raymond Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 2:574-75.

16. On this tendency in the Targums, see David P. Wright, "Isaiah in the Book of Mormon, or Joseph Smith in Isaiah," in *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon*, eds. Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 188-89.

17. One possible solution to the presence of *seas* in the Targums is that *seas*, after originating in the Greek, had infected the Hebrew text at some later stage as well (as described in footnote 4). While this is not the position defended here, it is a viable one, and in that light, the evidence of the Targums might be interpreted as reflecting an earlier Hebrew tradition which preserved a memory of an original reading seas. However, the lateness of the Targums, the absence of earlier evidence in the versions (including the LXX), and the cross-pollination of the versions already referred to, all make such an interpretation somewhat doubtful.

> sea," whereas the Greek is really singular as noted above. This could readily indicate that Joseph took his wording verbatim from the commentaries. There is therefore no need to postulate an original text that breaks up the poetic arrangement of the passage, when Joseph could easily have obtained the information from the pool of knowledge available to him at that period.[18]

The two sources contemporary to Joseph Smith cited by Walters were Thomas Scott's *The Holy Bible*[19] and Matthew Poole's *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*.[20] Walters further notes that "both Poole and Scott picked up the plural reading from Bishop William Lowth's commentary on Isaiah published in the eighteenth century."[21]

Although Walters was responding directly to Sperry's argument as he found it expressed in *The Problems of the Book of Mormon* (1964), most LDS scholars who support Sperry have apparently been unaware of Walters's argument.[22] This despite the claim of Tvedtnes that "Walters's master's thesis has been known to Book of Mormon researchers since it was first submitted to the Covenant Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, in 1981."[23] Tvedtnes does respond in a general way to Walters's claim that Joseph might have picked up ideas from commentaries and other books of his day by asserting that "our knowledge of the Smith family finances, though, make it difficult to believe that Joseph Smith had access to such books."[24] Again Tvedtnes is mistaken, as shall become clear as we proceed.

Two more recent studies by David P. Wright advance Walters's case further.[25] Wright likewise mentions the works of Thomas Scott, Matthew Poole, and William Lowth as possible English sources for Joseph Smith's rendering of Isaiah 2:16. In addition to these, he suggests two more possible English sources: (1) John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*,[26] and (2) John Fawcett's *Devotional Family Bible*.[27] Wright concludes, as Walters had, that

---

18. Wesley P. Walters, *The Use of the Old Testament in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1990), 59-60.

19. 3 vols. (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1817).

20. 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas and John Turnbull, 1800).

21. Walters, *Use of Old Testament*, 59-60.

22. The one exception known to the author is Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible*, 30n44.

23. John A. Tvetdnes, "Review of Wesley P. Walters's *The Use of the Old Testament in the Book of Mormon*," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 4 (1992): 220. Neither Tvedtnes's review nor the other in the same volume by Stephen D. Ricks interacts with Walters's specific contribution on this point.

24. Ibid., 221.

25. David P. Wright, "Joseph Smith's Interpretations of Isaiah in the Book of Mormon," *Dialogue* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 182-206; and Wright, "Isaiah in the Book of Mormon," 157-234.

26. (Bristol, England: William Price, 1765).

27. (London: Suttaby, Evance & Co. and R. Baldwin, 1811).

"Joseph Smith could have become familiar with this translation 'fact' through reading such works or, more likely, though hearing sermons or conversations based on such sources."[28]

That Wright and Walters were moving in an appropriate direction is seen in comments like that of nineteenth-century Princetonian Joseph Addison Alexander: "It is a very old opinion, that *Tarshish* means the *sea*."[29] We shall have more to say on this passage later.

Without a Cause (Matthew 5:22)

Perhaps even more familiar than the "ships of Tarshish" parallel is the removal of the phrase "without a cause" in the Book of Mormon version of the Sermon on the Mount (which John W. Welch refers to as the "Sermon at the Temple"), and in the JST Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:22 [5:24 (JST)] = 3 Nephi 12:22). Again we begin with the remarks of Terryl Givens:

> This is not to say there are no variations that, on the other hand, suggest an ancient origin for the temple sermon. John Welch considers the counterpart to Matthew 5:22 deserving of recognition. Matthew's Jesus warns that "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment." Third Nephi's Jesus omits the qualification, "without a cause." So, Welch points out, "do many of the better early manuscripts."[30]

Given the abundance of early manuscripts found since 1830, Givens concludes, "[T]his high degree of confirmation of the received Greek [texts] speaks generally in favor of the [Book of Mormon's] Sermon at the Temple, for one could not have gambled wisely on such confirmation a century and a half ago, before the earliest Greek New Testament manuscripts had been discovered." At the end of a moderately lengthy endnote, Givens states: "As [Stan] Larson points out, the omission had also been suggested in Adam Clarke's 1810 commentary, as well as other sources, which might have been known to Joseph through other avenues."

Larson lists, in addition to Clarke, a number of sources through which the information concerning this omission might have made its way to Joseph Smith:

> The absence of *eike* was known before 1830 when the Book of Mormon appeared, since it was discussed in Desiderius Erasmus, John Mill, Johann Wettsein, Johann Griesbach, and Andreas Birch in reference to the Greek text, not translated in

---

28. Wright, "Joseph Smith's Interpretations," 184-85; cf. Wright, "Isaiah in the Book of Mormon," 190.

29. Joseph Addison Alexander, *Isaiah Translated and Explained. . . .An Abridgment of the Author's Critical Commentary on Isaiah*, 2 vols. (New York: Wiley & Halsted, 1856), 1:46. The original commentary of which this is an abridgement was published in the mid-1840s.

30. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, 138. Brackets are Givens's.

> William Tyndale's New Testament from 1526 to 1535, and popularized by various English writers. For example, the Methodist writer, Adam Clarke, whose multi-volume biblical commentary was first published in London in 1810 with at least ten American printings and editions in New York from 1811-1829, suggested that it was a marginal gloss which later entered the text.[31]

Perhaps Givens does not mention any of the sources named by Larson other than Adam Clarke because all, save one, were editors of critical Greek texts. He might well have assumed that Joseph, who supposedly was not very good at reading English, would certainly not be able to negotiate the intricate apparatuses of the critical editions of the Greek New Testament. As for the one English exception, Givens might have suspected that Tyndale's early version of the English Bible would not have been readily available in Joseph Smith's day. However, this kind of information tended to trickle down to the general population through sermons, Bible commentaries, and religious newspapers.

Let us now turn to John Welch. When Joseph Smith transported the Sermon on the Mount from the King James Bible (Matthew 5-7) into the Book of Mormon (3 Nephi 12-14), he also carried over almost all the textual errors of the King James Version. The basic argument of Welsh is that even if these readings are corrupted or wrong, as Larson asserted, it does not matter because when all is said and done, they do not differ much in meaning from the uncorrupted original ones:

> In each of these cases, however, the later alternative Greek variants essentially say the same thing as the probable earlier readings. Thus, while the later variants may involve slightly different Greek constructions or vocabulary words, these differences are insignificant from the standpoint of translation.[32]

In the one instance where giving preference to the original form of the text would have made a difference, Welch says, Joseph Smith remarkably did so:

> In my estimation, this textual variant in favor of the Sermon at the Temple is very meaningful. The removal of *without a cause* has important moral, behavioral, psychological, and religious ramifications, as it is the main place where a significant textual change from the KJV was in fact needed and delivered.[33]

---

31. Stan Larson, "The Historicity of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount," in *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology,* ed. Brent Lee Metcalf (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 128.

32. John W. Welch, *Illuminating the Sermon at the Temple and Sermon on the Mount* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1999), 202.

33. Ibid., 201, Welch restates this opinion as his closing thought in his chapter on the textual problems: "[I]n the one case where the ancient manuscripts convey an important difference in meaning from the King James Version by omitting *without a cause* in Matthew 5:22, the Book of Mormon agrees with the stronger manuscript reading of that text. The Greek manuscripts of the Sermon on the Mount do not discredit the Book of Mormon, and may on balance sustain it" (208).

In a review of Larson's article, Welch refers to the *without a cause variant* as "the Fly in Larson's Ointment," chiding Larson for being "too stingy to count this point for anything," despite the fact that "on this occasion, one encounters quite strong textual evidence that the Book of Mormon contains the same reading that New Testament scholars believe represents the original saying of Jesus."[34] Later Welsh says:

> I do not understand how anyone can say that the agreement between 3 Nephi 12:22 and the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament does not meet sufficient criteria of authenticity, that this is not a significant case of the Book of Mormon agreeing with the better Greek traditions while disagreeing with the KJV, and that this case is therefore worth nothing.[35]

Is Welch really thinking like a text critic when he chastises Larson for considering the variant in Matthew 5:22 "a genuinely ambiguous case?"[36] If it is so obvious to Welch that "the removal of without a cause has important moral, behavioral, psychological, and religious ramifications,"[37] then surely it would also have been obvious to Joseph Smith or to an early scribe who suspected that the phrase might have been added as a way of watering down our Lord's teaching—an addition that does not even really seem to make sense. After all, who is ever angry at anyone *without a cause*? If there is a conspicuous reason that someone might want to remove the phrase, then perhaps somebody actually did remove it!

This brings us back to the question of English sources from which Joseph Smith might have gotten the idea of removing *without a cause*. Problems like those just mentioned appear to have left a mark on the history of English Bible translations as well. We have already seen that Tyndale's Bible did not have it, but Tyndale was not alone in differing with the KJV at this point. Several Bibles accepted as original the presence of *Eike* in the Greek, but did not translate it *without a cause*. The Bishops' Bible (1568), the Geneva Bible (1560), and the Great Bible (1539) translated it as *unadvisedly*: "whoever is angry with his brother *unadvisedly*." The 1826 first edition of Alexander Campell's Bible, which would later exercise influence over the titles of the Gospels in the JST, for example,[38] translated it as *unjustly*: "Whosoever is angry with his brother *unjustly*."[39]

34. John W. Welch, "Review of Stan Larson's 'The Historicity of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount,'" *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994): 164-65.

35. Ibid., 166.

36. Larson, "Historicity of the Matthean Sermon," 128, cf. Welch, "Review of Larson," 167.

37. Welch, *Illuminating*, 201.

38. In 1826 Campbell titled his Gospels, "The Testimony of Matthew. . .Mark. . . Luke. . .John." A few years later, with the former Campbellite Sydney Rigdon serving as his scribe, Joseph Smith titled his Gospels after the same pattern, adding the abbreviation for saint: "The Testimony of St. Matthew. . . ."

39. Alexander Campbell, *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, Commonly Styled the New Testament, Translated from the Original Greek, by George Campbell,*

Perhaps Joseph had simply been familiar with the Roman Catholic Bible. Welch noted that the Vulgate does not include an equivalent to *without a cause*.[40] Nor did the Roman Catholic Douay-Rheims Version, based as it was on the Vulgate. That version reads: "Whoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgment." (The first American edition of the Douay-Rheims Version was published in Philadelphia in 1790 by Carey, Stewart & Co.)

Were Tvedtnes correct in saying that the Vulgate agreed with the LXX in having *ships of the sea* instead of *ships of Tarshish*, we would have been able to suggest that perhaps Joseph got both corrections from the Roman Catholic Bible. That is not an option, however, since the Vulgate has *naves Tharsis* which is translated "ships of Tarshish" in the Douay-Rheims Version. And so we must look elsewhere.

A Common Source for Both Variants?

One point that seems obvious is that we should look for the source of these two variants in an influence on Joseph Smith at the time of his first use of them. Both variants appear in the JST, which was produced in 1830-1833, but they are also both in the Book of Mormon. A likely source then would be one which contained both variants and which Joseph Smith might have been able to access while the Book of Mormon was being translated. When the question is posed in this way two sources immediately suggest themselves.

Source 1: Martin Luther's German Bible Mediated through the Whitmers

> [T]he old German translators are the most correct; most honest of any of the translators (Joseph Smith, Jr., 12 May 1844).[41]

Richard Lloyd Anderson reports that when David Whitmer spoke with George Q. Cannon in 1884, he "still betrayed 'a German twang.'"[42] The Whitmers derived from Pennsylvania German stock. In fact, the first European-language translation of the Bible published in America (even before English) was Martin Luther's German Bible, published by Johann Christoph Saur in 1743 in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Saur moved in the same Pietistic circles as Johann

---

James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, Doctors of the Church of Scotland (Buffaloe, Brooke County, Va.: Printed and Published by Alexander Campbell, 1826).

40. Welch, *Illuminating*, 200.

41. Thomas Bullock Report in *The Words of Joseph Smith*, Religious Studies Monograph Series 6, comps. and eds. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook (Provo Utah: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 1980), 366.

42 Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1981), 67.

Konrad Beissel (1691-1768), who founded the Ephrata Cloister in 1732, a celibate community which practiced Baptism for the Dead and boasted of having a restored Melchizedek Priesthood. In 1790 Peter Whitmer, Sr., lived only four miles from Ephrata.[43] Whether or not the Whitmers had any association with the people of Ephrata Cloister, they would have been familiar with Martin Luther's translation via their own Pennsylvania German heritage.

Luther translated Isaiah 2:16 as "ships in the sea" (*Schiffe im Meer*), and he omitted *Eike* ("without a cause") in Matthew 5:22: "Wer mit seinem Bruder zürnt, der ist des Gerichts schuldig." From about 1 June 1829, until the completion of the Book of Mormon one month later, the process of translation was carried on in the home of Peter Whitmer, Sr., in Fayette, New York. Discussions about what Joseph was finding on the plates occasionally occurred. This is seen, for example, in David Whitmer's comment on the translation of (probably) 1 Nephi 4:4-5, "until we came without the walls of Jerusalem." In 1886 Whitmer recalled that Joseph was "ignorant of the Bible [and] that when translating he first came to where Jerusalem was spoken of as a 'Walled City' he stopped until they got a Bible & showed him where the fact was recorded—Smith not believing it was a walled city."[44]

The one issue that remains unresolved is the fact that although the *ships of Tarshish* passage (2 Nephi 12:16) was translated at the Whitmer's home in June 1829,[45] the *without a cause* passage (3 Nephi 12:22) had already been translated by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery by mid-May.[46] If Cowdery and Smith had already omitted *without a cause* from 3 Nephi 12:12 before coming to the Whitmer home, the Whitmers could not have been the source for both. It is still possible, however, that the translation Smith and Cowdery had earlier done might have been amended via the influence of the Whitmers. Unfortunately we will probably never know, since the original manuscript of the Book of Mormon is not extant for either passage,[47] and there is no indication of any changes having been entered into the printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon, at these two places. This brings us then to the second and what seems to me the more likely solution.

---

43. D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), 239.

44. M. J. Hubble Interview (13 November 1886) in *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*, ed. Lyndon W. Cook (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991), 211.

45. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1984), 105.

46. Ibid., 100.

47. For 2 Nephi 12:16, nothing remains of the original manuscript between 2 Nephi 9:42 and 2 Nephi 23:1. For 3 Nephi 12:22, nothing remains of the original manuscript between 3 Nephi 4:2 and 3 Nephi 19:26 (see *The Original Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: Typographical Facsimile of the Extant Text*, ed. Royal Skousen (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2001), vi.

Source 2: John Wesley And Methodism

Joseph Smith, Jr.'s interest in Methodism is well known. The famous nineteenth-century Methodist preacher Peter Cartwright reported in his autobiography on a visit he had with Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, when the prophet said:

> He believed that among all the Churches in the world the Methodist was the nearest right, and that, as far as they went, they were right. But they had stopped short by not claiming the gift of tongues, of prophecy, and of miracles, and then quoted a batch of Scripture to prove his positions correct. . . ."Indeed," said Joe, "if the Methodists would only advance a step or two further, they would take the world. We Latter-day Saints are Methodists, as far as they have gone, only we have advanced further, and if you would come in and go with us, we could sweep not only the Methodist Church, but all others, and you would be looked up to as one of the Lord's greatest prophets."[48]

Cartwright considered these statements of Joseph Smith empty words of flattery, but they were more than that. In the official version of the story of the First Vision, Joseph Smith declared he was "partial to the Methodist sect, and. . .felt some desire to unite with them" (Joseph Smith History 1:8). In 1851 Orsamus Turner, who as a boy had been a member of a debating club with Joseph Smith, recollected that "after catching a spark of Methodism in the camp meeting, way down in the woods, on the Vienna road, he [Joseph] became a very passable exhorter in evening meetings."[49] The Methodists obtained the property on Vienna road in 1821, and Orsamus Turner left Palmyra in 1822.[50] If the statement is from memory, then it must relate to 1821 or 1822. If not, then it probably relates to the Palmyra revival of 1824-1825 in which the Methodist preacher George Lane figured prominently.

When Joseph Smith eloped with Emma Hale of Harmony, Pennsylvania, on 18 January 1827, he was running off with a member of a reasonably prominent Methodist family. In the winter of 1827, only a month or two after Joseph obtained the golden plates, he and Emma returned to Harmony and moved in with Emma's father, Isaac Hale. Within a few months they re-located to their own place nearby. Joseph would remain in the vicinity during most of the time the Book of Mormon was being translated, the major exception being the final month of translation work, which, as we have already noted, took place at the

---

48. *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright: The Backwoods Preacher*, ed. W. P. Strickland (Cincinnati: Cranston and Curts; New York: Hunt and Eaton, n.d. [preface dated 1856]). Online text version from Duane Maxey's Holiness Classics Library at the Wesley Center for Applied Theology of Northwest Nazarene College (http://wesley.nnu.edu/).

49. *Early Mormon Documents* 3, comp. and ed. Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Press, 2000), 49-50.

50. Ibid., 50n14.

Whitmers's. During this period, Joseph would have been exposed not only to Emma's extended Methodist family, but also perhaps to traveling Methodists who might have visited Emma's father or her uncle, Nathaniel Lewis. An example of such a visitor was George Peck. In the third chapter of his autobiography, Peck describes Hale's home and says that he "often partook at his table."[51] It was probably also Peck who, as editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, wrote in an anonymous 1843 article:

> Father Hale's house was the preacher's home, and Em, as she was then called in family parlance, acted in the subordinate part in the work about the house. Elevated as she now is, we in our old times often partook of a good repast of venison, eels, and buckwheat cakes prepared by her hands.[52]

In June 1828, Joseph suffered two serious setbacks. On the fourteenth of the month, Martin Harris left for Palmyra with the first 116 pages of the Book of Mormon, which were promptly lost (or stolen). The very next day, 15 June, Emma gave birth to a stillborn child. This was not only a great personal tragedy to Joseph and Emma, but also a considerable blow to the credibility of the Book of Mormon project in the eyes of Emma's family. Joseph had told several of them early on that the golden plates were to be miraculously translated by his and Emma's firstborn son. The death of the child had the effect of permanently fixing the memory of this prediction in their minds.[53] It was right around this time that Joseph also sought membership in the Methodist church.[54] It was Emma's and Joseph's brother-in-law, Michael Morse, who, as Methodist class leader, enrolled Joseph in the class book,[55] and it was her cousin, Joseph Lewis, who strenuously opposed it on the grounds that Joseph was "a practicing necromancer, [and] a dealer in enchantments."[56]

During this time, Joseph could not have avoided coming into contact with Methodist books. One of the distinctive features of early Methodism was its extensive use and distribution of literature as a means of evangelization and the

---

51. George Peck, *The Life and Times of George Peck: Written By Himself* (New York: Nelson & Phillips; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874). Online text version from Duane Maxey's Holiness Classics Library at the Wesley Center for Applied Theology of Northwest Nazarene College (http://wesley.nnu.edu/).

52. [George Peck (?)], "Mormonism and the Mormons," 25 [3rd ser. 3] *Methodist Quarterly Review* (Jan 1843): 112.

53. See the affidavits of Isaac Hale (264), Joshua McKune (267-68), and Sophia Lewis (269) in E[ber]. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed: or a Faithful Account of the Singular Imposition and Delusion, From Its Rise to the Present Time* (Painesville, Ohio: by the author, 1834).

54. Bushman, *Beginnings*, 94-95. Emma's cousin, Joseph Lewis, remembered June 1828 as the date of Joseph's attempt to join the Methodists (*The [Salt Lake City] Daily Tribune*, 17 Oct. 1879, 2).

55. *The Amboy Journal*, 21 May 1879. According to Morse, Joseph's name remained in the book for about six months.

56. *The Amboy Journal*, 11 June 1879, 1.

promotion of Christian holiness. At one point early in his ministry, John Wesley, the spiritual father of Methodism, had sought the will of God for himself and received the answer: "Preach and Print."[57] "In an exceptional manner," Klaus Bockmuehl writes, "Wesley stood by this precept until his dying day."[58] In the process he created the "Christian Library," a collection of about fifty books, some of which he wrote himself and others which he abridged and provided with introductions. These were printed in very inexpensive editions in order to facilitate the widest possible distribution. Wesley encouraged his circuit riders to carry a stock of books with them in their saddlebags as they went. "Take a certain title with you when you first make the round through the congregations," he wrote. "The next time take another book. Preach at every place, and invite the congregation after the sermon to buy the relevant tract and to read it."[59] This approach was exceedingly effective in the frontier areas of America. The Methodist circuit rider would come through town preaching and distributing books—sometimes he would sell them, other times he would loan them to people until he came through again armed with more books.

One of the most remarkable Methodist publications of the early nineteenth century was a shelf-sagging six-volume set of commentaries on the Bible by Wesley's trusted lieutenant Adam Clarke (whom we have already met). Each volume was ten inches tall, six-and-a-half inches deep, and the entire set took up thirteen inches of shelf space. The thinnest volume measured one-and-two-thirds inches and the thickest, two-and-a-quarter inches. It was, in short, an imposing set of books. Clarke was Methodism's first great Biblical scholar. Although entirely self-educated, Clarke had a remarkable mind, and attained a high level of erudition, which included gaining mastery of numerous languages.

Clarke did not hesitate to apply the full breadth of his knowledge in his commentary, even though he surely knew that its primary audience would be faithful rank and file Methodists rather than the learned. Thus, an antagonistic reviewer in the 1829 *Quarterly Christian Spectator* remarks:

> Had Dr. [Thomas] Scott crowded his works, in this way, with learned and abstruse matter, what would have been the result? Could they ever have become generally popular, till the abstruse and the illegible matter was swept from his pages? Would his Bible, especially, ever have become a "*family bible*?" And yet we have now before us an edition of A. Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament, on coarse paper and in cheap binding, to accommodate it to the means of all and even in this edition, the stiff and stately Hebrew, the nimble Greek, the sprawling Arabic, and almost all other conceivable characters, are found parading the pages in dumb show.

---

57. Klaus Bockmuehl, *Books: God's Tools in the History of Salvation* (Moscow, Idaho: Community Christian Ministries, 1992), 16.

58. Ibid.

59. Quoted in ibid., 17.

> Had these costly accompaniments been omitted, the paper and execution might have been much better at the same price, and the work equally useful to those for whom it was chiefly designed.[60]

The same reviewer had earlier written: "Precisely what proportion of his [Clarke's] brethren in this country, whether bishops, priests, or laity, will be able to follow him in his quotations from the Saxon, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic languages, with which he has variegated his pages, we cannot say."[61] It was just this "veriagation" that provided Emma's uncle, the Rev. Nathaniel Lewis, with a way to test the powers of Joseph Smith's mysterious Urim and Thummim. One day he asked Joseph "if any one but himself could translate other languages into English by the aid of his miraculous spectacles?" When Joseph said yes, Lewis lifted down a large volume from its place on the shelf and opened it. He then "proposed to Joe to let him make the experiment upon some of the strange languages he found in Clarke's Commentary, and stated to him if it was even so, and the experiment proved successful, he would then believe the story about the gold plates. But at this proposition Joe was much offended, and never undertook to convert 'uncle Lewis' afterward."[62] This anecdote reveals that Clarke's commentary was near at hand while the Book of Mormon was being translated and that Nathaniel Lewis had at least made Joseph Smith aware of its existence.[63] There is also the possibility that Joseph himself consulted Clarke's Commentary, or had it quoted to (or at) him on other occasions by Uncle Lewis.

What, then, did Clarke's commentary have to say about the two passages under discussion? The response to the Isaiah 2:16 passage began: "[*Ships of Tarshish*] Are in Scripture often used by a metonymy for ships in general."[64] The 1828 first edition of Noah Webster's Dictionary defined metonymy as follows:

> In rhetoric, a trope in which one word is put for another; a change of names which have some relation to each other; as when we say, "a man keeps a good *table*," instead of good *provisions*. "We read *Virgil*," that is, his *poe[m]s* or *writings*. "They have *Moses* and the *prophets*," that is, their *books* or *writings*. A man has a clear *head*, that is, *understanding*, *intellect*; a warm *heart*, that is, *affections*.

---

60. Anonymous, "Review of Adam Clarke's Discourses," *Quarterly Christian Spectator* 4 (Dec 1829): 554.

61. Ibid., 553-54.

62. Lewis related this story to the anonymous author (probably George Peck) of the "Mormonism and the Mormons" (see p. 113) around 1840.

63. Nathaniel Lewis in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* speaks of himself as "residing near him," (256) , i.e., near Joseph Smith.

64. Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible* (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, 1827-1831), 3:684. The introduction to Isaiah in this edition is dated 24 Sept. 1823. Late in 1831 a new edition was issued "with the author's final corrections." In that edition, the passage quoted here appears at 4:31 and is identical.

The word *metonymy* might have been a difficult one, although it was used more frequently then than now. Joseph Smith may or may not have learned it in school. In any case, he could have looked it up. What Clarke was saying, then, was that *Ships of Tarshish* was another way of saying *ships in general.* Clarke's extended note on Isaiah 2:16 was taken verbatim from Bishop William Lowth's commentary on Isaiah, which, as we have already seen, had influenced the commentaries of Thomas Scott and Matthew Poole at the same point as well.[65]

When we come to the *without a cause* issue, Clarke was perfectly clear:

> *Eike, vainly*, or, as in the common translation, *without a cause*, is wanting in the famous Vatican MS. [i.e., Vaticanus], and two others, the *Ethiopic*, latter *Arabic, Saxon, Vulgate*, two copies of the old *itala, J. Martyr, Ptolemeus, Origen, Tertullian*, and by all the ancient copies quoted by St. *Jerom[e]*. It was probably a marginal gloss originally, which in the process of time crept into the text.[66]

In other words, *without a cause* was not in the original. Some of the writers discussed here noticed that this was Clarke's position on one or the other of these passages. They have not, however, mentioned Joseph's access to Clarke.

Yet Clarke's views of these two passages were not strictly his own. Most likely they were influenced at least by John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes and Standard Sermons.* In his *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* (1765), Wesley had this to say about Isaiah 2:16: "Tarshish—The Ships of the Sea, as that word is used, Psal. xliii. 7. whereby you fetched riches from remote parts of the world."[67] And then in his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (1755) he says of Matthew 5:22:

> Whosoever is angry with his brother—Some copies add, without a cause—But this is utterly foreign to the whole scope and tenor of our Lord's discourse. If he had only forbidden the being angry without a cause, there was no manner of need of that solemn declaration, I say unto you; for the scribes and Pharisees themselves said as much as this. Even they taught, men ought not to be angry without a cause. So that this righteousness does not exceed theirs. But Christ teaches, that we ought

---

65. Clarke did not make his source clear in earlier editions of his commentary. Later ones, however, include a simple L. at the end of the note. Clarke had already explained his dependence on Lowth in his introduction to Isaiah.

66. Ibid., 5:57. The introduction to Matthew in this edition is dated 21 February 1814. The introduction in the 1831, "with the author's final corrections," is dated 20 November 1831. The passage quoted here appears at 5:71 and is identical except for correcting *Jerom* to read *Jerome.*

67. Wesley, *Explanatory Notes* (in many editions from 1765). This was taken by Wesley from the seventeenth century English Annotations of Matthew Poole, whom in the preface to the work Wesley acknowledges as one of his basic sources. Poole's note was almost identical: "*The ships of Tarshish*; the ships of the sea, as that word is used, Psalm. xliii. 7, whereby you fetched riches and precious things from the remote parts of the world."

not, for any cause, to be so angry as to call any man Raca, or fool. We ought not, for any cause, to be angry at the person of the sinner, but at his sins only."[68]

The same view is reflected in Wesley's translation of the New Testament (1790): "whosoever is angry with his brother shall be liable to the judgment."[69] Wesley reinforces this idea in Sermon XVII of his Standard Sermons (Upon the Lord's Sermon on the Mount: Discourse II):

> But would not one be inclined to prefer the reading of those copies which omit the word. . .*without a cause*? Is it not entirely superfluous? For if *anger at persons* be a temper contrary to love, how can there be a cause, a sufficient cause for it,—any that will justify it in the sight of God?[70]

To understand early Methodism, one has to grasp the supreme importance of Wesley's *Explanatory Notes* (especially those on the New Testament) and his *Standard Sermons*. They were the doctrinal standards of the Methodist church and served as the more-or-less standard-issue basic theological library for Methodist circuit preachers. In 1763 Wesley had drawn up a "model deed," which was to appear in that year's *Larger Minutes*.[71] Among its stipulations was that Methodist preachers must "preach no other Doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's Notes Upon the New Testament, and four volumes of Sermons."[72] This directive was subsequently applied to all Methodist preachers, including those laboring in America. In 1775 Wesley sent copies of his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* to every American Methodist preacher attending conference that year.

In 1783, on the occasion of the appointment of Francis Asbury to the office of General Assistant overseeing American Methodism, Wesley directed a letter "To the Preachers in America," insisting that they all "be determined to abide by

---

68. Ibid. (in multiple editions from 1755).

69. Ibid. (in multiple editions from 1790).

70. Multiple editions. We follow here the numbering in *Wesley's Standard Sermons*, 7th ed., 2 vols., ed. Edward H. Sugden (London: The Epworth Press, 1968). The traditional number for this sermon was XXII.

71. Quoted in Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Mirror and Memory: Reflections on Early Methodism (Nashville: Kingswood, 1989), 193,* from *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Mr. John and Charles Wesley and Others* (London: Paramore, 1780), 43. This model deed was also included in the earlier editions of 1770 and 1772.

72. In the 1771 edition of Wesley's collected works, the first four volumes of sermons contained fifty-three sermons. On the rationale for limiting the standard sermons to only forty-four, see Sugden, *Wesley's Standard Sermons* 1:13-16. Sugden points out: (1) when the "model deed" first appeared in 1763, the four volumes of sermons contained forty-four sermons; (2) the first four volumes of an eight-volume set of Wesley's sermons issued in 1787-1788 did not include the nine additional sermons that had been added to the 1771 edition; and (3) "[a]fter 1787 the form of the words in the Model Deed was altered to 'the first four volumes of sermons.'"

the Methodist doctrine and discipline, published in the four volumes of *Sermons*, and the *Notes on the New Testament*, together with the *Larger Minutes* of the Conference."[73] These instructions were formally accepted at the next conference of American Methodist preachers (May 1784) where those present bound themselves to "preach the doctrines taught in the four volumes of Sermons and the Notes on the New Testament."[74]

Even after the Christmas Conference of 1784, at which American Methodists, following a plan drawn up by Wesley himself, formed themselves into an independent body, Wesley's Standard Sermons and his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* continued to play an important role. The 1805 *Discipline's* section on the "Duty of Preachers" enjoins: "From four to five in the morning and from five to six in the evening, to meditate, pray, and read the Scriptures with notes [i.e., the explanatory notes], and the closely practical parts of what Mr. Wesley has published."[75] "The 'practical parts' referred to," writes Thomas C. Oden, "are largely found in the last half of the four volumes of *Sermons*." Wesley's *Sermons* and *Explanatory Notes* are still doctrinal standards of the United Methodist Church, due to the first Restrictive Rule of 1808, which stipulated that "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion or *establish any new standards* or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing standards of doctrine" (italics added).[76] However, it would be wrong to think that Wesley's standards continue to exercise today the kind of authority they had in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In early Methodism, anything that Wesley wrote had considerable weight. The fact that his *Standard Sermons* and *Explanatory Notes* had been elevated to the status of doctrinal standards for Methodism gave these works even more weight. Even though the *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* were not actually included in the doctrinal standards, their common title and purpose with the *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* would have endowed them, one would think, with a certain uplift of authority by association.

We are thus not surprised to see Wesley's views on Isaiah 2:16 and Matthew 5:22 trickling down into, or otherwise influencing, other early Methodist sources, just as they had with Adam Clarke's commentary. Another example is seen in the *Biblical and Theological Dictionary* by the prominent early Methodist writer Richard Watson (1781-1833). In his article on Tarshish, he de-

---

73. Frank Baker, *From Wesley to Asbury* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1976), 171n. Quoted in Thomas C. Oden, *Doctrinal Standards in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury, 1988), 31.

74. Norman Spellman, "The Formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church," in *A History of American Methodism*, 3 vols., ed. Emory Stevens Bucke (New York, Nashville: Abingdon, 1964), 1:225.

75. Quoted in Oden, *Doctrinal Standards*, 52.

76. Quoted in Oden, *Doctrinal Standards*, 17-18: See also appropriate pages of the United Methodist Church web-site: www.umc.org.

clared: "The LXX translate Tarshish sometimes by 'the sea.'"[77] Consider also Joseph Benson (d. 1821), who had been directed in 1808 to produce a multi-volume commentary on the Bible, published in about 1816. In Benson's treatment of Matthew 5:22, he says:

> It must be observed that the word εικη here rendered *without cause*, and which might properly be translated *rashly*, or *inconsiderately* is wanting in some old versions and manuscripts, and, it seems, ought not to be inserted, being. . . .[78]

After the word *being*, Benson reproduces verbatim a large portion of the comment from Wesley's *Explanatory Notes* on the passage.

It is also highly likely that copies of Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* and his *Standard Sermons* were distributed in the homes of Emma Smith's relatives. Emma herself might have had a copy of Wesley's *New Testament* and/or his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament*. In view of the fact that Nathaniel Lewis was a serious enough Methodist to want to own Clarke's commentary, it would hardly stretch the imagination to think that he might also own a work like the *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*, even though it was a three-volume set.[79]

When we examine the JST and the King James excerpts that have been transported into the Book of Mormon, it becomes quite clear that Joseph Smith gave no systematic attention to questions of textual criticism. In an earlier study, the author has described the situation this way:

> That Smith was not interested in correcting the [Bible] in light of the best available manuscript evidence of his day is demonstrated on a larger scale at those points where the JST adopts readings from the [King James Bible] which were even then widely recognized as inferior. This becomes immediately apparent, for example, in reference to the most familiar disputed texts: the longer ending of Mark 16:9-20, the woman taken in adultery (John 8:1-11), the replacement of "tree" with "book" (Rev 22:19), and—by far the most debated biblical verse in Smith's day—1 John 5:7, the so-called *comma Johanneum*. All of these were known to Smith's contemporaries.[80]

It seems much more likely that Joseph would have acquired information on a variant here and there, in conversation, or by reading or listening to preachers.

---

77. Richard Watson, *A Biblical and Theological Dictionary* (London: J. Mason, 1831), 962. The first American edition, "revised by American editors," was published in 1832 in New York by Nelson & Phillips (see same quotation on p. 903).

78. Joseph Benson, *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 2 vols. (New York: Carlton & Phillips, 1854-1856), 1:62-3.

79. Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*, 3 vols. (Bristol: William Pine, 1765).

80. Ronald V. Huggins, "Joseph Smith's 'Inspired Translation' of Romans 7," in *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretative Essays on Joseph Smith*, ed. Bryan Waterman (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 267. See related footnotes for contemporary sources.

From first-hand descriptions of the translation process, it is clear that things were not carried on in secret. We have already recalled how a discussion arose about the walls of Jerusalem in the context of translating 1 Nephi 4:4-5. To this we might add a number of other instances where someone else besides Joseph and his scribe were in the room during the process of translation. For example David Whitmer's daughter Elizabeth Ann, who would become Oliver Cowdery's wife in 1832, later recalled that she "often sat by and saw and heard them [Joseph and his scribe] translate and write for hours together."[81] Emma herself told Joseph Smith III in 1879 that "Oliver Cowdery and your father wrote in the room where I was at work."[82] Even Isaac Hale himself recalls being present while Joseph and Martin Harris were working:

> I went to the house where Joseph Smith Jr., lived, and where he and Harris were engaged in their translation of the Book. Each of them had a written piece of paper which they were comparing, and some of the words were. . . .I enquired whose words they were, and was informed by Joseph or Emma, (I rather think it was the former) that they were the words of Jesus Christ. I told them, that I considered the whole of it a delusion, and advised them to abandon it.[83]

Here Isaac Hale has described something that might have occurred regularly: Hale overhears something, which in turn leads him to inquire into it, and then to challenge Emma and Joseph about it. Even when members of Emma's family, who listened to the translation process, did not challenge Smith directly, they might well have talked about it afterward, perhaps even to Uncle Nathaniel Lewis. We can also imagine Emma dropping in on a relative and being asked something like: "Well, Em, what did the golden plates say today?" All such encounters might easily have resulted in discussions between Emma's relatives and Joseph, which might have included pulling Methodist books down from the shelf and consulting them. Then again, there is the possibility that Emma herself may have been familiar enough with the Methodist views to comment when Joseph said something that struck her as discrepant. We see something like this when Emma, like Whitmer, recalled Joseph's question about the walls of Jerusalem in 1 Nephi 4:4-5: "[O]ne time while translating where it speaks of the walls of Jerusalem, he [Joseph] stopped and said, 'Emma, did Jerusalem have walls surrounding it?'"[84] According to her memory it was she who informed him that it did.

---

81. Quoted in Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *Joseph Smith: 'The Gift of Seeing,'"* in Waterman, *Prophet Puzzle*, 90.

82. *Early Mormon Documents 1*, comp. and ed. Dan Vogel (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 542.

83. Isaac Hale's Affidavit in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 26

84. Quoted in Brent Lee Metcalfe, "The Priority of Mosiah," in Metcalfe, *New Approaches*, 401.

Conclusion

Writers like Terryl Givens, John A. Tvedtnes, and John W. Welsh have been too quick to deny that Joseph Smith could have known what anybody with religious curiosity might have known in his day. Smith's renderings of these verses do, however, raise the question of how he came to them. The best answer seems to be that he learned of them while interacting with Emma Smith's Methodist relatives. They are, in fact, just the kind of changes one might expect to find given such a context. The most immediate source that might be suggested for both readings is Wesley's *Explanatory Notes on the Old and New Testament*. It is also possible that Joseph learned of them indirectly from Luther's German Bible, through the mediation of the Whitmer family. Or perhaps he learned of them from one and had them reinforced by the other.

Water Will

Lewis Horne

1
In that first summer before a town was
(Only tents and wagonbeds), they tossed
Pails of water over the sun-scorched canvas.

Inside, in this desert spot, a breeze,
Should one happen there, might help contain
The heat with a bit of coolness smoothed across.

But where, I wonder, in that desert land
Was water come by? The nearly bone-dry river?
It seemed the bedrock oven of the world.

2
My grandfather from Bear Lake, Idaho,
Still shivering with the memory of bears
And ice, with the era's version of a back hoe,

Teen-aged, joined the crews to dig canals
And ditches, following the primitive marks
Of the Ho-ho-kam, almost invisible.

Like these mythic folk, these men later
Spread across a tableland asweat
With farms, a trickle, flow, then stream of water.

3

Our farm where we moved four miles from town
(To Lehi, where those pioneers first came)
Had lemon, orange, and grapefruit trees full grown,
A pasture down below and about the house
A lawn. When the time to irrigate came round—
A night-and-daytime shoveling-chore it was—

We flooded with water. Water everywhere.
With uncanny clarity, the clouds and sky
Looked up from the flowing lawn through brilliant air.

4

For the house, we had a pump and covered well.
From what fields below the earth we drew
The water, gushing from the tap in a full

Pure spring, I have no map or measure.
Only a source for gratitude for
What comes out of a darkness I can't feature.

Perhaps we're on the edge of some great ripple
That, come so far from the bounty of its center,
Still bears the force and blessing of that will.

The Lone and Dreary World

Jack Harrell

> *But Adam and Eve wept for having come out of the garden, their first abode. . . .And Adam said to Eve, "Look at thine eyes, and at mine, which afore beheld angels in heaven. . . .But now we do not see as we did: our eyes have become flesh.*
>
> *—The First Book of Adam and Eve*

HALFWAY UP THE MOUNTAIN Adam planted his legs against the slant of the hill. He took a moment to catch his breath. He didn't have the strength he'd had in the Garden of Eden. He didn't have the spirit, either. He took up a handful of leaves from the blanket of dead foliage under his feet. He made a fist and the leaves crackled into fragments. The trees in the valley were bare. The fruits were gone. The flowers had withered. Each night had grown colder than the night before.

He'd left the camp early that morning, at first daylight, without rekindling the fire. Eve lay asleep when he left, beautiful and serene. He didn't want to speak to her. He set out along the edge of a stream, walking toward the foothills. Lucifer's hosts were swirling in his head like a cloud of flies. "Go!" the voices said. "Fly!" Adam did not hold his ears and rebuke them. He walked toward the mountain. There was a ledge halfway up. "Fly," the voices said, and Adam followed them. From the ledge he would be able to see the world as God did—from above, from a distance.

He followed the course of the stream, up the mountain, to the ledge, where the water gurgled from a rock, pouring out like soft laughter from the earth. The sky above grew black as a great flock of birds flew overhead, flying south, fleeing the cold. It was the third flock he had seen in as many days.

"Go," the voices said. "Fly." Adam knelt at the fountain of water. He put his hand down in the opening, reaching in to his elbow. The water splashed around his arm, cool and quick. The cavity was barely bigger than his fist, but beyond its mouth, the opening was deep and wide. When the voices cried, "Watch out!" Adam jerked his arm from the fountain. He jumped to his feet and spun around, expecting to see Lucifer himself, expecting to hear the laughter of the hosts. But no one was there. He was alone. His heart pounded, and he was afraid.

In the Garden there had been no fear. In the Garden, all the days were the

same. Everything had been beautiful and safe. He and Eve had wandered for days at a time, among flowers and gentle animals and colorful trees so high they could see nothing but blue sky above. "It's beautiful," he would say to Eve, and she would answer, "It is." There was nothing more to say.

After they were cast out, Adam didn't know if the world was a dream or if the Garden had been a dream. He and Eve were wearing clothes. They were walking. He was ashamed. They walked in shame, as though they had been born walking, born out of the fallen earth. They had walked all day and all night, clinging to each other, too frightened to speak. They became tired, but they didn't know what tiredness was. They walked all day, walked even when it was dark, until they tripped on a stone and fell together in the darkness.

They'd clung to each other there in the cool dust, groping in the darkness, weeping. Eve had wept with her mouth on Adam's neck. Her tears had fallen on his shoulder. He put his mouth to hers. He put his hands inside her clothes. He didn't know what he was doing. She had clung to him tightly. She held him close, and for a moment he could hardly breathe.

When they awoke in the morning, there was no Garden behind them. The lush growth had disappeared. The top of the sky stretched high above them, chalky and immense. The horizon lay far in the distance. Then the voices, the tongues of Lucifer's hosts, had come like great winds. "What have you done?" they asked. "Why are you alone?" "Where will you go?" The voices had followed them for days, and after a while, Eve said she could shut them out. She learned how to do it, said she. But Adam hadn't learned, at least not completely. He heard them all the time. A few days later, the angel came and told them to make the sacrifice, but the angel didn't come back. God didn't come back either. Adam and Eve were alone, except for the voices.

"Go to the ledge," the voices had told him that morning. "Fly." So Adam came to the ledge.

The ledge overlooked the valley where Adam and Eve had built a thatched shelter. Beyond the valley was a staggering panorama of mountains, stretching on into the endless horizon. The valley had been green when they first came to it. There had been flowers among the thorns. There had been blossoms. For days they had been able to gather fruits, harvest stalks, and dig up roots. There had been enough to eat. But then the fruits rotted. The flowers withered.

Now Adam looked out from the ledge. The entire valley was brown with death, red with wounds, yellow with weakness. And the sky, the massive sky that bent itself over them like wings, was gray and misty, hiding them from the sun.

Adam stood at the ledge. "Fly," the voices said.

He knew he couldn't fly. The voices were lying to him, trying to deceive him. He took a stone and hurled it, watching it disappear into the vacant space below. A vision came to him, as vivid as a dream. He could see himself spread-eagled in the air, falling untouched and fearless. It was a beautiful feeling, just like the connectedness, the day-less-ness, he had felt in the Garden, the feeling of being joined to everything, whole and holy.

Sometimes at night, when the insects were so thick that he and Eve had to tie themselves into animal skins to sleep, Adam imagined the whole world disappearing, with nothing left but him and Eve, the two of them sewn up into all that remained, rapt in each other, the only goodness they had left from the Garden. Then the morning would come. He would wake to its cold, bright daylight, the songs of the birds reminding him that the world wasn't whole, reminding him that there was a piece for him, a piece for Eve, a separate piece for every creature.

He stood there on the ledge, like a man in a dream. He imagined the wind lifting him, calmly, until he was floating, until he was like a feather.

"Fly," Adam whispered.

"Adam? What are you doing?"

He turned. Eve stood behind him, by the fountain. She was steadying herself on the rock wall. She was breathing heavily and holding her belly. Neither of them knew when the baby would come.

Adam came back to himself. He came toward her, toward safer ground.

Her face was flushed. She was trying to catch her breath.

"Why did you follow me?" he asked.

"I woke up and you were gone."

"I didn't want to wake you."

"What are you doing?" she said. "You could have fallen. Is it the voices? I told you to shut them out. It's not that hard."

"I wanted to come up here so I could see the world the way God sees it."

"We're not in Eden anymore," Eve said. "We have to live with that."

"Eve, everything is dying—because of us, because of our choice. We're going to die. He warned us, and now it's happening."

"What about the sacrifice?" Eve said. "Why would the angel tell us to make the sacrifice if we're going to die?"

"I take that lamb in my arms, Eve, and I slit its throat. We burn the fat on the altar, and we eat the meat, and you know what I think about? I think about death. Death is going to eat us up, just like we eat the sacrifice. Every day we're farther from heaven. The animals are hiding. The birds are flying away. We don't have anything to eat." He came to her. He touched her belly. "You've seen the animals after they're born. If the mother doesn't eat, if she doesn't stay strong and have good milk, the babies die, too."

"We have to pass through this," Eve said.

"Our baby will never know the Garden."

"Why would Father put us here to die?" Eve asked. She rested her hand on the sphere of her belly. "Our choice has to have good in it. Why can't you believe that?"

"Have you forgotten?" Adam asked her. "The animals sang to us. God spoke to us. Now, I make the sacrifices. I say the prayers. But He doesn't come. He's never coming."

"What can we do?" Eve whispered. "We made our choice."

She was near him now, leaning into his chest. He kissed her hair. When they'd had plenty to eat and the nights were warm, when he first started making the sacrifices, her touch had been enough to make him forget. When he believed God was coming, that God was only a little late, she was the only thing out of Eden that he needed. But now, he put his arms around her, and he still felt alone because of the choice they had made together.

* * *

It was colder that evening. Adam put more limbs and brush on the roof. He built a bigger fire. They cooked a stew of vegetables, and when it was dark, they lay in their blankets of skins. The cold had driven away the insects.

Long after Eve was asleep, Adam lay awake. The voices came, filling his head with thoughts. He stepped out into the night. He looked up at the moon resting low in the sky, full and yellow. He began walking, following the voices. When he got to the ledge, Lucifer was waiting, sitting on the edge of the precipice. He was beautiful, bodiless, naked and translucent.

Adam sat beside him on the cliff.

"I've been thinking about you," Lucifer said. "What went through your mind this morning as you gazed down from this ledge?"

Adam looked out into the darkness. "A feeling," he answered.

"What did the feeling say?"

"You mean, what did the voices say?"

"I don't care about the voices," Lucifer said. "It's you I want to know about."

"Sitting here this morning," Adam said, "I felt like jumping."

Lucifer didn't speak.

"I saw an elk fall from a height like this," Adam said. "It killed him."

"Do you want to die?"

Adam looked at Lucifer. "I want to return to my Father."

"You know how Father is," Lucifer said. "You can't do it outright. It has to be sacred, like the sacrifice, or he won't accept it."

"I know what the sacrifice means," Adam said. "It means we're dying."

"You're fallen," Lucifer said. "Just like me. That's all. You're not dying."

Adam returned his gaze to the darkness. "God keeps his promises," he said.

"Listen to me. I know your future. It's happened before, on other worlds. You're not going to die. Your children will grow up, as numberless as the stars, and they'll never know the God you knew in Eden. They'll create their own gods, patterned after the animals and the planets and a world of other things you can't even imagine yet. They'll worship their bodies. They'll thirst for blood. They'll make kings out of murderers. They'll thrive and fight and wallow in sin. And they'll break your heart. Life stretches before you, longer than the sky, deeper than the sea."

"I don't believe you," Adam said. "You're a liar."

"I'm telling the truth."

"I don't know what to do," Adam said.

"Do what you felt this morning," Lucifer said. "Jump. Kill yourself. Punish God for punishing you."

Adam turned to Lucifer. "Why does it matter to you?" he asked.

Lucifer fleshless expression turned grave. "I want your body," he said. "I want to take it and use it, and when I'm finished, I want to tear it to shreds. I hate everything that's physical, everything that reminds me of Him."

"What about Eve?" Adam asked. "If I kill myself, what will happen to her?"

"Give me your body," Lucifer said, "and I'll take care of Eve."

Adam returned his gaze to the darkness. "I don't believe you. I don't trust you."

"You're wise," Lucifer said. "'Never trust anyone,' that's what I say. But the earth isn't dying. Winter's coming, that's all. It's going to get very cold, but you won't die. You have a long life ahead, a long and sad life, unless you do what I say. I'll be with you here forever, singing songs of despair. When your children are drowning in lust, when you're old and buried alive in sin, I'll come to you, and I'll remind you that I predicted it all."

"What happens if I kill myself?" Adam asked. "Is that the end?"

"No! It's only the beginning. Jump from here, and you'll land in the arms of your Father. You can see him again, right now. Death is the doorway. Jump right now, and you can beg your Father on your hands and knees to never leave you again."

Adam closed his eyes. He wanted to be with his Father. The thought nearly broke his heart.

"You can be with Him," Lucifer said, "or you can stay here, with a liar like me." His voice was suddenly distant and forlorn. "It's your choice," he said. "It's always been your choice."

Adam opened his eyes. He turned to look at the devil, to see the liar. He was ready to believe anything. But Lucifer was gone, and Adam was alone.

An icy wind blew.

The night was empty.

There were no voices.

Adam looked up at the moon. It hung above him like a hole in the veil between earth and heaven. He wanted to believe Lucifer. He wanted to believe that his God was only one leap away.

In the moonlit valley below lay the silver ribbon of a river, the silhouette of the mountains in the distance. Above the mountains was a dome of distant, icy stars. Adam stared into the blackness of the valley, longing to see the thatched shelter where Eve lay asleep. There was so much blackness, so much land below, so much emptiness above. The cold wind made him numb.

He tried to remember the Garden. In all the days since the Garden, he had never felt so alone. He felt it in his chest like a stone on his heart. He tried to remember God's face, but all he could remember was the whiteness, the terrible

glory of His presence when God had cast them out. Adam whispered into the night. "Maybe there was no Garden," he said. He waited a long time, letting the sound of his words drift into the darkened sky. "Maybe there was no God," he said, and his words sounded hollow in his own ears.

He stood. He toed the edge of the cliff. He wasn't afraid.

He wanted to hear the voices again. He didn't want to be alone. He wanted to fly. He lifted his arms like wings. He stood with his feet together, his arms outstretched. He closed his eyes and tilted his head toward the sky. He remembered the elk that had fallen from the cliff. He remembered the passion in Eve's kisses. He remembered the feeling of warm blood on his hands as he sacrificed the lamb, and the sound of the lamb's pathetic cries. He stood there, waiting to be lifted into the air, waiting to be taken into the arms of God. But nothing happened. The wind blew icy cold, and he was still alone.

He believed God's word. God had said he would surely die. But no power lifted his feet from the earth. There was no magic to unburden him of his choice.

As Adam turned to walk down the mountain, to go back to Eve, to face the fate God planned for him, the voices rose once more, like howling winds. They told him to fly, and he shut them out. They told him he was alone, and he shut them out. They told him he would live a long life of emptiness, apart from his God, and he shut them out. He walked down the mountain, through cold darkness, listening only to the sound of his own breathing. And when he reached the valley, he heard soft rhythms rising from the earth, still and strong, as the earth waited each moment on the will of God.

Remuneration

Adam C. Bradford

The price is higher than he expects-
he smiles, wondering if it
has something to do with the new
black fishnets
reaching up her thighs.
She climbs in next to him,
the slit in her skirt opening
dangerously.
Five minutes later
his hand is laced
in her hair. Their bodies lift,
mouths touch.
Deep, an inebriating drop of
ecstasy releases into his blood.
—a sliver of warm pain pulsing through him—

This liquored drop seeping through veins transmutes. . .

and appears as a bead, sliding from the lip of
That Midnight Sufferer
to splash on the garden ground in drops
of crimsoned rain.

Mormonism, Death, Salvation, and Exaltation

The Mormon Culture of Salvation: Force, Grace, and Glory, by Douglas J. Davies (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2000), 302 pp.

Reviewed by Marie Cornwall, Professor of Sociology, Brigham Young University.

DOUGLAS DAVIES "GETS" Mormonism, as demonstrated by his latest book. This book is not his first. *Mormon Spirituality: Latter-day Saints in Wales and Zion* was published in 1987 and is also a must for scholars interested in understanding Mormonism. Davies approaches Mormonism from a unique point of view, one that derives from his interest in death (see his *Death, Ritual and Belief*, published in 1997). *The Mormon Culture of Salvation*, he tells us, grew out of his interest and previous research on death. But this new book is about much more than death. The reader is continually drawn away on other adventures that reveal nuances of the Mormon experience that are not typically addressed in religious scholarship. For example, at one point Davies leads the reader into analysis of embodiment; exploring embodiment in relation to the temple, as well as in domestic (home and family) and community (ward) living. Later, in an attempt to describe the operation of power, charisma, and authority within the modern bureaucracy, he offers up various phrases as carriers of the root paradigm of Mormon authority: "the mantle," "the keys," "the brethren," "the calling," and "the Church," "the Prophet," "the Temple."

Drawing from the embodiment literature of the social sciences, Davies argues that the body is central in the human process of self-understanding and that religion offers particular rituals, meanings, and behaviors to its adherents as markers of commitment, belonging, and authority. Borrowing from Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (a generative principle that underlies and expresses cultural practice), Davies focuses on four gestures: the temple garment, testimony giving, laughter, and voting (sustaining of officers in the church). These four, he argues represent a range of behaviors, "almost as a test of whether it is plausible to suggest that an underlying Mormon principle of life and action can be discerned" (p. 119).

Davies recognizes that one cannot fully capture the essence of Mormonism without articulating the significance of the temple and temple ritual. He knows he is dealing with sacred rituals and practices and remains objective and respectful in the

process. He understands that in the symbolic sense the chapel is this-worldly and "for time." But the temple "mediates between time and eternity, between the pre-existence, earthly experience and the post-mortem realm of the afterlife" (pp. 73-74). For this reason, Davies fills a significant gap in writings about the Mormon experience. For most scholars, the temple and its rituals are out of range, but Davies has been able to breach the walls of sacred space and to articulate within a social scientific framework why temples are central to the Mormon experience.

Many may argue with Davies's hypothesis that the uniqueness of Mormon doctrine concerning death derives from Joseph Smith's preoccupation with the death of his brother Alvin. Concern with the dead, he argues, led to the development of a theology that distinguished between salvation and exaltation, the creation of temple rituals that offered Latter-day Saints the opportunity to do temple work on behalf of their deceased ancestors (including baptism for the dead), and beliefs that deceased Latter-day Saints were engaged in missionary activity in the spirit world. The significance of all this is that Mormonism affords a sense of transcendence over death "at a time when many Protestant, and even some Catholic, views of the afterlife are in decline. . ."(p. 103).

In the final chapters of the book, Davies addresses whether or not Mormonism has the potential to achieve the status of world religion. The question derives from Rodney Stark's prediction that Latter-day Saint membership may reach upwards of 265 million by the year 2080. But Davies cautions that size of membership alone is insufficient for achieving world religion status. Mormonism may achieve world religion status to the extent that it possesses the key attribute shared by other religious movements: "a belief and ritual of death-conquest" (p. 5). His final chapter examines the footholds and footfalls inherent within Mormonism's doctrines and practices that may or may not bring about world religion status.

This book is a must for anyone engaged in scholarship that places Mormonism on the landscape of religious studies. However, this is not a book without problems. The book is not a linear treatment—a logical progression from one point to another. Instead, it weaves a complex web, and sometimes that web takes the reader far afield. Davies is eclectic, using the writings of Max Weber, Marcel Mauss, Clifford Geertz, and Bourdieu. But if the reader doesn't know who these theorists are and why their judgments are important, the points Davies wants to make may be lost. This is not a book for the uninformed: Davies writes to an audience that is well versed in the scholarship of comparative religion and religious studies.

The everyday life of Mormonism is slighted, as is the lived experience of women. Given the fact that he claims a phenomenological approach, the lack of attention to the lived experience of Mormonism is odd. He relies heavily on historical accounts and readily admits his extensive use of the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* published by the church in 1992. Perhaps he should spend a few Sundays in a

"real" ward with crying babies and nursing mothers, and he needs one or two visits to the Primary. Maybe then he would realize that the uniqueness of Mormonism's culture of salvation is not just how it deals with death. Premortal existence and birth are as essential to understanding Mormon salvation and exaltation as is death. Because he focuses only on death, he captures only half the story. In the end, however, this book is innovative and makes an important contribution to scholarship on Mormonism.

Mormon Polygamy and the American Constitution

The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America, by Sarah Barringer Gordon (Illinois Press, 2002), 337 pp.[1]

Reviewed by Kathleen Flake, Assistant Professor of American Religious History, Vanderbilt University.

The Mormon Question is a good book: smart, amusing and yet sensitive to pathos, full of new insights about an old subject—the clash of Mormon polygamy and American law. Sarah Barringer Gordon has taken the familiar one-sided story of a particular church's capitulation to the nation and shown the story's other side: the effect of the antipolygamy campaign on the nation—on all its churches and even its constitutional order. *The Mormon Question* portrays a period of watershed change in the constitutional world of American religion when the antebellum ordering of law and religion was abandoned for the order we know and take for granted today, a world of limited local sovereignty and federally regulated religious conduct. In short, Gordon has used the nineteenth century "Mormon Question" to demonstrate the reciprocal influences of law and religion, doing so in a manner that helps us understand both better. In the process, she fulfills the book's introductory promise to discuss "religion, sexuality, slavery, moral relativism, freedom, consent, democracy, women's rights. . .[as well as] the relationship of political legitimacy to private strictures of governance and state control over marriage, as well as the moral meaning of religious liberty and separation of church and state" (p. 12).

The Latter-day Saints' half century of civil disobedience and their eventual domination by the federal government is central to the accepted narrative of Mormon history. Typically the story is told in terms of Protestant reform winners and Latter-day Saint losers, and, certainly, the juggernaut of successively more punitive anti-polygamy statutes between 1862 and 1887 seems to justify this conclusion. The effect of these statutory provisions on the Mormons has been analyzed by many historians. Gordon's singular contribution is to consider the effect of these coercive legal measures on the nation at large and religious liberty in general. Not

1. Portions of this review were given at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, 2002.

"real" ward with crying babies and nursing mothers, and he needs one or two visits to the Primary. Maybe then he would realize that the uniqueness of Mormonism's culture of salvation is not just how it deals with death. Premortal existence and birth are as essential to understanding Mormon salvation and exaltation as is death. Because he focuses only on death, he captures only half the story. In the end, however, this book is innovative and makes an important contribution to scholarship on Mormonism.

Mormon Polygamy and the American Constitution

The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America, by Sarah Barringer Gordon (Illinois Press, 2002), 337 pp.[1]

Reviewed by Kathleen Flake, Assistant Professor of American Religious History, Vanderbilt University.

The Mormon Question is a good book: smart, amusing and yet sensitive to pathos, full of new insights about an old subject—the clash of Mormon polygamy and American law. Sarah Barringer Gordon has taken the familiar one-sided story of a particular church's capitulation to the nation and shown the story's other side: the effect of the antipolygamy campaign on the nation—on all its churches and even its constitutional order. *The Mormon Question* portrays a period of watershed change in the constitutional world of American religion when the antebellum ordering of law and religion was abandoned for the order we know and take for granted today, a world of limited local sovereignty and federally regulated religious conduct. In short, Gordon has used the nineteenth century "Mormon Question" to demonstrate the reciprocal influences of law and religion, doing so in a manner that helps us understand both better. In the process, she fulfills the book's introductory promise to discuss "religion, sexuality, slavery, moral relativism, freedom, consent, democracy, women's rights. . .[as well as] the relationship of political legitimacy to private strictures of governance and state control over marriage, as well as the moral meaning of religious liberty and separation of church and state" (p. 12).

The Latter-day Saints' half century of civil disobedience and their eventual domination by the federal government is central to the accepted narrative of Mormon history. Typically the story is told in terms of Protestant reform winners and Latter-day Saint losers, and, certainly, the juggernaut of successively more punitive anti-polygamy statutes between 1862 and 1887 seems to justify this conclusion. The effect of these statutory provisions on the Mormons has been analyzed by many historians. Gordon's singular contribution is to consider the effect of these coercive legal measures on the nation at large and religious liberty in general. Not

1. Portions of this review were given at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, 2002.

just the Mormons, but their interlocutors as well, were forever changed by the constitutional conflict denominated "the Mormon Question."

Gordon shows that the reluctance with which Americans disestablished religion—itself too seldom acknowledged in the literature—did not end with Massachusetts's disestablishment in the 1830s. Rather, religious establishment of both types—constitutional and common law—continued throughout the nineteenth century. She makes good use of state blasphemy cases to illustrate antebellum establishment of "general Christianity" to keep religious liberty from becoming moral license. Later in the century, the federal courts followed suit in incorporating "general Christianity" into the nation's constitutional order. Gordon exploits these and other legal resources to show the variety of restrictions placed upon religious difference before and after the Civil War. More importantly for students of religion, however, she makes the point that establishment of "general" or Protestant Christianity through court-applied common law enabled the faithful to support religious disestablishment on the state level. If governments were willing to enforce the substance of Christian belief, then churches did not need state power to do likewise. Thus, believing their theistic beliefs and moral values secured by the courts, the majority of Americans supported local disestablishment of their churches through state legislative action. Ms. Gordon's analysis is fundamental to an understanding how the "nation with the soul of a church" abandoned church rule—state by state.

Thus, *The Mormon Question* counters the common assumption that state disestablishment of religion was due to American love of liberty. Gordon argues instead that, in their zeal to vanquish polygamy in the mid-nineteenth century, the states ceded to the federal government their constitutional autonomy over religion. They invited federal definition of and control over permissible religious activity, which heretofore had been a local matter. This was necessary because, as Ms. Gordon shows, the Latter-day Saints framed their defense of religiously based "plural marriage" on constitutional grounds. Before Utahans could be coerced out of their marriage practices, the constitutional system that left both religion and marriage subject only to local majorities had to be changed. And changed it was. Again, comfortable that their beliefs were common to the law, "general" Christians agreed to give up their local control over the law. As Gordon puts it: "the uniform conclusion for all the states that polygamy was a crime provided antipolygamists with the mandate for constructing and then enforcing a new kind of federal control. . . [that] eviscerated the tradition of localism" (p. 225). Thus, the effect of the anti-polygamy movement's use of federal power to "eviscerate" Utah's local sovereignty was not, in the end, limited to Utah. Rather, prior to any explicit interpretation requiring first amendment disestablishment by the states, the religiously inspired antipolygamy movement abandoned the right of religion to local political power and enlisted federal power to regulate matters of religious conscience and practice.

While I agree with Gordon that

Protestantism's embrace of federal authority to control one religion has proved to be a slippery slope for all American religions, it seems to me that the slide began much earlier than the antipolygamy campaign. Do not its American roots, as opposed to Reformation and Enlightenment roots, lie in the first amendment itself, which subordinated church to state, making the duty of citizens to the state superior to the believer's to the church? Only with the shift in the pre-Civil War balance of state and federal authority does this become obvious through the post-Civil War anti-polygamy campaign. I should say, of course, that this is obvious only in retrospect. *The Mormon Question* details the naiveté of the Protestant reformers who facilitated a constitutional order which, it seems to me, leaves not merely the marginalized but also, and more likely, the mainstream descendants of nineteenth-century evangelicalism feeling oppressed by federal regulation of their religious activities and beliefs, such as public prayer and creation science. Meanwhile, the Mormons remain an oligarchy, if not a "Kingdom," in the West, with considerable local autonomy over non-religious matters and the ability to use federal authority over religious matters to stymie "general Christianity," as one of their members recently did in a complaint to the Supreme Court over school prayer.[2] As mentioned, the ironies in and suggested by this book are legion.

Scholars of American religion assume religious disestablishment exacted no cost except to minority traditions or so-called "New Religious Movements." But good books inspire good questions, and Gordon's is no exception. *The Mormon Question* invites us to consider what is "free" about American religion: who is free, and when? And, finally, to ask a question we are scarcely able to conceive: what was the cost to religion of religious disestablishment?

A Landmark in Mormon Thought

Blake T. Ostler, *Exploring Mormon Thought, Volume I: The Attributes of God.* (Salt Lake City: Gregg Kofford Books, 2002), 485 pp.

Reviewed by James McLachlan, Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Western Carolina University.

It is difficult to make comparisons between previous works in LDS philosophy and theology and Blake Ostler's *Exploring Mormon Thought: The Attributes of God.* This is the first volume in a projected trilogy that will include a second volume on the problems of theism and a third that will leave the mode of analytic philosophy and take a more phenomenological approach to Mormon thought. One could easily say that this is the most important book in Mormon philosophy of religion since Sterling McMurrrin's *Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*, or one could say that it is the most speculative Mormon theol-

2. See Santa Fe Independent School District v. Doe, 530 U.S. 290 (2000).

Protestantism's embrace of federal authority to control one religion has proved to be a slippery slope for all American religions, it seems to me that the slide began much earlier than the antipolygamy campaign. Do not its American roots, as opposed to Reformation and Enlightenment roots, lie in the first amendment itself, which subordinated church to state, making the duty of citizens to the state superior to the believer's to the church? Only with the shift in the pre-Civil War balance of state and federal authority does this become obvious through the post-Civil War anti-polygamy campaign. I should say, of course, that this is obvious only in retrospect. *The Mormon Question* details the naiveté of the Protestant reformers who facilitated a constitutional order which, it seems to me, leaves not merely the marginalized but also, and more likely, the mainstream descendants of nineteenth-century evangelicalism feeling oppressed by federal regulation of their religious activities and beliefs, such as public prayer and creation science. Meanwhile, the Mormons remain an oligarchy, if not a "Kingdom," in the West, with considerable local autonomy over non-religious matters and the ability to use federal authority over religious matters to stymie "general Christianity," as one of their members recently did in a complaint to the Supreme Court over school prayer.[2] As mentioned, the ironies in and suggested by this book are legion.

Scholars of American religion assume religious disestablishment exacted no cost except to minority traditions or so-called "New Religious Movements." But good books inspire good questions, and Gordon's is no exception. *The Mormon Question* invites us to consider what is "free" about American religion: who is free, and when? And, finally, to ask a question we are scarcely able to conceive: what was the cost to religion of religious disestablishment?

A Landmark in Mormon Thought

Blake T. Ostler, *Exploring Mormon Thought, Volume I: The Attributes of God.* (Salt Lake City: Gregg Kofford Books, 2002), 485 pp.

Reviewed by James McLachlan, Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Western Carolina University.

It is difficult to make comparisons between previous works in LDS philosophy and theology and Blake Ostler's *Exploring Mormon Thought: The Attributes of God.* This is the first volume in a projected trilogy that will include a second volume on the problems of theism and a third that will leave the mode of analytic philosophy and take a more phenomenological approach to Mormon thought. One could easily say that this is the most important book in Mormon philosophy of religion since Sterling McMurrrin's *Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*, or one could say that it is the most speculative Mormon theol-

2. See Santa Fe Independent School District v. Doe, 530 U.S. 290 (2000).

ogy since Orson Pratt. On the other hand, one might also say that despite its boldness, it takes Mormon theology back toward a reconciliation with ideas of the trinity that are more traditionally Christian and that it doesn't ever mention that most radical of Mormon ideas, a female deity. One thing is clear: there really has never before been anything like this book in Mormon circles. One might argue, though, that this is primarily a book for Christian philosophers of an analytic persuasion. In the preface, Ostler admits that the book began as notes for his own use; only later did he decide to attempt to clarify "the Mormon concept of God for responsible theologians, philosophers, and professionals outside the Mormon religion"(p. xi).

It is somewhat of a miracle that this book exists. Ostler is not a professional academic, but a Salt Lake City attorney who studies and writes philosophy at night. Like the diplomat/philosopher Gottfried Leibniz, the lens grinder/philosopher Baruch Spinoza, and the personal secretary/philosopher David Hume, Ostler is quite good at his vocation. That Greg Kofford Books would publish *Exploring Mormon Thought* as one of its first ventures is a brave and daring gamble.

The book aims at two audiences: thoughtful Mormons and philosphers of religion. The Mormon audience would seem obvious, but much of the volume is highly technical and there are few Mormon analytic philosophers; the average reader will get bogged down in many of the arguments that assume familiarity with the work of analytic philosophers of religion in the Anglo-American tradition. Part of the book's major import is that it serves as an LDS response to some of the recent overtures by such evangelical critics of Mormonism as Carl Mosser, Stephen Parrish, and Francis Beckwith. Beckwith and Mosser's anthology *The New Mormon Challenge*[1] includes an array of quite competent Anglo-American evangelical philosophers of religion and is an improvement on earlier work, but it is hardly irenic in character. *Exploring Mormon Thought* goes along way toward filling this gap.

I hope that Ostler's book finds a wide audience within the church as well: anyone who thinks seriously about the meaning of LDS doctrine should read it. It is a book that will take some time to unpack and some time for its influence to be felt. My own training is far from analytic philosophy of religion, but I will return again and again to this book when I want to explain or think about Mormon views on certain key ideas on freedom, divine knowledge and foreknowledge, divine power, divine possibility or passivity (capacity to be changed in one's inmost being by relation to another), and temporality. I have already read much of this book twice: a first time, when I tried to get through it quickly to write this review, then a second time while writing the review. Again and again I found that

1. Francis J. Beckwith, Carl Mosser, and Paul Owen, eds., *The New Mormon Challenge: Responding to the Latest Defenses of a Fast-Growing Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002).

my initial objections to Ostler's explanations of LDS doctrine were answered in depth elsewhere in the text.

This rich book far exceeds anything that I can say in a short review. While parts of it are quite difficult, several chapters and sections in chapters will reward the educated reader with a systematic attempt to provide a reasoned account of LDS theism. The first three chapters—"The Meaning of God in Mormon Thought," "The Apostasy and Concepts of Perfection," and "The Restoration and Systematic Theologies"—are all quite accessible and provide an overview of what Ostler will be doing in the book. Chapter two contrasts process philosophy's dynamic conception of God's perfection with the absolutist notions of traditional theism. Like the process philosophers Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne, Ostler sees traditional theism, with its impassible, changeless God, as a Greek invasion of the more personal Hebraic ideas of the divine being. I found chapter three's summaries of the thought of Joseph Smith, Parley and Orson Pratt, John A.Widstoe, and B. H. Roberts especially helpful. Ostler even discusses Bruce R. McConkie's neo-absolutist Mormonism and includes a nice summary comparison of what he calls a Dynamic Perfection conception of God (Widstoe/Roberts) and a Static Perfection conception (Pratt/McConkie) (pp. 99-100). From these three chapters, the concluding two sections of chapter thirteen, and all of chapter fourteen, "A Mormon Christology," which is a very original interpretation of the meaning of Christ in LDS theology, a reader will get a nice idea of Mormon theism and Christology. If a significant number of people were to read at least this much, Gospel Doctrine class discussions and late night Mormon debates about the meaning of the apostasy, God, the atonement, freedom, and divine foreknowledge would move to a new level.

In the next chapters Ostler discusses, critiques, and offers Mormon alternatives to various interpretations of the traditional attributes of God. The richness of the book is found in these chapters, but this is also where the difficulty increases. I would advise the reader to persevere, even if he or she skims through the fine logical distinctions, because each chapter has its own particular delights. Chapter four, "Maximal Divine Power," discusses such topics as the Book of Mormon contention that if God's mercy were to rob justice it would be a form of coercion and "God would cease to be God." Ostler appeals to Roberts' generic idea of God from *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity*, saying that if "God" is seen as a title, it is at least logically possible that an individual God could cease to be God though there would always be someone who would be God (p. 109). He continues: "We have faith in the Father's goodness not because it is logically impossible for him to do anything wrong, but because of the excellence and fullness of his character" (p. 110). In other words, there is not a metaphysical guarantee of God's goodness, but God has chosen and continues to choose righteousness and noncoercion. Ostler even has a very good discussion of miracles in the context of his mainly non-coercive idea of God's power—an important problem for

Mormons to consider (pp. 129-133).

Chapter five, "Models of Divine Knowledge," discusses providence and God's foreknowledge. Like the process theologians, Ostler takes the position that God is omniscient in so far as God has perfect knowledge of past and present. But the future simply "is not." God may know all possibilities but not which possibilities will be actualized (pp. 117, 152-153). To think differently is to reduce time to space. The future is open. This discussion continues in chapter six, "The Incompatibility of Free Will and Infallible Foreknowledge," where Ostler discusses the consequences of this concept of foreknowledge for both human and divine freedom. For example, "Simple foreknowledge thus has the strange consequence of binding God to a determinate future before He can providentially get involved. It follows immediately that God cannot plan or deliberate about the future-or even his own future acts"(p. 147). Ostler notes that based on D&C 130: 6-7, many Mormons interpret God's knowledge as an eternal present as if time were space and God sees the whole as you or I would look at a painting. But this is inconsistent with verses 4-5, which talk about God's time. Time is creative: it is new at each moment. Ostler proposes that it makes more sense to say that God's time can be measured from God's perspective than that he exists in an eternal now (p. 151).

He continues the critique of these more traditional models of divine omniscience in chapter seven, "Divine Foreknowledge and the Mormon Concept of Free Agency." Here he contrasts the Mormon concept of free agency, which he sees as libertarian, with traditional theistic notions that free will is compatible with either causal or divine determinism. For example, Augustine defines free will in the following way: "We do by our free will whatsoever we know and feel to be done by us only because we will it." This position asserts that our act is free insofar as it is in line with our desire or, as Jonathan Edwards says, that freedom is "the power, or advantage that anyone has, to do as he pleases. Or in other words, his being free from hindrance or impediment in the way of doing, or condoning in any respect as he wills" (p. 202). Like all good libertarians, Ostler sees this as a very weak notion of free will in which one does not choose one's desires; they were either formed ex nihilo by God or in the causal chain that stretches back to the big bang. Such a notion denies our most concrete experiences of choice and, if we are theists, makes God ultimately responsible not only for our sins but for all the evil in the universe. Readers interested in the Mormon concept of agency should read this chapter closely.

Chapters eight, nine, and ten—"Denying Entailment," "Denying That God's Past Knowledge is Fixed," and "God's Contingent Knowledge"—are highly technical, very interesting discussions of, among other things, omniscience and time. Ostler argues that contingent omniscience is consistent with scripture (pp. 299-310). Readers interested in philosophical and theological interpretations of recent discussions in physics and philosophy will find chapters ten and eleven ("Time, Timelessness and Omnitemporality")

pertinent. Ostler thinks "it is precisely the modern understanding of space-time which demonstrates the uniqueness of the Mormon understanding of God's relation to space-time and the temporal world"(p. 331). God is omni-temporal, not limited by our own temporal dimensions, not in our measured time. His being includes within it all temporal frames (p. 360).

Chapter twelve, "Immutability and Impassibility," discusses God's relation to fellow beings. Ostler gives a very nice definition of impassibilty and discusses the shortcoming of traditional theism's view that God's perfection means stony impassivity. A personal relation—such as that described in the Biblical story of Abraham dickering with God over the fate of Sodom or the Doctrine and Covenants' "come let us reason together"—demands a divine being who is passible, capable of change, who enters a dialogue with humanity, and who even weeps (p. 400).

The final two chapters are very important. In "Problems of Conventional Christology" and "A Mormon Christology" Ostler develops a theory of atonement and Christology that is consistent with the Latter-day Saint belief in freedom and non-coercion. Ostler does an admirable job here, opting for a largely kenotic interpretation of Christ. It is precisely these chapters that should spawn the greatest discussion in LDS circles. While I think he heads in the right direction, he doesn't travel far enough from traditional Christianity into what is our main heresy. Ostler sees the humanization of God and the divinization of humanity, but on this issue I think a more Buddhist understanding of *kenosis* (self emptying) than traditional Christian one might help. Christ is only filled by all things because the self-emptying of his divine status leaves him open to others (Alma 7:11-12). He comes to know what suffering is as a human being. Mormons might compare Jehovah's response to Job to the resurrected Jehovah's response to Joseph Smith in D&C 122. It is only in the emptying of the self that we may be enlightened by all things and become like Christ and God. Ostler stops short of the boldness of the King Follett Discourse in that he would preserve something of the ontological difference between God and the world. This is evident in his discussion of the social trinity and particularly his definition of apotheosis:

> *Apotheosis* Humans may share the same divinity as the divine person through grace by becoming one with the divine persons in the same sense that they are one with each other. However, humans are eternally subordinate to and dependent upon their relationship of loving unity with the divine person for their status as "gods." By acting as one with the Godhead, deified humans will share fully in the "godly attributes" of knowledge, power, and glory of God. (p. 464)

Ostler has gone a long way toward breaking down the master/slave relationship between God and humanity, but he retains some of the hierarchy that should be transcended in his concept of relation and kenosis. But this is not so much a critique as a disagreement. I suspect many if not most

contemporary Latter-day Saints may prefer Ostler's very creative interpretation of the relation of God and humanity.

There is a significant absence in this book that should not have been left for the later volumes, even though the major purpose is to engage non-Mormon analytic philosophers of religion. There is no mention of the Mother in heaven. While it is true this is a mystery insufficiently revealed, Ostler has speculated boldly in the best philosophical sense of the term. Why not say something? This could be done in relation to the Old Testament feminine holy wisdom that is also found in Mosiah, to the 1909 First Presidency statement on the "Origin of Man," or, most famously, to Eliza R. Snow's poem and hymn. There is enough material in the canon that this important doctrine should be included in a book on the attributes of God. As it is, Ostler's account of the social trinity sounds like a boy's club. Hopefully this discussion is to come in the later volumes of what promises to be the most significant contribution to LDS philosophy in a long time.

Hugh Nibley

Hugh Nibley: "A Consecrated Life," by Boyd Jay Petersen (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 480pp.

Reviewed by Tania Rands Lyon, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Princeton University.

This authorized biography of one of Mormonism's greatest minds and most prolific scholars is a wonderfully accessible entry point to the life and work of Hugh Nibley. Boyd Jay Petersen, married to Nibley's youngest daughter, Zina, resolved to document Nibley's life when he realized no one else was doing the job. As an in-law, Petersen has an insider's view without the complex baggage of having grown up in the shadow of this Mormon celebrity. He does not claim objectivity but he is balanced. Although he handles Nibley's shortcomings and inconsistencies gently and sensitively, he does not sweep them under the rug either. This is a respectful, honest biography, not a hagiography. Petersen used interviews with Nibley and many who knew him, as well as Nibley's scholarship and correspondence as source material and invited his wife to write the foreword: a brief and personable collection of memories about growing up with Hugh Nibley as a father.

The earlier chapters on Nibley's forebears and childhood are a little slow-moving but the book soon becomes a page-turner sprinkled with generous portions of Nibley's self-effacing wit and elegant turns of phrase. Petersen alternates his chapters between chronological biography (childhood, mission to Germany, military service in World War II, and so on) and topical themes in Nibley's life (social criticism, faith, scholarship, Book of Mormon, temples, and so on). The weakness of this approach is the occa-

contemporary Latter-day Saints may prefer Ostler's very creative interpretation of the relation of God and humanity.

There is a significant absence in this book that should not have been left for the later volumes, even though the major purpose is to engage non-Mormon analytic philosophers of religion. There is no mention of the Mother in heaven. While it is true this is a mystery insufficiently revealed, Ostler has speculated boldly in the best philosophical sense of the term. Why not say something? This could be done in relation to the Old Testament feminine holy wisdom that is also found in Mosiah, to the 1909 First Presidency statement on the "Origin of Man," or, most famously, to Eliza R. Snow's poem and hymn. There is enough material in the canon that this important doctrine should be included in a book on the attributes of God. As it is, Ostler's account of the social trinity sounds like a boy's club. Hopefully this discussion is to come in the later volumes of what promises to be the most significant contribution to LDS philosophy in a long time.

Hugh Nibley

Hugh Nibley: "A Consecrated Life," by Boyd Jay Petersen (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002), 480pp.

Reviewed by Tania Rands Lyon, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Princeton University.

This authorized biography of one of Mormonism's greatest minds and most prolific scholars is a wonderfully accessible entry point to the life and work of Hugh Nibley. Boyd Jay Petersen, married to Nibley's youngest daughter, Zina, resolved to document Nibley's life when he realized no one else was doing the job. As an in-law, Petersen has an insider's view without the complex baggage of having grown up in the shadow of this Mormon celebrity. He does not claim objectivity but he is balanced. Although he handles Nibley's shortcomings and inconsistencies gently and sensitively, he does not sweep them under the rug either. This is a respectful, honest biography, not a hagiography. Petersen used interviews with Nibley and many who knew him, as well as Nibley's scholarship and correspondence as source material and invited his wife to write the foreword: a brief and personable collection of memories about growing up with Hugh Nibley as a father.

The earlier chapters on Nibley's forebears and childhood are a little slow-moving but the book soon becomes a page-turner sprinkled with generous portions of Nibley's self-effacing wit and elegant turns of phrase. Petersen alternates his chapters between chronological biography (childhood, mission to Germany, military service in World War II, and so on) and topical themes in Nibley's life (social criticism, faith, scholarship, Book of Mormon, temples, and so on). The weakness of this approach is the occa-

sional repetition of information, but it also makes the book easy to read as a collection of stand-alone essays.

Dubbed by Eugene England as "our finest lay prophet" (p. 46), Nibley is well known for his social criticism. Petersen writes that three themes have dominated Nibley's work: "the corrupting influence of wealth, which prevents us from fulfilling our covenant to live the Law of Consecration; the destructive attitudes we have toward the environment, which blind us to the Lord's commandment to exercise responsible stewardship over the earth; and the total depravity of war, which frustrates our mission to proclaim peace" (p. 32).

The life experiences described in this biography make it clear that Nibley knew of what he spoke. He was born to a wealthy family, the grandson of a highly successful capitalist entrepreneur, Charles Nibley. Hugh was deeply affected to learn at his grandfather's deathbed that the man was racked with guilt from a lifetime of business dealings and feared to meet an angel. Nibley also watched his own parents lose their wealth toward the end of the Great Depression and saw his father struggle, often pathetically and unethically, to regain his former standard of living. Hugh's own utter lack of interest in material comforts is legendary. It is said that on his mission he once donated generously to a collection taken up in a small branch to buy a new coat for one of the elders only to discover later that he was the intended recipient. The only furniture the Nibleys had their first two years of marriage was a mattress on the floor and two orange crates as a table. The Nibleys have lived in the same small home in Provo since 1953 and Hugh famously drove a 1976 Datsun for decades until he gave up driving himself in 2002.

Hugh Nibley was also a die-hard naturist—as comfortable in deep wilderness as he was in library archives. At age sixteen, he spent six weeks alone hiking the backwoods of Oregon equipped with little more than a bedroll and a bag of wheat and raisins. He emerged exhilarated in spite of suffering a wolf bite, not to mention wearing out his shoes and walking the last forty miles barefoot. Later he often sought solace in the Scottish highlands (during the war) and the canyons of Zion National Park and frequently took his family on hiking expeditions up and down the Wasatch Front. Given this evidence of Nibley's abiding passion for nature, it is hardly surprising that he was one of the first to articulate "a Mormon theological foundation for environmental stewardship" (p. 80).

Some of the most compelling chapters of the book tell of Nibley's experiences in World War II. Though he was old enough, at age 31, to be deferred from the draft, he enlisted in the Army in 1942. His considerable intellectual and linguistic abilities were put to work in military intelligence, giving him a bird's-eye view of the war, but he also witnessed plenty of combat. He drove one of the first jeeps onto Utah Beach during the Normandy invasion and flew behind enemy lines into Holland with glider teams. He emerged deeply disillusioned with the posturing and deceit he saw at high levels of command and with a new ap-

preciation for the wars described in the Book of Mormon. Nibley preached often against the waste and evil of war in the ensuing years and protested the Vietnam War when it was extremely unpopular to do so at BYU.

Nibley's steadfast faith is put in context by his near-death experience as a young man during an appendectomy. What he saw and felt answered his nagging questions about the existence of an after-life and "permanently reoriented" his life (p. 121). No amount of scientific evidence has shaken his belief in the restored church.

In spite of this devotion for the Gospel and its defense, his sense of humor is also legendary. In fact, he saw no conflict between the two: "Oh the nothingness of man. We can joke about ourselves once we take the gospel seriously and once we know its blessings and promises. Then we can relax and breathe easily and have some fun" (p. 98). He could mock his own penchant for footnotes (see p. 102) and was handy at writing playful roasts of the academic community, an example of which is included as an appendix to the book.

Other particularly appealing parts of the book are the insights into Nibley's insatiable thirst for knowledge and his astounding capacity to acquire it. From cutting off his eyelashes as a child so he could see better through his telescope, to systematically scouring the University of California library while in graduate school at Berkeley, to spending his military pay on rare books, to surviving the airborne invasion of Holland with nothing but an Arabic Koran and a Gogol novel in Russian in his pockets, to smuggling notes out of the church archives by coding them in Spanish using the Greek alphabet, Nibley's headlong immersion in a rich life of the mind is evident. He learned languages by rotating the language of the texts he read each week and by befriending or moving in with immigrants from all over the world to absorb their speech. In a typically playful letter to his mother during the war, he declared that his only regret at the time was his sore neglect of Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform (p. 196).

His biography as well as his scholarship reveal a man marching to his own drum—a political liberal who loved the church even though he was also Mormon (and American) culture's sharpest critic with strong words of condemnation for seminary, BYU, and Disneyland (among other phenomena). He associated with Church general authorities and Sunstoners, with secular scholars and faith-seeking students, and found an audience among them all. Petersen doesn't ignore the less than perfect pieces of Nibley's life: the tensions between him and his parents, his rampant neglect of nutrition and health as a young man, his apocalyptic predictions which didn't always come true (although, on the other hand, some of them did), the critics who accused him of overzealous parallelism in his research (pointing out similarities between texts "without regard to the date, provenance, or applicability of the documents" [p. 163]), and especially his complex (and often absent) role as a father to his own children. Still, by the end readers will be inclined to count these shortcomings as a small piece of

an impressive life.

This graceful biography is a solid contribution to LDS history. Nibley critics can find a new appreciation for the man behind the scholarship, Nibley fans will enjoy a satisfying overview of his life's work, and a new generation will be introduced to Nibley's work, fourteen volumes of which have been published by FARMS since 1986.

DAVID D. ALLRED received his doctorate in physics from Princeton University. Since 1987 he has taught physics at Brigham Young University. He is the father of nine children and an active member of his ward in which he serves as a gospel doctrine teacher. He currently lives in Provo, Utah, with his wife Janice and four of his children.

BRADLEY J. COOK is the Vice President for Academic Affairs at Utah Valley State College and a scholar on Middle East Affairs.

JÖRG DITTBERNER joined the LDS Church in 1987 and served a mission in England shortly thereafter. He has completed a degree in Education at the University of Bremen and, after completing the required German classroom *practicum*, accepted a position teaching Biology at the German School in Istanbul, Turkey. Currently he is also a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Bremen.

JACK HARRELL teaches English at BYU-Idaho in Rexburg where he lives with his wife Cindy and their three children Anjanette, Daniel, and Jessica. His first novel, *Vernal Promises*, will be published by Signature Books in July 2003.

HEIDI HEMMING lives in Silver Springs, Maryland, one many places she has called home over the years. She recently earned her MA in History from the University of Maryland with two kids in tow and the kind support of a wide circle of family and friends. While she considers herself primarily a teacher, Heidi is currently launching a book project with her sister. This is her first publication in *Dialogue* although the journal has graced her family's shelves as long as she can remember.

RONALD V. HUGGINS is Assistant Professor of Theological and Historical Studies at Salt Lake Theological Seminary. His doctorate is from Wycliffe College, University of Toronto. His scholarly writings have appeared in such places as the *Journal of Biblical Literature, Revue de Qumran, Novum Testamentum, Eerdman's Dictionary of the Bible*, David E. Orton's *The Synoptic Problem and Q* (Brill, 1999), Bryan Waterman's *The Prophet Puzzle: Interpretive Essays on Joseph Smith* (Signature Books, 1999), and *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. His goal in life is to live as a lover and faithful follower of Jesus.

DAVID G. PACE, a fiction writer and essayist, recently relocated from New York City to Salt Lake City where earlier he worked as a stage critic.

ROBERT A. REES, former editor of *Dialogue*, is Director of Education and Humanities at the Institute of HeartMath in Boulder Creek, California. A former LDS bishop and member of the Baltic States Mission presidency, he currently teaches a gospel doctrine class in the San Lorenzo Valley Ward. Rees is editing two volumes of essays, one on the Book of Mormon and one in honor of Eugene England.

JAN SHIPPS is Professor Emeritus of Religious Studies and History at Indiana University-Purdue University in Indianapolis. She is generally regarded as the foremost non-Mormon scholar of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Her first book on the subject was *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* published by the University of Illinois Press. Recently, Illinois published her *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons*, in which she interweaves her own history of Mormon-watching with sixteen essays on Mormon history and culture.

DAVID O. TOLMAN is an independent consultant working on enterprise-class computer installations and a professional project manager. He lives in Princeton, New Jersey.

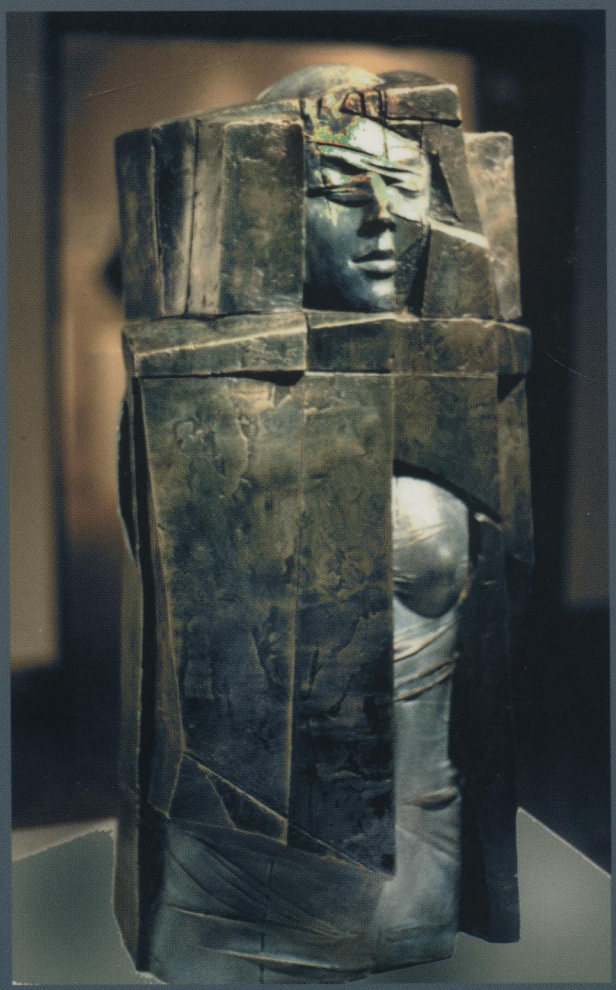
BRADLEY WALKER is married and the father of six children ages six through fifteen. He works as a public health/family practice physician at University Medical Center in Las Vegas, Nevada.

MARIANNE T. WATSON works as a freelance genealogist and family historian. She was born and raised in a fundamentalist Mormon community, and for the past two decades she has worked to preserve documents and research histories of twentieth-century fundamentalist Mormons. She is co-author of *Voices in Harmony: Contemporary Women Celebrate Plural Marriage*. Marianne is a graduate of L.D.S. Business College and earned a B.A. degree in history from the University of Utah. She resides in South Jordan, Utah, and is the mother of nine and the grandmother of two.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

FRANZ JOHANSEN studied art at Brigham Young University under B.F. Larsen, Glen Turner, and Roman Andrus, then at the California School of Arts and Crafts and the Academie de la Grand Chaumiere in Paris before joining the faculty at BYU in 1956. There he is currently a professor emeritus. He has done commissioned architectural sculpture for the LDS church, including the facade of the Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City. His work, based on religious symbolism, is expressively realistic. Talented in a number of mediums, he works in several. His sculpture, drawing, and oil painting command the most attention.

PAINTINGS:

Cover:	*And the Veil Was Rent* painted bronze, 56 x 45 x 51/2 in.
Back Cover:	*Matrix*, bronze, 34 x 15 1/4 x 10 inches
Inside Back Cover:	Resurrection: Restored 2nd Nephi 2:12 bronze 34 1/5 x 19 1/2 x 10 inches

DIALOGUE
A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT
P.O. BOX 58423
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84158
ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED