DIALOGUE
a journal of mormon thought

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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 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 Mormon Church or of the editors.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

a milestone

The latest priesthood revelation is not only a milestone in its own right, but demands serious consideration in relation to Church policies as a whole. Already, ex-Mormons and other critics have raised questions about the Church's right to change those principles handed down to it by an "unchanging" God, with the present issue equated in significance to the abandonment of the United Order and polygamy. In reality, the new change has little in common with its predecessors. The earlier ones amounted to (temporary) retreats necessitated by such practical exigencies as survival of Mormon society and the inability of pioneer Saints to realize the higher spiritual aims of communal economics and plural marriage. The present revelation, on the other hand, represents advancement toward, or restoration of, more or less universal priesthood authority. Such forward or backward steps in Church directives are not necessarily inconsistent with an "unchanging" Revelator, for the Lord's *eternal* goals are not affected in the least—only the progressive timetable required for mortals to reach them.

The connection between blacks' priesthood privileges and the Millennium should not be overlooked either: is not the lifting of Cain's curse yet another presage of the imminent end of the world—with obvious implications for all humankind?

In other words, one should not only stand in awe of divine revelations, but must also ponder them in the light of past and future history.

Michele Mackay
Provo, Utah

mixed blessing?

The announcement allowing all worthy brethren to receive the priesthood and enjoy the blessings of the temple has been lauded as a milestone in the modernization of Mormonism. Now we can use the temple in Brazil and not have to worry about it. Continuous revelation is a mixed blessing. It allows the Church to reverse policies and practices, yet never be in error. Church denial of priesthood to blacks was official policy before the new revelation, and it was correct. The present policy is correct also, and there is no paradox.

Reversal of policy was just as easy at the time of the Manifesto. The Church never disavowed belief in plural marriage, but simply discontinued the practice. The concept of a new and everlasting convenant of marriage or celestial marriage quickly evolved from meaning plural marriage to monogamous temple marriage, permitting retention of D&C 132. However, John Taylor's alleged revelation of 1886 and the former interpretation of Section 132 were never adequately repudiated, so old beliefs remained. Failure to resolve the doctrinal problems associated with that policy reversal led to confusion, and the practice of polygamy was continued by fundamentalists who are causing embarrassment to the Church.

We are in danger of repeating the history of the Manifesto in the recent revelation on priesthood if we do not disavow our racially prejudiced doctrines but simply suspend their use. Since the wording of the new revelation has not been released, the problems cannot be fully discerned, but scriptures like Moses 7:22; Alma 3:6; I Nephi 12:23; II Nephi 5:21–25, 30:6; III Nephi 2:14–16; and Mormon 5:15 have all been used to connect skin color with a religious curse or segregation.

The "preexistence hypothesis" has long been used to justify the supposition that blacks are inferior. As Joseph Fielding Smith developed this concept he carefully skirted the pronouncements of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Joseph F. Smith that Negroes were not neutral in the preexistence, while initiating the idea that they were less valiant or less faithful. This concept became accepted doctrine through the 1949 statement of the First Presidency and has not been rescinded. Are we to continue believing that blacks were less valiant in the preexistence, and that skin color is God's

method of religious segregation? Failure to resolve these issues will result in continued belief in them and will rationalize persisting racial prejudice against blacks in the minds of many faithful Saints. However, they will be left with the uncomfortable paradox of spirits doctrinally less valiant now sharing blessings equally with the most choice spirits of a chosen generation.

The standard interpretation of Abraham 1:21–27, that the lineage of Ham through Pharoah was denied the priesthood because of race remains unaddressed. Perhaps now we can openly recognize that Facsimile No. 3 shows the Pharoah of Abraham's time was quite white compared to the black slave. Long ago I dutifully corrected this error by coloring Pharoah black in my scriptures; now I need some good black ink remover in order to keep my scripture marking up to date.

An insidious practice accompanying continuous revelation is the incessant effort to adjust history so that it agrees with present policy. While it is true that nearly all Church presidents have stated blacks would receive the priesthood, careful reading of the statements in context makes it abundantly clear that they meant only after all the sons of Adam had their chance, or until after the resurrection. Brigham Young was most emphatic in this regard, even stating that if the Church granted the priesthood to descendants of Cain during this life, God would surely remove the priesthood from the Church and replace it with the curse of Cain.

Now that blacks have participated in interracial temple marriages, we have another embarrassing statement of Brigham Young to consider; his infamous "If the white man who belongs to the chosen seed mixes his blood with the seed of Cain, the penalty, under the law of God, is death on the spot. This will always be so."

It will take a united effort to reinterpret such recent history where an apostle questioned the spirituality of concerns such as those the First Presidency say led to the new revelation.

Norman L. Eatough
San Luis Obispo, California

god moves in expedient ways

The racial policies of the Church and the semiofficial "personal opinions" of prominent Church leaders have caused me grief since I first encountered them.

President Kimball's revelation altered doctrine (giving blacks the priesthood) and undermined the two traditional explanations Church leaders have expounded for decades, that the Negro couldn't have the priesthood because of a) the curses of Cain and Ham and b) a supposed lack of valiance in the premortal life. There are many reasons why these two stock answers are not now, and never were, correct. If either were true, the doctrine would be unalterable. It was a classic case of the tail wagging the dog. Indeed, I often found the rationalizations more reprehensible than the actual "doctrine."

We now find ourselves in the position of not having any rational excuse for ever having had the "doctrine" in the first place. To remedy this intolerable predicament I propose the following as the new semiofficial position of the Church.

The reason God forbade the ordination of Negroes in Joseph Smith's day was twofold: a) to not put blacks in positions of leadership over whites and b) to facilitate LDS missionary activity among whites in southern states. There was no element of racism in this. God simply found that policy to be the most expedient. Expediency usually carries bad connotations, but it need not in this case. God merely commands his prophets to do what is best to build his kingdom. If polygamy is necessary, he commands it; when its continuance would destroy the Church he orders(ed) it abandoned. It was the same with the priesthood ban. It served its purpose, and when it became a stumbling block and retarded the growth of the Church he lifted the ban.

There was never anything "wrong" with black men, nor was the policy intended to harm anyone. It was necessary for a time, until most whites matured sufficiently to see that all men are brothers. At that time it (the ban) was discarded, having served its purpose.

From this we see God moves in ways most expedient to the building of his kingdom.

I readily concede this theory has some obvious drawbacks; however, it is a vast improvement over those "semiofficial" opinions that preceded it.

Daryl J. Turner
Santa Cruz, California

too little, too late

I am greatly pleased that the Church has, at long last, divested itself of an intolerable and unjustified practice which has inhibited full black participation in the Church for over 130 years. As a social scientist, I see such a move as indicative of a world which can no longer (if it ever could) afford barriers of any kind to intergroup understanding and communication. And yet, though my initial response to the news of the priesthood extension is positive, I am not yet satisfactorily able to determine what it means to me at this point in time. Nine years ago, when I was a newly returned missionary, it would have provided welcome relief from a "burden" that, as a Church member, I felt partially responsible for. Currently I welcome the extension more as a social phenomenon which bolsters my faith that ultimately "good" prevails. To a much greater extent than I would have nine years ago, I find myself weighing this most positive step against other areas of doubt initiated, at least in part, by the "Negro problem." Assumptions concerning the evolution of man, the literality of the Bible, antiintellectualism, Church ethnocentricity, patriarchal authoritarianism and militarism, not to mention renewed doubt about the origin of the content of the Pearl of Great Price and the Book of Mormon's relationship to known archaeology, present formidable obstacles to a whole-hearted return to consistent and faithful Church involvement.

I find, then, that the change in Church policy regarding blacks and the priesthood has generated a sense of nostalgia for me—a sense of wanting to return to the "fold" and yet a clear recognition of loss of innocence, loss of faith, if you will. One part of me would like to say, "Hey, I'm back," but another part of me hesitates with, "Well, how about. . . . ?" Though I recognize a need (at least on my part) for some type of organizing principle in my life that inevitably requires an element of faith, the chasm at this point is too great. In other words, I would suggest that, for me and others like me, the extension of the priesthood to black males is likely too little, too late.

Gary W. Lea
Denver, Colorado

scope and depth

I was happy to see the Summer 1979 issue of *Dialogue.* I continue to be happily surprised at the scope and depth of the material you make available.

It was a particular pleasure to see William Russell's article on the interaction between black Americans and the RLDS Church. As a former and intermittent resident of the Salt Lake Valley, I have had some personal experience with RLDS smugness over our "enlightened" recognition of black males as being worthy to function within the priesthood offices. Brother Russell's comments help show us what a shallow conception that has been on our part, especially when we have fallen into using it as a proof of RLDS validity over and against LDS validity. Perhaps that stance can now end, along with our equally misjudged thoughts that divine revelation is not present within our Utah-based sister church.

Another delight came in reading the reviews of the books by Laura B. Andrew and Marilyn Warenski. Our maturity in reaction to critical works generated outside of our ranks appears to be growing faster than my most optimistic expectations would have allowed as possible. After hearing Marilyn Warenski speak in Ogden, Utah earlier this year, I am convinced that the issues she has sought to deal with demand our attention. Perhaps we can well use such jabs in the side to awaken us both to the "plight" and the potential of our sisters in the community of the Saints.

Dale R. Broadhurst
Delaware, Ohio

atonement or vengeance?

Martin R. Gardner's recent article "Mormonism and Capital Punishment: A Doctrinal Perspective, Past and Present" (Vol. XII, No. 1) was a well done exercise in investigating a delicate area of doctrinal eradication. Mr. Gardner convinced

me that the so-called "blood atonement doctrine" was not ever officially adopted by the Church in our dispensation. However, Joseph Smith's inspired declaration that truth is "knowledge" of things as they really *were* (D&C 93:24) would force us to admit that "blood atonement" and its more ugly brother "vengeance" were viable beliefs in the pioneer phase of Utah.

I personally would have preferred an inclusive discussion of, and interpretation of, the Howard Egan murder trial in 1851, wherein a member was acquitted of murdering the seducer of his wife on the grounds that (as Apostle George A. Smith, the defense lawyer argued) "The man who seduces his neighbor's wife must die, and her nearest relative must kill him." This was regarded as an established principle of justice "in these mountains." (See *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 4, pp. 135–36, notes; also entire record of Apostle Smith's defense argument and Judge Snow's jury instructions in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 1, pp. 95–103.)

How much of this "justice" of the mountains was *vengeance* and how much *atonement* is a good question. At any rate, doctrine or not, the member-jury regarded this murder as an "execution for the Lord." Isn't that the same view many Latter-day Saints have toward capital punishment?

Merle H. Graffam
Indio, California

sweet and sour

I liked Karen Rosenbaum's "Hit the Frolicking, Rippling Brooks." Her cheerfully irreverent style appeals to me. Peterson's "Road to Damascus" struck me as being predictable and pretentious. Remarks about T. Edgar Lyon's "Old Nauvooers" speech brought back cherished memories of that memorable occasion. Dennis Lythgoe's article on J. Bracken Lee intrigued me. I like material which treats the General Authorities as real people. Even today I regard them as remote and godlike beings—supersaintly saints. Living away from the Wasatch Front, I was never exposed to their human side, never saw their patina of perfection tarnished. This emotional response is so deeply imbedded that even though my head knows they're human, my soul doesn't really believe it. I enjoy the lively quotes from still-living people. I thought he handled the controversial aspect of Church influence on politics very deftly.

Robin Hammond
Vallejo, California

old favorites

Dialogue has provided some of the more stimulating reading in my life the past few years, and I have enjoyed sharing many of the issues with professors and non-member and member friends.

"Belief Systems and Unhappiness" (Vol. XI, No. 3) and "The Tables Turned" (Vol. XI, No. 2) have been a couple of my favorites with female psychology and Women's Studies students.

LaOren Manoghan
Tigard, Oregon

***dialogue* fix**

I find so much to admire in the last two issues; the historical one from a distance because it deals with writers writing about great figures, but the literary issue is warm and alive with writers writing about writing and doing it well. I carry it around and get a fix whenever I have to wait for something—doctors, gas, Blazer scouts. If Wright spent so much time on self-criticism, it can't be as bad for us as the behaviorists would have us believe. He pulled some fine work out of his torment.

Fran Anderson
Los Angeles, California

81% solution

Gad, I can't even understand the monthly home teaching report of the elders quorum, which I compile, let alone the resurrected Joseph and the gasoline crisis. As a very special thing, a Christmas present to the Lord or some such reason, we were exhorted to go all out in the month of December and get 100% with home teaching visits. Well, we only got 90%, which is pretty damb [*sic*] good. But then the worm crawled out of the apple. Somehow, this means that we were "dedicated" to getting 90% *every* month. This boggled me, and to compound the confusion, we were advised that our bottom line for April was "inacceptable" to

the stake (81%). So I raised a hand to ask how, if the report was rejected, we were supposed to make it a matter of record—by rushing out in May to do it over again, or what? Of course I am sorely tempted to do it with my pencil, which I'm sure happened with a ward which reported to the *Church News* that it got 100% for a period of fifteen months. But this is like kicking your golf ball out of the rough or becoming a famous author through vanity publishing.

Samuel W. Taylor
Redwood City, California

a reference

Undoubtedly others have written you regarding the "[?]" after Murrell on p. 116 of the Winter 1978 issue.

The reference is surely to John Murrell, the notorious Mississippi River pirate. He was the subject of a book compiled by H. R. Howard and effusively entitled *The History of Virgil A. Stewart, and His Adventures in Capturing and Exposing the Great "Western Land Pirate" and His Gang in Connection with the Evidence: also the Trials, Confessions and Execution of a Number of Murrell's Associates in the State of Mississippi During the Summer of 1835, and the Execution of Five Professional Gamblers by the Citizens of Vicksburg, on the 6th July, 1835.* [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836]

That Mormons would be compared to such a lawless gang suggests the strength of the feeling against them.

Larry McDonald
Yuma, Arizona

Note: *You're the first. Thanks.*

striking the balance

The letter from Neil B. Hall (Vol. XII, No. 2) has prompted this informal response.

Any publication is apt to seem condescending at some time to some of its readers. Personally I would have liked the footnotes to King's poetry to be omitted, and I would agree they indicate a low evaluation of the readership, but I suppose it is the poet's privilege to have the final word. I had hoped that Benjamin Urrutia's article on *Star Wars* was ironic, but I suspect it wasn't. There's some validity in Hall's remarks on both these points.

There is certainly more behind Hall's venom and vitriol than mere disenchantment with *Dialogue*. Clearly he has had personal experiences which lead him to think he has been treated unfairly by the Church; whatever the basic facts are, he has a strong emotional conviction that this is the case, and we have to take the letter as an attempt to articulate this feeling and not as a reasoned criticism of *Dialogue*.

On the other hand, in spite of the context of the letter, he does pose questions that deserve serious exploration.

I feel strongly *Dialogue* must keep trying to be on the cutting edge, whatever and wherever that is. No single editor or board of editors can consistently strike the right balance to please multiple constituencies, many of which are in conflict with each other, and the disagreements are often over form rather than substance, but we have to continue to try to strike that balance—and that means trying to satisfy both traditionalists and innovators at the same time.

Robert A. Rees
Los Angeles, California

a protest

I would like to protest your brief review (in Vol. XI, No. 2) of *Zion Town* by Phebe Thurber and Gay Taylor. The review mostly quoted only the negative parts of another review. In fact, this is a book well worth reading, vividly evoking the realities of polygamy and the United Order. I learned long ago to put less than half my trust in reviews. I think most readers would be fascinated by the book.

Vicki Freed Smith
Thousand Oaks, California

ironic avoidance

Stan Larson's essay, "Omissions in the King James New Testament," (Vol. XI, No. 3) left me with many unanswered questions. As a Latter-day Saint, I was rather surprised to find no references to Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible.

Without a doubt, the New Testament contains many passages which are interpolations of later editors, and many original passages have been deleted. Mr. Larson did an excellent job of establishing this point as fact.

However, what was ignored in the essay seems to me to be the critical issue: Do the earliest manuscripts, which Mr. Larson cites as reliable, corroborate with the Joseph Smith translation? Can Latter-day Saints establish, to any extent, the divine authenticity of the Inspired Version? Or, as with so many other areas of Mormon theology (i.e. archaeological harmony with the Book of Mormon), must we rely on faith (solely) and the seemingly reassuring statements of General Authorities.

A service was undoubtedly rendered by Mr. Larson when he documented the Prophet's statement that "ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors" in the Biblical text. Yet it was ironic for Larson to avoid any mention of the Inspired Version.

No missionary would document the great apostasy without going on to the restoration of the gospel. Such an action would, in essence, lay waste his effort. Just as the great apostasy finds its significance in pointing to the restoration, so discrepancies in the King James New Testament are truly significant only as they point to the need (and fulfillment of that need) of an inspired revision, such as rendered by Joseph Smith.

If only other scholars would follow Larson's example while going one step further: illuminating the treasures of the Joseph Smith translation as they affirm the divine calling of the Prophet. This is the sort of scholarship which is urgently needed in Mormon circles today!

Davis A. Statler
Dun Loring, Virginia

disappointed in *dialogue*

Thus far I am disappointed in *Dialogue.* Controversy seems to be pushed way back in favor of "safer" topics. There is a great gap between the instructions put out by Salt Lake and the lackluster performance shown by timid LDS leaders in the field, and their equally timid wards and stakes.

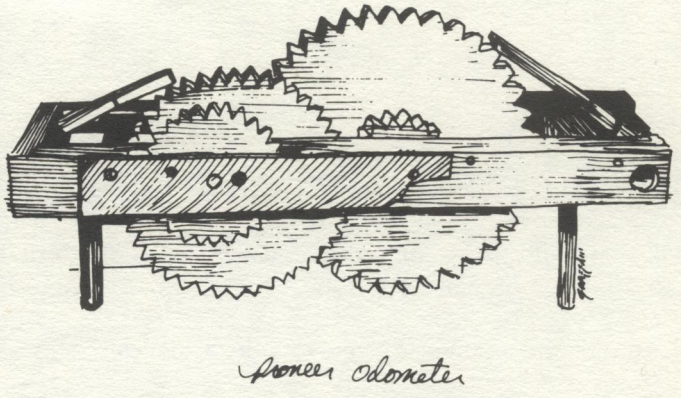
I had hoped *Dialogue* might fill a little of this void. Poetry—phooey!

W. A. Bernheim
Oroville, California

delighted with *dialogue*

Your magazine has helped me to unite the good values I have received in church and from the scholarly, rather profane world that most of my non-LDS friends belong to. *Dialogue's* mere existence, as well as many of the articles in it, were a small but significant part of my decision to *not* try and renounce or "outgrow" the eternal values I've found in the Church which don't seem too prevalent outside the Church, at least not among organizations. That decision, made several years ago, has helped propel me to the temple, a mission, a faith that feels both mystical and yet very real, and many choice friendships.

Jeff Johnston
Provo, Utah



ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

A Conversation With Hugh Nibley

HUGH NIBLEY was interviewed in his office at the Brigham Young University Library on 15 October 1979, by Mary Bradford and Gary Gillum. They were joined midway in the conversation by Brother Nibley's long-time friend, Curtis Wright, who posed a few philosophical questions. A few days earlier, Brother Nibley had delivered his sesquicentennial address, "How Firm a Foundation," a speech which seems to sum up a lifetime of inquiry, reflection and faith. Dialogue *is proud to publish this speech, with an introduction in the form of a brief conversation.*

Dialogue: Do you see yourself as a "defender of the faith?"

Nibley: Perish, forbid! I'm not that at all. I'm just another sucker like you!

Dialogue: Many people have tried to follow you around and become your disciples.

Nibley: It doesn't work! No!

Dialogue: Are you saying that everybody needs to follow his or her own path?

Nibley: Oh, sure.

Dialogue: People tend to idolize you.

Nibley: Well, that's silly. Ah! That is the reward for keeping out of sight. All they have to do is see me, and boy, does that disillusion them in a hurry!

Dialogue: I understand you've learned to ride a bicycle backwards. Is that true?

Nibley: That's a new one. No. I don't ride a bicycle backwards. I have a son that does tricks like that.

Dialogue: You like to cook?

Nibley: No, I detest cooking.

Dialogue: I understand you lived entirely on milk and carrots once.

Nibley: No, it wasn't milk and carrots. It was oranges and cabbage.

Dialogue: Well, that will give you a lot of energy.

Nibley: Wait a minute! I did live on canned milk and carrots for quite a while. That's right.

Dialogue: It was when you were working on your dissertation. You decided to change your dissertation subject after you dropped your notes on the floor, so you locked yourself in your apartment for two weeks, eating carrots and milk.

Nibley: That's true, but it was more like four weeks.

Dialogue: And then you completed the entire process.

Nibley: See, these interviews are very bad. I've never yet read an interview that was correct. You just don't realize it's all wrong until there's one about you. Then you realize that almost nothing is right. That's where the myths and the gossip come from.

Dialogue: Well, there are quite a few myths about you. Have your children turned out to be scholars?

Nibley: Michael is a very good scholar, he's really bright. Martha is a prodigy. She was a National Merit finalist. She came home at the end of last semester with forty-four trophies.

Dialogue: Is she in college now?

Nibley: No, she's still at BY High.

Dialogue: Is she your youngest?

Nibley: No, she has a younger sister, Zina, who sometimes takes first when Martha takes second. That's happened once, and it broke their hearts. They were crying and crying, it was terrible. "What's the matter?" It was the big one, they were down at Baker's school, one of these big regional speech

things, you know. But Zina got first and Martha got second. It was quite a scene. Zina was all broken up because she thought Martha was done in. Martha was feeling bad because Zina wasn't happy about winning first prize.

Dialogue: Isn't that amazing?

Nibley: Yes, they were both in tears because they just got the first and second prizes, that was all, but not in the right order.

Dialogue: Is your wife, Phyllis, a musician?

Nibley: Yes, she's still in the orchestra. She still plays the cello. She's also the librarian for the orchestra—has to get all that music ordered from the East, copied, distributed, put on the stands, and then get it collected. The musicians like to take it home and practice. She has to get it back. It's only rented, you know.

Dialogue: One thing you're noted for is your sense of humor. It seems to us that humor is really basic. . .

Nibley: Certainly, that gives us some of the best defenses we have.

Dialogue: Do you feel that you were strictly brought up?

Nibley: No, not particularly.

Dialogue: What do you think accounts for your family's many accomplishments?

Nibley: Oh, my mother was hell on wheels. She pushed her kids.

Dialogue: I know your brother, Reid Nibley, the pianist. . .

Nibley: She pushed him too. Oh, how he hated practicing when he was a little boy!

Dialogue: You know many languages. What is the secret of being able to learn all those languages?

Nibley: Well, all you have to do is just live in the country, that's all. Nabokov segmented his life, the first part in Russia, then lived a while in Berlin, France, the United States, at least fifteen years in each country.

Dialogue: A woman called the other day to ask, "Can you tell me how many languages Brother Nibley knows?" She said, "I heard it was twenty-five, but I don't know."

Nibley: No, no!

Dialogue: How is your research on the Book of Abraham? We understand you're still working on it.

Nibley: Well, my book is up at Deseret. They've had it for a couple of months now. They're waiting until after Conference. Everything has had to wait for Conference. Did you ever see anything like it? Every other page of the newspapers was just plastered with book ads.

Dialogue: Is that right?

Nibley: Oh, you never saw the like! I mean, it was shocking, talk about the Big Push. There's nothing more venal on earth than a publisher. They get something for nothing; they take all their expenses and then divide it by the number of books they are going to get out, and that gives the cost of each book—total expenses divided by the number of books. Then they multiply that by eight, and that's the price of the book. Really, that's the normal procedure. They multiply their costs by eight, and that's what you get.

Dialogue: Now that you've finished your book on the Book of Abraham, what are you working on?

Nibley: I have a couple of projects now, but one is top secret!

Dialogue: Is it your magnum opus?

Nibley: No. . .

Dialogue: What do you think of the Orson Hyde Memorial in Israel?

Nibley: You know, we have never found the slightest trace of Jewish blood in the Orson Hyde line. He is in *no* way related to the Jews, and they emphasize that he is Jewish.

My great-grandfather, Alexander Niebaur, was a Jew, very much a Jew. The genealogists really went all out on Orson Hyde and couldn't find any connection with the Jews anywhere.

Dialogue: Well, we've never heard that before, that's fascinating. So it's just a myth?

Nibley: Well, I don't know. There must be something behind it. What is the blood of Israel, after all? We're all adopted into the covenant.

And he *was* the one who did go back there, and he *did* give the blessing, of course. If we are of Ephraim, who cares? It doesn't make any difference to us, as far as that goes.

Dialogue: Do you think it was a good thing for us to have that plaque in honor of the Jews, considering the Mideast situation?

Nibley: Yes. The scriptures talk about the prophecies and the Jews in the early days back there, and boy, they hit it right on the head. Some good things then. They had a very clear idea of exactly how it would be with the Jews and the people over here. The double action, the "one-two" business.

Dialogue: We want to ask about the Ebla Tablets. They sound exciting.

Nibley: They're great! Dahoud was here from the Pontifical Institute. He is head of the Oriental Department. We had a long talk with him—it was very interesting.

Dialogue: Those were some of the earliest mentions of the creation?

Nibley: Not the creation, but mention of names like Abraham, first mention of David and Adam and Eve, the first mention we find of "Eve" occurring outside the Old Testament. And so it goes. It's quite exciting. But they have just begun, now, and there are all sorts of differences about this thing.

Dialogue: So you'll be working with Dahoud?

Nibley: No. In fact, I'm writing a letter here turning them down; they want me to work with them in the new encyclopedia. I've always been working on that from here. But I can't get sidetracked on that.

Dialogue: Do you think that our country and maybe even the Church could be losing out for not doing as much research in parapsychology as they are in the Soviet Union, maybe trying to correlate it with the Gospel?

Nibley: Well, it's true that American schools and institutes shut a lot of doors. They're very dogmatic about certain things. Chicago is a good example of that. They will not credit the Egyptians with anything; because Egyptians lived back in primitive times, they can't know as much as we do. And so it's just so much mumbo jumbo, and with that attitude they won't find anything at all. The Chicago School, with people like Breasted and Erman couldn't stand the French because the French hadn't used intuition when they were translating. And yet now, after a hundred years, the French translations are much better. But the Germans—Prussian arrogance, you know. They weren't *wissenschaftliche*, they weren't scientific about it. The two words they could not stand and would drive them wild were "Romantic" and "Fantasy." If you didn't use their method, you were guilty of *Romantik* or *Fantasie.*

Dialogue: That's strange. The Germans have such a long history of romanticism in their literature and history.

Nibley: Well, that's true. But again, they have such a long tradition of humanism and liberalism, too . . . Such extremes!

Dialogue: Is that why the Gospel isn't being preached very successfully in Germany right now?

Nibley: Yes, that's true. They were all romantics, extreme romantics. After all, Hitler was as superstitious, as star-bound as anyone.

Dialogue: Do you see great scientists as having a sense of mystery?

Nibley: They always did, but they tell us, according to all the surveys today, there aren't very many great scientists left. It was a toss-up with the Nobel, as far as that goes, you see. It's just some very tiny segment. That's why I think Weinberg probably deserved it because he took a broader view of things.

I thought that the survey the *Saturday Review* made, two years ago was interesting. They interviewed physicists, asking them, first of all, who are the giants in your field? And the answer was, "Well, if you had come around ten years ago, we could have told you: Niels Bohr, Einstein," and so forth. "But we don't have any giants." It's interesting; they went to every other field, into literature and into music. There are no giants; it's an age of pygmies, an exhausted age. Technology may have crippled us.

Dialogue: Of all the people who may have brought truth into the world in this century, who do you think has brought the most? (Besides church leaders, that is.)

Nibley: In this century? That's an interesting question. I wouldn't say Rex Stout. He's been a great revelator. (laughs) His stuff puts you in the picture and makes you feel the spirit . . . In this century you're expected to say Einstein. Who besides Einstein?

Dialogue: What about Bucky Fuller?

Nibley: I think he hasn't brought new knowledge into the world, but he has pointed it out.

Dialogue: Synthesized?

Nibley: He has called attention to certain things, and that's very important; we've been looking in the other direction. I have a feeling this century's getting along now, and that's quite a span. I'd forgotten about that. I don't know, I'll have to think about that. There must be somebody who's given us something really big. I wish Nabokov hadn't gone overboard for sex. What a master of language! Nobody can touch him in it. He had the secret of it,

inimitable, that just carried you along. And yet he would get on this "organic sexuality" that was so horrible. . . It was incest and all sorts of things. And yet, he wrote other books with no mention of it whatever—some of his best things.

Perhaps Mark Twain.

Dialogue: Yes, Mark Twain was quite a giant in his own right.

Nibley: He made an American contribution. Someone like James Joyce has a lot to offer. He was great. Poets . . . Nobody keeps track of the poets anymore.

Dialogue: They don't seem to be coming from one central tradition.

Nibley: No, any of them could be a poet just by writing any prose piece and dividing up the lines. Two words, three words, that's it, you can just take any letters and make them into a poem.

Dialogue: Stream of consciousness. And emphasis on speech pattern.

Nibley: Yes, well now, that isn't creating much.

Dialogue: Do you find that most students are spending all their time studying what they already know?

Nibley: Well, that's been characteristic of BYU all along. I mean, the students actually resent being told what they don't know. They will come to me at the beginning of class and say, "You're not going to tell us anything we don't already know." They actually do that.

Dialogue: I notice sort of a "supermarket attitude:" "We're paying for our education, so we will take only what we want to take."

Nibley: "You pays your money and you takes you choice." That's true enough. (laughter)

Dialogue: That's basically what you said in "Zeal Without Knowledge." We notice that in literary studies: Just studying the same thing over and over again, instead of going out and creating something new and then coming back and looking at it.

Nibley: After announcing that the Gospel embraces all truth. We accept truth from all sources, we accept all truth, the Gospel includes all truth.

Dialogue: Do you think some students are passing on the torch, though?

Nibley: Oh, there are some good ones coming along now. I don't know enough about it, because I'm not in it anymore, but there should be some very good students. Now let me see, oh, yes, there are. I can think of half a dozen—at least half a dozen in Egyptian and classics. They are very active in classics. We have some good students in classics, far more than ever before. Everybody else is in business and law now. That's the thing. Nothing else counts. It's just managers managing other managers.

Dialogue: Managing people or managing money?

Nibley: Both. And management produces nothing.

Dialogue: What about the sciences?

Nibley: Well, there's always the science of management.

Dialogue: With all that you've been able to accomplish in your lifetime, is there any way that you can teach members of the church to be self-motivated, to educate themselves?

Nibley: Well, it has always happened: Students are exposed to education; a surprisingly large percent, I think, will be affected, if they are exposed to good taste in music or art. The kids don't forget. It will catch on.

Dialogue: So you hope that we will be able to get past the attitude that we are here to get what we already have.

Nibley: Yes.

Dialogue: Some BYU physicists and others are trying to relate the second law of thermodynamics to the atonement. They are trying to learn how the atonement might have reversed the process of entropy. Will you comment on that?

Nibley: It's clearly stated in the Book of Mormon. I've known about that for years. Where it says in the Book of Mormon that the normal process of nature is to die, to crumble, and to rot, we return to dust, never to rise again. Now, that's the law of nature. That's how everything breaks down. Talk about mysterious forces! We don't know what it is, but the testimony of our senses makes it clear that it works. It's interesting that there are physicists interested in that.

Dialogue: Do you think it's the atonement itself that causes syntropy?

Nibley: Well, "atonement" means syntropy—bringing back to its former state, restoring to its former state. You see, when something breaks down, it

becomes disorganized and fractured. "At one" means unified again—returned to its unity, returned to its former integrity and structure. It sounds like a Latin word or Greek, but it isn't—it's pure old English, nothing else. Atonement is not one of the technical terms, not even like resurrection. It is an old English word. It's like "bless"—it comes from no other language but English—"woman" comes from no other language but English. "Lord," the word "Lord"—no trace of it in any other language. Isn't that funny"

Dialogue: It's Anglo-Saxon, the simpler term . . .

Nibley: Anglo-Saxon is related to all the other languages around. And yet these particular words emerge only in English.

Dialogue: Do you think that the gift of the Holy Ghost, or the Priesthood power itself has any parallels in science, or do you think it will have in the future as we do more research?

Nibley: Yes, that's the whole thing. Notice who got the Nobel Prize—Weinberg, and he's the farthest out of all. He's the one who's broken down the quark. He's going to get us the ultimate particle, as far as that goes. And the particle will account for everything, and we've gotten nowhere, but that's exactly where the atomists began. It's relative.

Well, it doesn't make any difference what the particle is because it resides in a ultimate little particle, and they haven't found that. Then there were different variations of atomism, the shapes and forms of atoms, that account for it, but the point is that this particle, by its structure, will explain everything in the universe, and that's exactly what we're working for today. We'll finally get the ultimate particle, says Weinberg, and then we'll know everything. It's like saying, "Nature does this, nature does that," or "Evolution does this, evolution does that." They're just words. He says it happens because it happens. You haven't explained anything. Well, nature did it, evolution did it; that explains it.

Dialogue: We thought evolution was a dead issue on campus, but apparently it's not.

Nibley: Oh, heavens, no. As far as that goes, it never will be, because as long as you don't have to define anything, you can fill a gap. That's what Karl Popper says, it's just a circular definition. It's the process of natural selection, survival of the fittest. How do you know it's the fittest? Because it survives. If the only test of fitness is survival, how do you know that it was the fittest that survived? Because it survived. You've gone nowhere—Karl Popper's very good on that. He really *rips* the tautologies.

Curtis Wright enters.

H. Curtis Wright: I have two questions, if you want to comment on them.

Nibley: Oh, sure.

Wright: One deals with the relations between naturalism and supernaturalism, the other with the relationship between the basic realities the Saints believe in and their ways of expressing those realities theologically (in rational terms) and ritually (in dramatic terms). By "naturalism," of course, I am not referring to the philosophical tradition known as "materialism" before Karl Marx.

Nibley: I know what you mean by naturalism.

Wright: I mean the belief that the natural order contains everything that is.

Nibley: Yes.

Wright: I refer to the belief that the natural order has no environment, that there is nothing outside of it to relate or be related to it, versus the belief that in addition to the natural order, there is a transcendent reality, another world order, distinct and separate from the natural order. These beliefs I take to be irreconcilable, because you can't believe at the same time (a) that the natural order is all there is, and (b) that there is something other than the natural order.

My first question, therefore, is this: What is the impact on human history of the naturalistic and supernatural outlooks?

Nibley: Well, it completely dominates the world. You have nothing else today except the Gospel. That's why, when the Church first came out, Joseph Smith couldn't lose—he simply couldn't lose. The naturalists had everything going for them, and he had nothing going for him. And yet he couldn't lose because he had a scenario. He didn't really believe that spirit was spirit—"spirit" is their word for "essence," you see, and that's not physical substance. So, every time they would collide like this, nothing would come of it.

Wright: I've been deeply interested in your study of sophic and mantic because it seems to explore these matters. The issue of this forced union, it seems to me, is a conflict of spiritualities in which two fundamental contradictories are permanently opposed to each other. The Greeks and Romans, who go for the naturalistic answers to everything, are very spiritual people. But their spirituality is naturalistic because it pertains solely to the natural order; it never transcends the temporal system of nature because they have little or no feeling for eternity in the supernatural sense.

Nibley: That's right. That accounts for all the difference between the Greeks and the Egyptians. The Greeks got all their answers from the Egyptians but didn't bring in the other world. And that's the whole difference. Egyptian philosophy was actually way ahead of the Greeks, but nobody will recognize

that. No, the Greeks just keep on beating their breasts and going around and around in a circle because you can never get out of the naturalistic syndrome.

Wright: That creates the closed system of science.

Nibley: Yes—it's a closed system.

Wright: And we're thoroughly confused by all this. That's my perception of it, anyway. The result of mixing these eastern and western outlooks is a conflict of spiritualities in which we can't decide whether we ought to be Greeks or Hebrews. We're very ambivalent about this.

Nibley: Well, the Hebrews themselves were often naturalistic.

Wright: Yes, and *some* of the Greeks, at least, were supernaturalists. These distinctions are basic enough to be found among all peoples. There are, I would guess, no purely naturalistic or supernatural cultures.

I have thought about this a lot, and sometimes I think the problem is too big for me. But here's the way I handle it—and I would value your comments on this. I believe that the Saints ought to be two-game athletes. We ought to resist the strong, relentless pressure of monism, which, I take it, is simply the passionate desire of the Greeks to resolve everything at the highest abstract level. They wanted to create a single superscience for explaining everything—as you know—a knowledge system so comprehensive and so airtight that, beginning with any particular in the system, you could induce one basic premise from which all the rest of the system could be deduced.

Nibley: The one particle. If you can only discover the one final particle!

Wright: The Saints should be capable of playing two games instead of one. In order to do it, though, they must distinguish between two sets of rules. They can't play a temporal game by eternal rules, or an eternal game by temporal rules.

Nibley: Yes, because that distinction is always made. There is the temporal existence, and there is a spiritual aspect to it. The temporal, that describes it perfectly. The natural world is temporally limited, and its actual size is limited by its spiritual logics. They are unchangeable. That is a set beyond which we cannot go; we are bound by time, the temporal.

Wright: This way of conceiving it has brought me a little comfort. I don't know if it's wholly right or not, but I do believe that I can play basketball as well as football. What I can't play is footbasket: I can't play football according to the rules of basketball or vice versa. That's chaotic. On the other hand, the monists will say that I can't be a good football player if I dissipate half of my energies playing basketball. They can't admit the existence, to say nothing of

the validity, of the eternal game without abdicating as naturalists. But I take comfort in believing that I can play both games. How do you feel about that?

Nibley: It's perfectly true that in this world there is the temporal and the spiritual, and yet there is no distinction between them. There is no system that is not spiritual, and there is none that is not material. The spirit itself is composed of matter. We fuse the two in the gospel; only there can it be done. You can accept the temporal and the spiritual as co-existing. When a person dies, you see, he is forced to face another existence. We don't like to accept this, though. We want to shut ourselves in.

Wright: If you're a supernaturalist, you can do it; but you can't do it as a naturalist.

Nibley: Oh, no! Not as a naturalist. You can never say: "Well, we include the other world in our studies of this world." You can't do that. There's no way you can do that in the laboratory.

Wright: As long as it's possible for me to play both games, I will, and I will play to the best of my ability.

Nibley: And you can! The gospel will let you do it. It's the *school* that won't let you do it.

Wright: If I were pushed to the wall and forced to choose between the natural and supernatural spiritualities, I would stay with the eternal system. But short of that, I am able to play either game as best I can.

Nibley: We use the word "spiritual" around here so much, but we never define it, of course.

Wright: I know, and that only deepens the conflict of spiritualities in which we are engulfed. The *homo animalis* is, after all, a spiritual man, the perfect equivalent of Paul's *psychikos anthropos.* The natural man is not the man of flesh, but the man whose spirituality is naturalistic. Compared to profligates, of course, he is the noblest of men; but a whole dimension of his soul is missing in comparison with the *pneumatikos anthropos,* whose spirituality is revealed from outside the natural order.

That brings us to my second question. In any system of worship, it seems to me, you have to have some basic realities to believe in. And then, I think, you will have to express those realities somehow, or at least attempt to communicate them. Historically, this takes one of two forms: Men have either tried to explain the realities they believe in theologically in rational categories, or to present them dramatically in ritual performances. In addition, I suppose, you would also have an ethic, but I'm not interested here in the "way of life" business. I'm more interested in the relationship of the

doctrinal realities believed in by the Saints both to their theological explanations of those realities in rational terms and to their ritualized presentations of the same things in dramatic terms.

You have known me for a long time. I have a pronounced theological tendency but I think you know that I sense some dangers in that. Sometimes, when I want to push explanations as far as I can go, I feel ashamed of myself. I back off, I think, because I don't want to distort the realities I believe in by forcing rational explanations upon them. I also wonder about the relationship of theological explanations to what goes on in the temple where you see ritualized presentations of those realities in dramatic form. What, then, is the relationship of doctrine to theology and ritual?

Nibley: Well, ordinances are more than just symbols—they go beyond that. They can be as simple as a drawing of something that actually is. They always have a double nature: they are or mean something that is real. You see that as soon as you try, in music and art, to give religious experience a third dimension. The gospel actually *has* that third dimension, of course. But the whole purpose of music and art, and literature too, is to produce the *illusion* of a third dimension, to produce the illusion that there is depth in the picture. That's what art does. The painters were scandalized, I read, when they suddenly produced perspective. On a two-dimensional canvas you can produce a third dimension. It's like looking up into the heights of St. Peters: you can see the angels floating on the clouds, and you get the illusion of ascending up to heaven. But that's the point: it's all an illusion, a trick of art, you see; and it will always backfire if you try to do that with the gospel, which is the real thing. That's why I think we're wasting our time, mostly, to try heightening religious experience by using such devices in the Church. Once you know the real thing, everything else is an anticlimax. The ward choir can never achieve the same effects as a choir of angels, and yet these things go together.

I was truly amazed when I went to the Kirtland temple. Look at the work that went into it! It looks like nothing much on the outside but not so on the inside: the workmanship, the design, the way the whole thing is conceived, the scope of it all, the size, the proportions—simply astounding! There is something legitimate there. I can see that the Lord, and not just an angel, has deigned to appear there, knowing how the poor people have worked their heads off for these very same things. And it is really so. They are actually working in a third dimension there: It's more than just dream and illusion. It's totally unlike these ugly gothic, neogothic churches all over the place, these massive pretentious buildings, but of course, they are not genuine. They are imitation gothic. They try to take you back to the Age of Faith, to the Middle Ages, and all that tripe.

Dialogue: What do you think of our modern Mormon churches?

Nibley: They represent bottom-line economy. The architect gets his five percent by grinding them out on the drawing board. There's not much imagination shown in them, but once he gets a plan that works, we apply it, with

slight variations, to hundreds of churches, regardless of the country or the climate. They all follow the same cinder-block pattern, and the architect makes his killing.

Wright: Okay. Let's talk about theology for a minute. They are admittedly some dangers here: even Luther said once, "Oh God, deliver me from the theologians." For all that, however, an angel from God does speak *qua* theologian in the 5th chapter of Moses. Adam had been instructed to sacrifice the firstlings of his flock as an offering unto the Lord, without knowing the rationale for what he was to do. Adam did as instructed, but after many days, when the angel asked him why he did what he had done, Adam could only answer: "I don't know why; I only know that I was asked to do it." The angel then gives a certain amount of theological explanation: "This thing is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father," and so on.

Nibley: Sure. These things have to be explained.

Wright: We need explanation, then?

Nibley: Yes. But not through speculation. The angel didn't get his information by speculation.

Wright: Precisely. But in the western tradition the penchant for rational explanation is very strong, so strong, I think, that we constantly run the risk of valuing our ability to explain things more than the things we are trying to explain.

Nibley: Yes, that could happen. It's all too easy to fall into that trap.

Wright: Well, that's essentially what I was interested in. I think, though, that much difficulty would be avoided if we could only keep from confusing the temporal and eternal spiritualities and the two sets of rules which go with them. But we are so prone to get them all mixed up.

I reject in principle the academic criticism of prophets. There is something wrong with the football player who criticizes the play of basketball on the basis of the only rules he knows, especially if he believes into the bargain that football is the only game in existence. I can't bring myself to criticize a prophet for any utterance, no matter how foolish or profound, on the basis of academic rules. I don't always agree with everything the prophets say, but they are free to say anything they like without opposition from me.

Nibley: Well, there's so much in church history on that particular subject. But we have gotten into a concept of authority which is a million miles away from it. This authority business is a dodge. The idea is that every man must answer for himself, must decide for himself. Every president of the Church has repeatedly emphasized that. But it's so much easier to let someone else make up our minds. Let the prophets do our righteous deeds for us; if they

tell us what's what, that lets us off the hook. Brigham Young has a wonderful quotation on this: "There are some Latter-day Saints who say 'If it is all right with the brethren, it is all right with me.'" But that, he says, is not enough. *We* must decide what is virtuous and what is not because we can't ride into the kingdom on someone else's coattails.

Dialogue: We are interested in your matriarchal studies. I understand you're going to lecture at the law school on matriarchies.

Nibley: Oh, yes. I have quite a section on that in this book on Abraham. Of course, the Egyptians have the matriarchal tradition. The line passed through the females.

Dialogue: There is quite an interest now in feminist studies, of course.

Nibley: Yes, there is!

Dialogue: About the prehistory of goddesses and the notion that the patriarchy is more recent.

Nibley: The matriarchy is just as old as the patriarchal order.

Dialogue: Do you see that as being any comfort to women?

Nibley: Yes, it should be.

Dialogue: I understand you've taken quite an interest in politics recently, especially environmental issues.

Nibley: No, none whatever. That comes out in my speech. (How Firm a Foundation!) I call it the "Gentile Dilemma", the Devil's dilemma, you see. You give people two choices when they're not two at all. It's a neat trick. Which will it be? Cigars or cigarettes? The answer is, of course, neither one interests us."

Dialogue: What do you think about some of the independent journals, like *Dialogue*? Do you think they serve a useful purpose?

Nibley: I think so. I think they should keep up. You don't want too many of them, of course. That would be trouble.

Dialogue: We do have at least four now.

Nibley: But then the idea is pluralism, anyway. If you say, let's not have any new ones at all, that wouldn't be good, but you can have too many.

There were refugee journals in France and Berlin, and so forth, in Paris and Berlin. They would come out by the hundreds, and they would just wither as fast as they could come out. Every refugee camp had its own.

Dialogue: You wonder if there is that much material worth publishing.

Nibley: Yes, that's true again. I think that's what produced much of Dadaism and impressionism and various wild things you have read about.

Dialogue: There's space to be filled, and they fill it.

Nibley: Like John Cage, my old bosom companion.

Dialogue: You knew him?

Nibley: Oh, we were the closest friends in high school; we were buddies all through high school. He was quite a character. But he knows he's spoofing. It paid off beautifully. Did you hear about that?

Unlike Picasso who produces something and puts something in front of you, just anything went with John Cage. He would take a class out and watch the traffic go by, and that was the music lesson for the day. Really, that was it! He said that's just as good as Bach or Grieg. It's not structured, it's open. Imagine! (laughs)

Dialogue: With the millenium coming so close, what do you think is the value of fiction and science fiction for members of the Church? Do you think it increases our perspective?

Nibley: It has sort of faded out now, because science has left it behind, and especially in the horror department. There is nothing in science fiction more dreadful than the MX.

Dialogue: It was on the news as one of the biggest public works projects in the history of the world.

Nibley: And it's never supposed to work; because they'd have to send over a dozen or two hydrogen warheads to wipe it out. They can't zero in on it. They can zero in on the area, but nuclear warheads cover an awful lot of territory.

Dialogue: St. George would be wiped out.

Nibley: Oh, definitely.

Dialogue: Have you read any of Orson Scott Card's science fiction?

Nibley: Orson Scott Card is a very imaginative writer.

Dialogue: Inventive.

Nibley: A gifted young man. I don't know if there is still a market for science fiction. I thought it was sort of played out, because after all that we've said about it . . .

Dialogue: Well, it seems to be getting quite religious in tone.

Nibley: Yes. It's not science fiction anymore. This is what Bradbury's was. It's not science fiction. They've changed it to fantasy, and there's nothing very scientific about it.

Dialogue: It's philosophical. . .

Nibley: Mystic. . .

Dialogue: Mystic, yes. New language. . .

Nibley: They went into a psychological angle, with Piaget and people like that. The first were the gadgetry, with H.G. Wells, the wonderful world of tomorrow, and the wonderful world of tomorrow turned out to be a nightmare.

Dialogue: There is a lot of medical stuff, too: Diseases, new creatures appearing.

Nibley: Yes, the biological. But the emphasis is horror nowadays. Science did not have the perfect world to offer—it is still just beyond our reach. H.G. Wells was going to give us and science was going to give us so many wonderful things we couldn't imagine. And he then tried to describe them and turned out a crashing bore.

Dialogue: Do you have any advice for *Dialogue,* for people like us who are trying to be an independent voice and yet at the same time faithful to the Church?

Nibley: Keep things stirred up—gimmicks to put before the public eye. (laughter)

Dialogue: To keep their interest.

Nibley: Do you inveigle General Authorites from time to time to write for you?

Dialogue: We haven't had much luck with that.
What do you see as the greatest problem in the Church?

Nibley: The fact that we don't live up to our covenants.

Dialogue: We don't really live the Law of Consecration?

Nibley: No, we don't. We have no intention of doing it. There has never been much safety in it. That's what the Doctrine and Covenants says.

It keeps hitting you all the time. You have to dodge and apologize and shift to the next verse, and look the other way . . .

It shouts at you all the way through, and we sidestep it so neatly, "covetous and feigned words."

If I am actually accepting the Law of Consecration, that rules everything else out. It is beyond discussion anymore. I'm stuck with it now. I have no choice. I do consecrate, here and now, all the Lord has given me, all I have now, as well as what I'm going to get in the future, all my present possessions.

Dialogue: Wonderful!

Nibley: You'd be surprised at what is in that speech.

"How Firm A Foundation!" follows . . . .

How Firm a Foundation! What Makes It So

HUGH NIBLEY

THIS TALK IS SUPPOSED to have some reference to the sesquicentennial anniversary of the Restoration of the Church.

One hundred and fifty years is not as long as you think—the Lord has not delayed his coming. I well remember my great-grandfather, who was twenty years old when Joseph Smith was still leading the Church—and the Prophet died as a young man.

I remember very well indeed attending the centennial celebrations in Salt Lake in 1930. It was just after my mission on one of my rare visits to Utah. I stayed at my grandfather's house on the corner of North Temple directly across from Temple Square, and we had some long talks together. The theme of the centennial pageant was "the Gospel through the Ages." In the years since then I have come to see that I had no idea at that time how vast and solid the foundations of the Church really are.

At that time I was going to UCLA and majoring in, of all things, sociology. For my year's research project I was making a study of the churches in Glendale, California, gathering statistics (such as, that church attendance dropped sharply on rainy Sundays and increased proportionately at the movies) and having interviews, sometimes quite frank and revealing, with the pastors. With every one the strength of the LDS position became more apparent to me. Here are some of the things on which the foundation rests secure.

HUGH NIBLEY *is*.

1. Joseph Smith came before the world with a "scenario," arresting, original, satisfying. Because of that alone he couldn't lose. Consider: he had *nothing* going for him, and his enemies had *everything* going for them: they moved against him with all the wealth, education, authority, prestige, complete command of the media, tradition, culture, the books, the universities, the appointments, the renown, etc., etc. on their side. And they ganged against him with dedicated fury. Why was he able to survive the first onslaught? If they had anything at all to put up against his story he could not have lasted a week—but they had nothing. "Question them," said Brigham Young, "and they cannot answer the simplest questions concerning the character of the Deity, heaven, or hell, this or that . . ."[1], and it had been so ever since Origen wrote his work on the First Principles.[2] "Outside of the religion we have embraced, there is nothing but death, hell, and the grave,"[3] he said. If they had anything to offer they could have produced it any time. Those who embraced the gospel were those who had been seeking long and hard—and *not* finding. In the eloquent words of Brigham Young: "The secret feeling of my heart was that I would be willing to crawl around the earth on my hands and knees, to see such a man as was Peter, Jeremiah, Moses, or any man that could tell me anything about God and heaven. But to talk with the priests was no more satisfactory to me than it is now to talk with lawyers."[4]

2. It was a choice between nothing or something—and what a something! The staggering *prodigality* of the gifts brought to mankind by Joseph is just beginning to appear as the Scriptures he gave us are held up for comparison with the newly discovered or rediscovered documents of the ancients purporting to come from the times and places he describes in those revelations. He has placed in our hands fragments of writings from the leaders of all the major dispensations; and now, only in very recent times, has the world come into possession of whole libraries of ancient texts against which his purported scriptures can be tested.

3. One thing that impressed me in talking to the ministers was that our Gospel is not culturally conditioned. I had just been spreading the Gospel in four countries, and everywhere the reception was exactly the same. My son recently wrote an arresting comment on that phenomenon from his mission in Japan: "One thing I've really come to be sure of is that the Gospel applies to all people. East is East and West is West, but wherever they are, the sheep know the Shepherd's voice. The Japanese see Christianity in somewhat the same way Americans see Buddhism, as a strange, complex and exotic philosophy that would take years of research to understand at all. When I go into a house to teach I always tell the people that my knowledge is very limited and therefore I will not teach them from my knowledge, but I simply come as a witness of spiritual truths that I have myself experienced. I tell them that if they will surrender their prejudice they will themselves have the experience of the Holy Ghost. . . . I've never had anyone say that they weren't feeling the Spirit. Of course, getting them to follow it and give up their sins is different."

If the Gospel is not culturally conditioned neither is it nationally conditioned. Which nation do you prefer as a Latter-day Saint? Answer: Whichever gives me the inalienable right to practice my religion; and for years there was only one nation which met that qualification, the United States under its Constitution. It was the glorious principles of the Bill of Rights that opened the door to the Gospel in this dispensation; that was the indispensable implementation of the Gospel plan, without however being part or parcel of that plan which transcends all earthly disciplines.

4. Nothing was more offensive in the teachings of Joseph Smith than the ideas of revelation and restoration. The Protestant doctrine was *sola scriptura;* the Catholic claim was that the source of revelation was scripture *and* tradition. But in our own generation both revelation and restoration have ceased to be naughty words, and Catholics and Protestants are exploiting them in a way that makes us forget how recently and how vigorously they were condemned as a peculiarly wild aberration in Joseph Smith.

5. A recent newspaper headline announced that the churches are now for the first time and in a big way beginning to cultivate the charismatic gifts, not in the revivalist manner, but as a necessary part of the sober Christian life. Years ago I wrote a series of articles called "Mixed Voices" in which I surveyed most of the available anti-Mormon writings in the Church historian's office since the beginning. The claims to heavenly visitations and miraculous gifts, especially healing and tongues, were treated as nothing short of the most heinous crimes by Joseph Smith's critics. We are apt to forget that too, today.

6. The ideas of priesthood and authority were revolutionary. For generations after Joseph Smith, the learned divines were to debate the tension between *Amt* and *Geist.* But nothing is more wonderful than the way in which the Spirit operates through the Priesthood; especially firm was its foundation in a principle by which true Priesthood cannot be abused or misused; its power cannot be applied to further private or party interests, or to impose, coerce, intimidate—the moment it is directed to such ends it automatically becomes inoperative.

The priesthood is further invulnerable because it is indivisible. As long as *one* true holder of the higher priesthood is on the earth the potentiality of the Church is there. It suggests the idea of cloning, that from one cell one can produce a whole organism; also it suggests present-day ideas of manifestations of energy at various levels: "Without the *ordinances* thereof, and the *authority* of the priesthood, the power of godliness is not manifest unto men *in the flesh.*"[5]

7. Which brings us to another unshakable foundation stone—the ordinances. Protestant authorities admit that one of the weakest parts of their position is the meagerness of their liturgy. The reformation abolished a lot of pomp, ceremony and ritual, but put nothing in its place. And now it becomes clear that the ancient Christians made much of certain rites and ordinances that had indeed been lost. But what could the Reformation do but get rid of things that were plainly late and unauthorized intrusions from patently

pagan sources? In the 1830s Roman Catholic researchers, beginning at Solemnes began to discover from the study of old manuscripts that the rites of their mass were indeed later innovations, differing markedly from the earliest practices. And today we have seen the ecumenical movement largely devoted to correcting and restoring (they actually use the word) rites and ordinances which have been lost.

8. Ritual is in the nature of a public and social thing, but the rites of the *temple* were something else. Here again, Joseph Smith has given us something solid and substantial that invites a world of comparative study, which will show from the very outset that this was no mere theatrical gesture. The whole concept of the "Hierocentric Point"[6] around which all the sacral civilizations were built is presented here in its fullness. It is at the temple that all things are bound together. The ancient word for the temple was "The Binding Point of Heaven and Earth." This is no time to go into the inexhaustibly rich symbolism and indispensable reality of the ordinances and the significance of the temple in binding the human family together. The point here is that Joseph Smith gave us the whole thing, and it is a marvel beyond description.

9. With his "scenario" of "protology" and eschatology, the Prophet has brought the indispensable *third dimension* to the Gospel. This is a manner of speaking, but an instructive one. The teachings of men are two-dimensional unless they have actually experienced the third. We live in a flat two-dimensional world with no depth or extension beyond our *present* experience either into time or space: "When the man dies, that is the end thereof." Religion is supposed to go beyond that, it wants to, but lacks confidence and so uses all the devices of art and eloquence to fake that third dimension—as we look up into the soaring vaults of St. Peters, we marvel at the skill with which the architect and the painters, in a setting of bells, music and a splendid pageantry of robes, lights and incense, (not without some narcotic effect) shine to give us the *illusion* of passing into a third dimension of reality. Why bother if they have the real thing? The reality of the phenomenon appears in almost any attempt of the Latter-day Saints to achieve spiritual uplift through music, poetry, painting, drama or special effects, all of which invariably fall short; to those to whom the third dimension is real any attempt to enhance it by two-dimensional materials are bound to appear pitifully inadequate.

10. If the Church has any first foundation it is the unimpeachable *testimony* of the individual. Since this is nontransmissable one might dismiss it as irrelevant, an absolute beyond discussion, criticism or demonstration. Even for the individual the testimony comes and goes in accordance with faith and behavior. If it is real, then it is indeed unassailable and imponderable. I cannot force my testimony on you, but there are certain indications to which I might call your attention. People who lose their testimonies and renounce the church or drop out of it, if they are convinced of their position, should be totally indifferent to the folly of their deluded one-time brethren and sisters: if *they* want to make fools of themselves, that is up to them, but

we are intellectually and socially above all that. Well and good, that is how it is in other churches; but here it does not work that way.

Apostates become sometimes feverishly active, determined to prove to the world and themselves that it is a fraud after all. What is that to them? Apparently it is everything—it will not let them alone. At the other end of the scale are those who hold no rancor and even retain a sentimental affection for the Church—they just don't believe the Gospel. I know quite a few of them. But how many of *them* can leave it alone? It haunts them all the days of their life. No one who has ever had a testimony ever forgets or denies that he once *did* have it—that it was something that really happened to him. Even for such people who do not have it any more, a testimony cannot be reduced to an illusion.

11. Ten points should be enough, but we cannot pass by the word of *prophecy* without notice. It is just becoming apparent today that the scriptures that have come to us by modern revelation are replete with prophecy—there is far more prophecy in them than anyone suspected. It is the fulfillment of things that never seemed possible which is bringing this out. We rightly cite the prophecy on war[7] as clear evidence for the prophetic guidance of the Church—without ever bothering to take to heart its message for us—it still comes through loud and clear with a prophetic message, the consummation of the whole thing is "a *full end* of *all* nations"[8] not a full end of some or a partial end of all, but *full* end of *all*; and that by WAR, not as a possibility or contingency but as a "consumption decreed"—it *must happen*. "Wherefore" the special instructions with which it ends: "stand *ye* in *HOLY* places, and be not moved." I have been rereading *The Life of Wilford Woodruff* by George Q. Cannon, who often marvels at the vast and unshakable foundation laid by Joseph Smith, and at the same time wonders if the Saints have continued to build on it. He has some doubts about that: What about the superstructure?

I had thought to go on adding yet more building blocks, and to discuss the changes in the Church which I have personally observed between the centennial and sesquicentennial—another of those pageants, so to speak. But that word *HOLY* has stopped me in my tracks. Naturally I would have talked about the *growth* of the Church. But is there a critical size or number upon reaching which a state of holiness is obtained, or is there a set period of time, a term at the completion of which one routinely rises a step in *holiness?* I remember that as the ancient church grew in numbers *it diminished* in holiness. If it is numbers God wants, there is no problem: "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham," said the Lord.[9]

To be instructed from on high you must "sanctify yourselves, and ye shall be endowed with power,"[10] "and thus ye shall become instructed in the law of my church and be *sanctified* by which ye have received, and shall *bind* yourselves to act in *all holiness* before me"[11]. After all, we are stuck with the title of Latter-day *Saints*, people sanctified, literally "set apart" in the Last Days, when "the adversary spreadeth his dominions, and darkness reigneth;

and the anger of God kindleth against the inhabitants of the earth; and *none* doeth good, and *all* have gone out of the way."[12] This is the world in which Joseph Smith was "inspired of the Holy Ghost to lay the *foundation*" of the Church," and to build it up into the most *holy* faith."[13] This is not just another institution.

The greatest change I have noticed in the fifty years since I used to make the three-day bus trip from Los Angeles to Salt Lake is the absence of that thrill I felt when the golden words would begin to appear on the buildings of every little town: *Holiness to the Lord,* overarching the all-seeing eye that monitors the deeds of men. That inscription was the central adornment of every important building including each town's main store—the Co-op, as committed as any other institution to the plan of holiness. Next to that what moved me most was the sight of the St. George temple in its beautiful oasis. What became of "*Holiness,*" did it pass away with all the noble pioneer monuments all along the highway, wiped out by the relentless demands of a bottom-line economy? Those delightful old stake houses, bishop's storehouses, schools, ward houses, homes and even barns have been steadily replaced by service stations, chain restaurants, shopping malls, motels and prefabricated functional church and school buildings right from the assembly line: admittedly more practical, but must every house and tree and monument be destroyed because it does not at present pay for itself in cold cash? The St. George Temple is now lost in a neon-jungle and suburban tidal-wash of brash ticky-tacky commercialism. One can only assume that it bespeaks the spirit of our times. God has said that the Saints must build Zion with an eye to two things, holiness and beauty: "For Zion must increase in *beauty* and *holiness*"[14]—with no qualifying provision, "Insofar as an adequate return on the investment will allow."

Everything in Zion is to be holy, for God has called it "My Holy Land," and that with a dire warning: "shall the children of Zion pollute my holy land?"[15] Apparently it is possible. *Holy things are not for traffic,* they are not negotiable: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money."[16] Things which we hold sacred we do *not* sell for money. Consequently to become commodities of trade the land of Zion and what is in it must be *de*-sanctified. Here we meet with an interesting and ancient precedent in Israel recorded both in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Book of Mormon. When the people were in mortal danger from their enemies they could carry the battle to them and wage destruction on the land; but that was only permitted after the High Priest had stood boldly between the ranks of the armies and in a loud voice formally pronounced the enemy land to be "Desolation"—Horma, Horeb (the Moslem Dar-ol-Harb and the *ager hosticus* of the Romans), while their own land under God's protection was holy land, Bountiful, Dar-al-Islam, *ager pacatus.*

Even so the land of Zion must become unholy before it can be used for gain. "The soil, the air, the water are all pure and healthy," said Brigham Young to the Saints arriving in the Valley, "do not suffer them to become

polluted with wickedness." Strive "to preserve the elements from becoming contaminated."[17] "Keep your valley pure, keep your towns pure."[18] "The Lord blesses the land, the air and the water where the Saints are permitted to live."[19] "Our enemies . . . would like to see society in Utah polluted and their civilization introduced; but it would be a woeful day for the Israel of God, if such efforts were to be successful."[20] We have shown elsewhere that they were successful in Kirtland, in Far West, in Nauvoo and finally in Utah. Time and again the Saints have made a bungle of the superstructure, unwilling to conform to the foundation laid down in the beginning.

When I first came to Utah in the 40s it was a fresh new world, a joy and a delight to explore far and wide with my boys and girls. But now my friends no longer come on visits as they once did, to escape the grim commercialism and ugly litter of the East and the West Coast. We can watch that now on the Wasatch front. The Saints no longer speak of making the land blossom as the rose, but of making a quick buck in rapid-turnover real estate. All the students I have talked with at the beginning of this semester intend eventually to go into law or business, the BYU is no longer a liberal arts college; they are not interested in improving their talents but in trafficking in them.

Come with me to the places I used to visit in happier times, taking the four distinct zones that run north and south parallel with the Wasatch.

Zone I. First the mountains, the impregnable retreat of God's creatures, whom he has commanded to multiply and be happy in their proper sphere and element—and this is certainly it. The loggers, miners, cattlemen and sheepmen have grabbed all they can get and are still on the prowl for anything left over. But now, wondrous to relate, even where the resources are skimpy indeed the "Developers" invade en masse, determined to make a marketable commodity of the only remaining value—solitude. They are selling that, and of course destroying it in the process. And we must not forget those who kill for pleasure, the hunters whose campers will soon line the freeways bumper to bumper.

Zone II. Come with me next down into the valley where the Saints once converted the plain into a garden, blossoming as the rose with the stately trees and running waters I remember so well—they had in mind preparing a place fit for Deity to visit and for angels to dwell in; fertile, bounteous, unspoiled by those who planted and dressed their gardens, taking good care of the land and being happy in it. Then a long tentacle started reaching down South State Street, which was then the main highway, with its brash commercial clutter and its vulgar procession of arrogant billboards designed to distract the eye and the mind with their insolent message: "Never mind that, look what *I'm* selling!" It was the blare and vulgarity of petty promotion and massive corporeal presence, which even then was rendering the whole land of America a monotonous desert of regimented, uniform, assembly line places where things were sold.

Quickly this spread out all over the valley as freeways connected one shopping center with the next, while subdivisions wiped out the only avail-

able orchard lands within 500 miles, and on all sides the farms, and their way of life melted away before the relentless inroads of real estate promoters from all over the land.

I see Joseph Smith standing on the framework of a schoolhouse under construction in Far West, whither he had led the Saints to establish a new Zion, an advance company to prepare the ground for the great influx of immigrants to follow. What were they doing? Grabbing up everything in sight for a quick resale to the newcomers at inflationary prices. The Church was afflicted with the real estate fever from the beginning, with tragic results. This is what the Prophet said:

> Brethren, we are gathered to this beautiful land to build up Zion . . . . But since I have been here I have perceived the spirit of selfishness. Covetousness exists in the hearts of the Saints . . . . Here are those beginning to spread out, buying up all the land they were able to . . . thinking to lay a foundation for themselves, only looking to their individual families . . . Now I want to tell you that Zion cannot be built up in such a way. I see signs put out, beer signs, speculative schemes are being introduced. This is the way of the world, Babylon indeed, and I tell you in the Name of the God of Israel, if there is not repentance . . . you will be broken and scattered from this land.[21]

But they continued to build this ambitious superstructure until presently the whole enterprise was swept away in the worst mobbings the people ever knew. This same sermon was recalled, and its lesson repeated to the Saints by Brigham Young immediately after the arrival of the pioneers in the valley, as recorded by Wilford Woodruff, who in turn repeats the lesson for our generation.

Zone III. We move into another zone, to the highly mineralized mountains that line the west side of the valley. They are called the Oquirrh, the "forest mountains," by the Indians. Not any more! Under a canopy of deadly smelter-fumes the forests have long since departed. All along their length the mountains are being torn up on an enormous scale—the local people once boasted of the largest open-pit mine in the world. But not the people who lived there: as in other copper kingdoms, century-old towns have been bulldozed away against the protests of their inhabitants; to dig out the last morsels of metal-bearing ore, no stone left unturned that might yield a little profit.

Here for over a century hard-pressed and poorly paid miners toiled away. When I was small my father, whose father had worked as a child in the horrible mines of Scotland, and my mother, whose father had been a superviser in Park City when she was growing up, would tell about the heroic and laborious lives of the brave miners who transferred the treasures of the earth to the coffers of the rich and in return received nothing but abuse.

The mining operations naturally extended down into the valley to the smelters, refineries and mills that still go on impudently pouring their foul industrial wastes into the limited air-space of the valleys—mostly by night, obscuring the "Mountains high and the clear blue sky" with foul, choking,

miasmic fumes and claiming immunity from all restraints on the ground that attempts to limit the pollution cut into profits.

The ideal condition toward which promoters, developers and senators seem to be striving is that of the blessed state of Kuwait, where the people sit on unlimited amounts of money in the midst of industrial desolation, a technological waste-land of super-highways and high-rises, of a bleakness and monotony that render all their riches futile and forlorn. What good is all the wealth in the world if one must live in a sewer to get and keep it?

Zone IV. As we once thought the mountains in their remote majesty to be immune to the invasion of a defiling civilization, so we thought that the desert at least would be left alone as of little cash value to anyone. One of my favorite haunts was the Sand Dunes near Lynndyl: utter solitude, and the dramatically haunting beauty of the place were wonderfully soothing, refreshing and inspiring to body and mind. Then suddenly the RV market was discovered, and overnight it became a Walpurgis of noise, brawling, drinking, drugs, fights, vandalism, theft and sex, where mindless youths could run riot with their costly mechanical toys.

But this was nothing. Already vast tracts of the desert had been set aside for the practice of various ways in which life may be taken most effectively and on the largest possible scale. First it was bombing ranges, systematically developing the most efficient and thorough ways of demolishing man and his works. But this was the age of innocence compared with the next step, the deadlier, nastier, meaner, more insidious and depraved arts of chemical warfare, where nature is drafted to war against nature. This culminates in the deadly nerve gases, including the futile and horrible wet-eye bombs which some have been eager to bring in because of the business that might come with them.

But experience has shown that even these devices can miss. There must be something more absolutely destructive of life. Well, there is. Southern Utah has always been known for its peculiarly pure air and its "kodachrome-blue" skies, which seem to prevail no matter what is going on in the rest of the world. Almost a hundred atom bombs exploded in that chaste atmosphere, converting it into a strange new element whose gift was the most dreaded of all diseases—cancer. Professor Teller was brought to the BYU, more than once, to tell us that testing in the air was utterly harmless, salubrious in fact and absolutely essential to our position as the number one nation.

And as the culminating abomination of desolation, we find that corner of "Zion" which to me always recalls that moving phrase, "Holiness to the Lord," has now been set apart, "consecrated" as it were, for the fantastic MX game, the ultimate in waste, futility and desecration of the land. As they welcome the wet-eye bombs abhorred in Colorado, so the Saints now welcome the MX after New Mexico has spurned it with loathing. Why? Because it brings money: 33 billion dollars spent on a trick that just *might* fool the Russians, and if it works it will certainly destroy us—what life will be possible after a dozen H-bombs (the minimum that the mighty installation will

attract) have done their work within our borders? And if we count on divine protection, let us recall our very limited immunity to the Nevada testing.

Such considerations admonish me to ask whether all is well in Zion, and I find the answer in myself alone. Have I taken the message seriously? No. I have been quite half-hearted about it, and much too easily drawn into what I call the *Gentile Dilemma*. That is when I find myself called upon to stand up and be counted, to declare myself on one side or the other—which do I prefer, gin or rum, cigarettes or cigars, tea or coffee, heroin or LSD, the Red Rose or the White, Shiz or Coriantumr, wicked Nephite or wicked Lamanite, Whig or Tory, Catholic or Protestant, Republican or Democrat, black power or white power, land pirate or sea pirate, commissar or corporation, capitalism or communism, etc., etc. The devilish neatness and simplicity of the thing is the easy illusion that I am choosing between good and evil, instead of between two or more evils which by their rivalry distract my attention from the real issue. The oldest trick in the book for those who wish to perpetuate a great crime unnoticed is to set up a diversion, such as a fight in the street or a cry of fire in the hall, that sends everyone rushing to the spot while the criminal as an inconspicuous and highly respectable citizen quietly walks off with the loot.

Now it can be shown that in each of the choices just named one of the pair may well be preferable to the other, but that is not the question. There is no point in arguing which other system comes closest to the Law of Consecration, since I excluded all other systems when I opted for the real thing. The relative merits of various economies is a problem for the Gentiles to worry about, a Devil's dilemma which does not concern me in the least. For it so happens that I have covenanted and promised to observe most strictly certain instructions set forth with great clarity and simplicity in the Doctrine and Covenants, and designated as the Law of Consecration, absolutely essential for the building up of the Kingdom on earth and the ultimate establishment of Zion. "Behold, This is the preparation wherewith I prepare you, and the foundation and the ensample which I give unto you, whereby you may accomplish the commandments which are given you. That through my providence, notwithstanding the tribulation which shall descend upon you, that the church may stand independent of all other creatures beneath the celestial world."[22] It is all there, this law of consecration, by which alone the Saints can implement God's plans for Zion in spite of the persecution it will bring on them, this is the foundation on which they must build. The alternative is to be dependent on baser things, for "Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom: otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself."[23]

But should I ask for tribulation? I live in the real world, don't I? Yes, and I have been commanded to "come out of her . . . lest ye partake of her plagues." It is *not* given "unto you that ye shall live after the manner of the world"[24]. Well, then, you must be "in the world but not of the world." That happens to be a convenient para-scripture (we have quite a few of them today), invented by a third-century Sophist (Diognetos), to the great satisfac-

tion of the church members who were rapidly becoming very worldly. The passage as it appears in the scriptures says quite the opposite: "For whatsoever is *in* the world is . . . not of the Father, but *is of* the world".[25]

The Lord has repeatedly commanded and forced his people to flee out of the world into the wilderness, quite literally; there is only one way to avoid becoming involved in the neighborhood brawls, and that is to move out of the neighborhood. There is nothing in the constitution which forbids me doing certain things which I have covenanted and promised to do; if the neighbors don't like it, they have no legal grounds against me, but there are ways of getting me to move; "tribulation . . . shall descend upon you," said the Lord, but do things *my* way and "my providence" will see you through. This inescapable conflict is part of our human heritage, as we learn from dramatic passages of scripture.

The story begins, according to many ancient writings, unknown to the prophet Joseph Smith, with Satan seeking to promote himself even in the pre-existence, and being cast out of heaven in his pride and dedicating himself upon his fall to the destruction of this earth, "for he knew not the mind of God".[26] Laying in wait for Adam in the Garden, he fails in a direct attack, repelled from his prey by a natural enmity between the two; whereupon in a fit of rage and frustration (such as he also displayed in dealing with Moses[27]) he boasts just how he plans to put the world under his bloody and horrible misrule: he will control the world economy by claiming possession of the earth's resources, and by manipulation of its currency—gold and silver—he will buy up the political, military and ecclesiastical complex and run everything his way.

We see him putting his plan into operation when he lays legal claim to the whole earth as his estate, accusing others of trespass, but putting everything up for sale to anyone who has the money. And how will they get the money? By going to work for him. He not only offers employment but a course of instruction in how the whole things works, teaching the ultimate secret, "this great secret" of converting life into property. Cain got the degree of Master Mahan, and tried the system out on his brother, and gloried in its brilliant success, declaring that at last he could be free, as only property makes free, and that Abel had been the loser in a free competition.

The discipline was handed down through Lamech and finally became the pattern of the world's economy.[28] We may detect "the Mahan Principle" vigorously operative in each of the four zones we talked about: As the animals are being wiped out in Zone I, so all forms of vegetation are yielding to asphalt in Zone II, and human life is made short and miserable in Zone III, while the total destruction of every form of life is guaranteed by the macabre exercises in the desert zone. And all for the same purpose: "Cain slew his brother for the sake of getting gain,"[29] not in a fit of pique but by careful business planning, "by a conspiracy." The great secret he learned from Satan was the art of converting life into property—all life, even eternal life!

The exchange of eternal life for worldly success is in fact the essence of the classic pact with the Devil, in which the hero (Faust, Jabez Stone, even Jesus)

is offered everything that the wealth of the earth can buy in return for subjection to Satan hereafter. There is no question of having some of both, "You cannot serve two masters," the one being Mammon; if you try to have it both ways by putting off the final settlement, says Alma, "the Spirit of the Lord hath withdrawn from you, and has NO place in you, and the devil hath ALL power over you."[30]

One may see Mahan at work all around, from the Mafia, whose adherence to the principle needs no argument, down to the drug pusher, the arms dealer, the manufacturer and seller of defective products, or those who poison the air and water as a short-cut to gain and thus shorten and sicken the lives of all their fellow creatures. Is Geneva worth emphysema?

At last we come to the lowly snail darter. Recently Congress pronounced the doom of that species, which stands in the way of construction on a dam. It seems like a fantastic disproportion—between a two-inch fish and a big dam—and it is, with the overwhelming weight of the argument all on the side of the fish. What is the cash value of living things who have been commanded by God to multiply in their proper sphere and element? There is none. Yet there are those who are offended, outraged, at the suggestion that some little finny, furry or feathered species should dare to stand in the way of a mighty bulldozer and the mightier corporate interest behind it.

In the snail darter debate the ultimate expression of contempt for life came from a senator from Utah who with heavy sarcasm asked, Why not declare the smallpox virus an endangered species? Where business interests are concerned small living things are to be esteemed as no more than viruses. "He who has done it to the least of these" applies in the bad sense as well as the good: "He who despises the least of these my creatures despises me!" "Wo unto him who offends one of these little ones!"

But how about the law of consecration which is the foundation of Zion? It is as I said contained in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, explained there not once but many times, so that there is no excuse for not understanding it. The three basic principles are (as so plainly set forth by Wilford Woodruff) 1. Everyone gets what he really needs, his wants being met from a common fund which belongs entirely to the Lord and is administered through the Bishop of the Church, 2. nobody keeps more than he really needs, his surplus all going to that fund. Dickering and controversy over the amounts involved are forestalled by the clear statement of the intent and purpose of the law, which is 3. that all may be *equal* in temporal as in spiritual things. One man's needs may be greater than another's, e.g. because his family is larger; but once those needs are met for each, then all are equal, satisfied, at peace, each free to develop his own talents and do the Lord's work, for that is the purpose of the law.

There is plenty to do to satisfy the work ethic without a profit motive, "For the larborer in Zion shall labor for Zion; for if they labor for money they shall perish."[31] Failure to observe this law places one man above another, abominable in the sight of the Lord, and for that reason, we are told, "the world lieth in sin,"[32] in Satan's power indeed.

This law, the consummation of the laws of obedience and sacrifice, is the threshold of the celestial kingdom, the last and hardest requirement made of men in this life: much harder to keep than the rules of chastity and sobriety, for those temptations subside with advancing age, while desire for the security and status of wealth only increase and grow through the years. Yet none may escape the law of consecration, none are exempt from it in the Church;[33] none may outlive it, as it is "a permanent and everlasting" law,[34] a "deed and covenant which cannot be broken,"[35] even by transgression—there is no escaping it.[36] It cannot be put off until more favorable circumstances,[37] it was given to the Saints because the time was ripe for them, one cannot move into it gradually to ease the shock[38]; or observe it partially,[39] or even grudgingly.[40] It is so fundamental that the early leaders of the Church (Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Parley P. Pratt, etc.) declare that their first impulse after being baptized was to give away all their property to the poor and trust the hand of God to supply their wants in the mission field, for in any case they could take no money with them.

Was that a hard choice? Let us recall the case of the righteous young man who had kept every point of the law and asked to become a disciple of Christ; "one thing thou lackest" the Lord told him,[41] "If thou wouldst be perfect"[42] there was yet this one thing—the law of consecration which crowns all the others. But the young man could not take that one step, because he was very rich, and for that the Lord turned him away sorrowing: he did not call him back to suggest easier terms, but turned to his disciples and pointed out to them by this example how hard it is for a rich man to get into heaven—only a special miracle could do it, he explains; it is as impossible to enter the celestial kingdom without accepting the celestial law as it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle. The disciples marvelled greatly at this, for *they* had never heard of that convenient postern gate, invented by an obliging nineteenth-century minister for the comfort of his well-heeled congregation—the ancient sources knew nothing of that gate, and neither did the baffled Apostles. (That is another "parascripture").

If I keep all the other commandments, says Alma, and ease up on this one, my prayers are vain and I am a hypocrite.[43] Tithing is merely a substitute—a very different thing; once we start making concessions and explanations the whole thing becomes a farce. If business expenses and necessities are deducted from tithable income, nothing is left. God takes a serious view of any attempt to cut corners: He struck Ananias and his wife dead, not for failure to pay anything, but for "holding back" part of what they should have paid.[44]

The free-wheeling interpretation of "stewardship" offers no way out, e.g. piously announcing that the stuff is only mine during this lifetime (a generous concession indeed!), or admission that I must dispose of it in a responsible way (as if others had no such responsibility). One is "a steward over his own property," namely "that which he has received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and family."[45] That is "his own property" to which he has exclusive right, and that is the limit of his stewardship—and it is all consecrated, whether given or received. One does not begin by holding

back what he thinks he will need, but by consecrating *everything* which the Lord has given him so far to the Church; then he in return receives back from the bishop by consecration whatever he needs.

To "consecrate," says the dictionary, means "To make or declare *holy;* to set apart for sacred uses only." God is going "to organize the kingdom upon the consecrated land,"[46] "the land which I have consecrated to be the land of Zion,"[47] for a consecrated people. ". . . let the city, Far West, be *holy* and *consecrated* land unto me; and it shall be called *holy,* for the *ground* upon which thou standest is *holy*."[48] The word appears more than 140 times in the Doctrine and Covenants. It was when some of the brethren began trading in this holy land that the Prophet denounced them, telling them in the name of Israel's God that Zion could never be built up in such a way. The foundation of the holy city was to be nothing other than the law of consecration.[49]

Is the law unrealistic, impracticable? It is much too late for me to worry about that now, for I have already accepted it and repeated my acceptance at least once every month. (At the last conference Brother Mark Petersen spoke of the importance of keeping ALL the covenants we have made—and none is more important, more specific, more sacred than this one). What about Brother So-and-So or President So-and-So? He is free to do as he pleases, I did not covenant with him! I knew quite well what I was promising to do and when and where I was to do it, and why—now it is up to me!

This is not like plural marriage which was suspended by a formal decree because the whole of American society and government had thrown their weight against it with dedicated and unrelenting fury that disrupted the whole course of life in the Church and even the nation. When the United Order was dissolved in 1834 it was through no pressure from outside, but because of greed and hypocrisy ("Covetousness and feigned words"[50]) within the church.

Brigham Young revived it again—the Brigham Young Academy at Provo was founded for the explicit purpose, in his words, of "combating the theories of Huxley, Darwin and Mill, that is opposed to the principles of cooperation and the United Order."[51] But after him the old covetousness and feigned words triumphed again as rich men quietly bought up controlling shares of the cooperatives without changing the name. To quote a recent study, "astute businessmen gradually gained control of the cooperatives . . . completely changed the character of the companies; though they often kept the company name the same, in order to take advantage of the local appeal that cooperatives still held. By the mid-eighties, most of the stock of the cooperatives had been sold to a few businessmen who now controlled the entire operation . . . whose main concern became profit-making." Moreover, by "operating under the name of the now defunct cooperatives," these businesses enjoyed a monopoly in the land.[52] In 1882 President John Taylor sent out a letter declaring, "If people would be governed by correct principles laying aside covetousness and eschewing chicanery and fraud, dealing honestly and conscientiously with others . . . there would be no objection" to their free enterprise[53]—if they would only do away with covetousness and feigned words, the very things that had put them in control of the economy.

But while attempts to implement it come and go, the covenant remains, and those who have entered it must live by it or be cursed, for in this matter God is not to be mocked.[54] I am in a perfectly viable position at this moment to observe and keep it, as I have promised, independently of any other party. I do not have to wait for permission from any other person or group to act; I do not have to join any body of protesters who feel that others are not on the right track before I can keep the rules of chastity or sobriety, nor do I have to join a club or splinter-group in order to keep the ten commandments.

The essence of the law of consecration is charity, without which, as Paul and Moroni tell us, all the other laws and observances become null and void. Love is not selective and charity knows no bounds—"For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans do the same?"[55] How do you keep the most important commandments? the apostles asked, and in reply the Lord told them of a man who was neither priest, nor a Levite nor even of Israel—a mere Samaritan, who did not wait for clearance before yielding to a generous impulse to help one in distress who was completely unknown to him: "Go thou and do likewise!" was the advice—you are on your own. "It is not meet that I command in all things."[56]

I made my covenants and promises personally with God, in the first person singular. "I want you to understand," said Heber C. Kimball, "that you make covenants with God, not with us. We were present and committed those covenants to you, and you made them with God, and we were witnesses."[57] Paul recognizes this in his lucid statements about the law of consecration in his letters to Timothy, which should be studied carefully. And he is talking about the foundation of the Church, which rests on the personal contract between God and the individual: "nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal: the Lord knoweth them that are his. And let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."[58] The Lord alone knows who are the true Church, he alone stands at the gate, "and he employeth no servant there" as he takes each one by the hand and speaks each name. Even the Prophet does not know who are in the covenant and who are not "as you cannot always judge the righteous, or as you cannot always tell the wicked from the righteous, therefore I say unto you, hold your peace until I shall see fit to make all things known."[59]

What is there to stop me from observing and keeping the law of consecration at this very day as I have already covenanted and promised to do without reservation? Is the foundation too broad for us to build on? We are in the position of one who has inherited a number of fabulously rich and varied franchises. Only two or three of the enterprises really appeal to him, and so he devotes all his attention to them and neglects all the others. How often have we heard—even from outsiders—if the Latter-day Saints only realized what riches they possess!

Well, there is a clause in the will stating that if the heir neglects ANY of the franchises he will forfeit them all. What am I doing with genealogy, temple work, Sunday school, priesthood, home teaching, scripture study and all my meetings? I simply can't do them all; I cannot begin to do justice to them. Why not? Because I am, as my grandfather used to say, and not en-

tirely in jest, too taken up with the cares of the world and the deceitfulness of riches, by which he meant business. But must you spend so much time at it? Don't you know that if you lived by the law of consecration you would have time enough for all of it? But that is out of the question, our way of life demands the other. Which is exactly why God has always commanded his people to give up that way of life, come out of the world, and follow his special instructions.

Some have raised questions in the nature of very sensible and reasonable practical objections. For example: "People now moving into Utah Valley must have somewhere to live: therefore the orchards must go." What could be more sensible and to the point? In such a spirit a friend says to me, "I *must* have my two cups of coffee every morning; otherwise I cannot get through the day." Perfectly sensible; what is the answer? "What do you mean by getting through the day?" "Well, I have to go to the office—the old rat-race, you know, a real strain." Must you go to the office? Is there no other way? Who tells you there is no other way? The more completely committed you are to a prescribed way of doing things the fewer options you enjoy, until you end up a helpless prisoner to your precious "way of life." If you are resigned or dedicated to a regime that you do not really like, or that wastes your talents, then you are a prisoner indeed—in Satan's power. In short, when you say "There is no other way" the game is lost and he has won.

The number of possible solutions to any problem is legion, limited only by our own mental resources, and God is anxious to give us all the light and guidance we are *willing* to receive.[60] The mental paralysis of our times strongly suggests that God has withdrawn his spirit from among men, as he said he would. Quite recently the newspapers and journals have been full of the alarming decline in mental capacity and learning among the rising generation, in which, I sorrow to say, Utah leads the parade with its appalling twenty-six percent drop in scholarly aptitude scores and the lowest rating in all the land in mathematics—the one subject that requires some real discipline. Can such people ever be independent?

We lamely submit to atomic bomb tests, wet-eyes and the MX maze, we inhale the dust of Vitro tailings for years on end and rally to the support of the nation's Number One Polluter in our midst as we surrender that last wilderness heritage on earth in the name of "unlocking" it to private land-grabbers. Satan has us where he wants us—helpless, scared to death: "If we leave his employment, what will become of us?" For he has us convinced that there is no other way, nothing to do but go along. Ah, but there *is* another way. If you and the rest of Adam's children will only listen to the Gospel, you will soon learn that ample provision has been made in the providence of God through his law of consecration.

NOTES

[1]*Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool, 1854–1886), Vol. 1, p. 39. Hereafter, *JD*.

[2]Origen, "Peri Archon," in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857–68), vol. 11.

[3]*JD*, 10:352.

[4]*JD*, 8:228.

[5]D&C 84:21.

[6]See Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly*, IV (1951): 226–53.

[7]D&C 87.

[8]D&C 87:6.

[9]Matthew 3:9.

[10]D&C 43:16.

[11]D&C 43:9.

[12]D&C 82:5–6.

[13]D&C 21:2.

[14]D&C 82:14.

[15]D&C 84:5.

[16]Acts 8:20.

[17]JD, 8:79.

[18]*Ibid.*, 6:80.

[19]*Ibid.*, 10:222.

[20]*Manuscript History* of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. 27, p. 205f.

[21]Edward Stevenson, "The Life and History of Elder Edward Stevenson, n.p., n.d., pp. 40–41.

[22]D&C 78:13–14.

[23]D—C 105:5

[24]D&C 95:13.

[25]1 John 2:16.

[26]Moses 4:6.

[27]Moses 1:19–22.

[28]Moses 5:55–56.

[29]Moses 5:50.

[30]Alma 34:35.

[31]2 Ne 26:31.

[32]D&C 49:20.

[33]D&C 70:10.

[34]D&C 72:3, 78:4.

[35]D&C 42:30.

[36]D&C 78:10.

[37]D&C 70:16.

[38]D&C 78:2.

[39]D&C 42:78.

[40]D&C 70:14.

[41]Matthew 10:21; Luke 18:20.

[42]Matthew 19:24.

[43]Alma 34:28.

[44]Acts 5:1.

[45]D&C 42:32.

[46]D&C 103:35.

[47]D&C 103:24.

[48]D&C 115:7.

[49]D&C 48:6.

[50]D&C 104:4, 52.

[51]Dean C. Jesse, ed. *Brigham Young's Letters to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1974), p. 199.

[52]Michael E. Christensen, "The Making of a Leader: A Biography of Charles W. Nibley to 1896," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1978. I: 128–29.

[53]*Ibid.*

[54]D&C 104:3–6.

[55]Matthew 5:44ff.

[56]D&C 58:26.

[57]JD, 6:127f.

[58]2 Timothy 2:19.

[59]D&C 10:37.

[60]D&C 88:32f.

The Supreme Court, Polygamy and the Enforcement of Morals in Nineteenth Century America: An Analysis of Reynolds v. United States

JAMES L. CLAYTON

HISTORIANS HAVE PAID only slight attention to the relationship between law and public morality in nineteenth century America.[1] Lawyers and philosophers, on the other hand, have made the enforcement of morals a major issue, particularly in recent times.[2] The central question is to what extent, if at all, should the criminal law concern itself with the enforcement of morals and the punishment of sin or immorality?

This essay examines whether the criminal law should be or can be used to enforce morality in marriage. It does so by examining the most fundamental, intense and prolonged challenge to that institution in our history: the Mormon practice of polygamy. Based in part on sources heretofore closed to scholars, the essay focuses on the efforts of the Mormon leaders to establish polygamy in America and the efforts by the Supreme Court to place the religiously motivated practice of polygamy beyond the protection of the First Amendment in *Reynolds v. United States* (1879), the case in which Jefferson's famous phrase "wall of separation between Church and State" first entered into American law.

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This need for greater understanding of the relationship between law and morality is buttressed by our rapidly changing mores regarding marriage, adultery and homosexuality generally and growing social and legal toleration of polygamous marriages particularly.[3] Until recently the immorality of polygamy was unquestioned, but several states have legalized all sexual conduct between consenting adults, and bigamy laws are seldom enforced anywhere, including Utah.[4] Foreign polygamous marriages have long been recognized in the United Kingdom and are becoming recognized in the United States. Both the wives and the children of illegal polygamous marriages are beginning to be treated as if polygamy were in fact legitimate.[5] Given these rapidly changing and considerably softer public attitudes, it is time for a fresh look at the source of basic premises on the prohibition of the practice of polygamy.

First, a brief excursion to the historical setting in which this conflict between the Mormons and the law occurred is useful. During the last half of the nineteenth century, the American religious community was in tension with the secular culture that surrounded it.[6] Despite rising church membership, the vast majority of Americans were adapting their religious beliefs to American cultural trends and reinterpreting those beliefs in terms of the characteristics of that age. Stow Persons has called this process of adaptation "modernization"; others have called it "privatization"; but usually it is called "secularization."[7] Religion was being relegated from a central to a peripheral role in American society. The ingredients of secularization were a shifting emphasis from the Diety to the individual; greater reliance on experience than authority; the down-grading of miracles and the upgrading of rationalized theology; a more critical attitude toward the scriptures; and a growing belief that change, almost any change, was the equivalent of improvement. Modernity meant transcending the religiously oriented past for a more secularly oriented future. In short the mainline, denominational religions of America were learning how to "coexist" with the state.

The Mormons were decidedly not part of this process of coexistence and adaptation; they opposed it vehemently. Their position was, in many respects, like that of their Catholic contemporaries in Prussian Germany during the *Kulturkampf*—one of open and intense conflict with the state. The German Catholics, fearing a decline in faith because of humanism, cultural relativity and Marxism, wished to reverse the process of secularization among the faithful (which had gone much further in Europe than in America), and to get the state to recognize that God and not Caesar was preeminent in worldly affairs.[8] The Prussian state, on the other hand, believed that the Catholic Church was attempting to arrogate too much political power to itself so that loyalty to the state was to take precedence over loyalty to the church.

The Mormons believed they had been commissioned by God to create the perfect society, one which would ultimately supplant all others, including the United States government. As John Taylor succinctly put it: "We are the people of God; we are his government."[9] The quintessence of the govern-

ment's side of this conflict was best captured by Vice President Schuyler Colfax, following a visit in 1869 to Salt Lake City: "It is time to understand whether the authority of Brigham Young is the supreme power in Utah; whether the laws of the United States or the laws of the Mormon Church have precedence within its limits."[10]

Congressman McClernand of Illinois expressed a not atypical attitude on this subject when he told Congress in 1860:

> As to polygamy, I charge it to be a crying evil; sapping not only the physical constitution of the people practicing it, dwarfing their physical proportions and emasculating their energies, but at the same time perverting the social virtues, and vitiating the morals of its victims. It originated in the house of Lamech . . . and in the family of . . . Cain. It is often an adjunct to political despotism; and invariably begets among the people who practice it the extremes of brutal bloodthirstiness or timid and mean prevarication. . . . It is a scarlet whore. It is a reproach to the Christian civilization; and deserves to be blotted out.[11]

During the 1860 Congressional debate on polygamy, a majority of the congressmen who spoke argued that polygamy was degrading to women, an adjunct to political despotism and that it encouraged promiscuity and broke up the family circle. Equally important, polygamy was against the moral sentiments of Christendom, and those who practiced this form of marriage tended to be poor, recent immigrants, submissive and uneducated. Without the slightest hint of religious bigotry, several congressmen indicated that polygamy simply went beyond what was tolerable in America and that for a society to be considered moral, lines had to be drawn somewhere. If Congress and Americans generally believed polygamy, like slavery, was a "relic of barbarism,"[12] the Mormons publicly accepted polygamy as one of the most holy and immutable commandments of God. Privately, Joseph Smith went much further. To the inner circle he taught that polygamy was "*the* most holy and important doctrine ever revealed to man on the earth."[13]

The origins and purposes of Mormon polygamy have been well described elsewhere.[14] For several years following its public announcement in 1852, there was no question among the Mormons as to the legality or the constitutionality of polygamous marriages. Because it was a commandment from God, Mormons assumed polygamy was immune from governmental interference because the First Amendment guaranteed the "free exercise" of religion. Once Congress took steps to proscribe polygamy, however, the Mormon attitude toward polygamy hardened considerably. Most worthy male Mormons, not just the elite, were now to enter into the covenant, and the eternal nature of this doctrine was emphasized over and over again. Increasingly, the non-Mormon world was described by the more arduous Mormon spokesmen as wicked, adulterous and corrupt. Monogamy was pejoratively described as "the one-wife-system" or "serial marriage" where one spouse had died and a new marriage was performed. Even the "heathen," if polygamous, were considered by the most pious as more virtuous than

monogamous American families. Great pains were taken by Mormon leaders to portray polygamy as a holy religious duty rather than, as most Americans thought, a lecherous sexual activity. The more careful students have tended to side with the Mormons on this point.[15]

By the late 1870s the position of the Mormon leadership toward the *legality* of polygamy was somewhat softer than its strident advocacy of the principle itself. Given the Free Exercise Clause in the First Amendment and their firm belief that the Constitution had been divinely inspired, the Mormon leadership maintained that federal proscription of polygamy could be constitutionally justified only if it could be demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that the practice of polygamy was somehow injurious to the legal rights of nonpolygamists.[16] The church leaders never questioned the right of Congress to regulate the morals of its constituents, and the Mormon view of the Supreme Court, despite numerous negative judicial experiences in the past (especially in the aborted trial of the accused assassins of Joseph and Hyrum Smith), was one of general respect and trust. So certain in fact was the leadership that its position was sound and would be vindicated by the courts that Brigham Young agreed to a test case to settle the matter once and for all.

During the summer of 1874, Mormon leaders and the United States Attorney in Salt Lake City agreed to arrange for a test case to determine the constitutionality of the antipolygamy act of 1862. According to George Q. Cannon, a Utah territorial delegate, there was a "universal belief" among the Mormons that the act of 1862 was unconstitutional with the Mormon position supported by "many eminent lawyers, both in and out of Congress."[17] George Reynolds, personal secretary to Brigham Young, former editor of the *Millennial Star*, and husband of two wives, Mary Ann Tuddenham and Amelia Jane Schofield, was selected for this case. According to Reynolds' diary, he was simply told on the street by George Q. Cannon, who was by then Second Counselor to the President of the Church, that the First Presidency had chosen him to test the law.[18]

Reynolds was indicted for bigamy in October 1874 by a grand jury empanelled according to the provisions of the act of 1862 and on the basis of testimony from witnesses he himself supplied. Proving Reynolds guilty of bigamy was surprisingly difficult for a case which began as a cooperative effort. Fifteen witnesses were called, including Reynolds' father, mother, the witnesses Reynolds himself supplied to the grand jury and the mayor of Salt Lake City who had actually married Reynolds to his second wife a few weeks earlier.[19] None either knew or could remember anything. Finally Amelia Jane was subpoenaed She made a dramatic entrance into the court and admitted to the marriage.

A jury of seven Mormons and five non-Mormons quickly convicted Reynolds as charged, but this conviction was overturned by the territorial supreme court on the grounds that the jury had been improperly constituted. One year later, Reynolds was again indicted and convicted on the basis of the second wife's testimony given at the first trial; the jury was composed of both Mormons and non-Mormons. He was fined $500 and sentenced to two years imprisonment at hard labor (a provision not included in the statute).[20]

In Reynolds' second trial in Utah's Third District Court, procedural matters took up most of the time,[21] but of far more importance than these procedural intricacies was Chief Justice Alexander White's charge to the jury which became the basis for much of the Supreme Court's opinion later. White told the jury,

> In matters of opinion, and especially in matters of religious belief, all men are free. But parallel with and dominating over this is the obligation which every member of society owes to that society; that is, obedience to the law.[22]

When the Hindu mother casts her newborn infant into the Ganges, White continued, she may be acting out of religious belief but is still guilty of a crime. When the Fiji Islander leaves his aged parents in the woods to starve, he does so out of custom, and when the Indian widow is placed upon the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, she, too, is acting from deeply held beliefs, he said. All these examples branded polygamists by implication as uncivilized and barbaric and were to be used by the Supreme Court in its decision.

The Mormon leadership appealed the Utah court's decision and on 6 January 1879, Chief Justice Waite delivered the Supreme Court's opinion in *Reynolds v. the United States.*[23] About half of Chief Justice Waite's majority opinion dealt with procedural matters which have been well discussed elsewhere.[24] The root of the matter was "whether religious belief can be accepted as a justification of an overt act made criminal by the law of the land."[25]

Justice Waite approached his problem from a wholly secular perspective. The meaning of "religious freedom" was best determined by "the history of the times."[26] No thought was given to the possibility of a higher law; that possibility was either assumed away or the law of the land was considered to be the highest applicable code. To George Cannon's mind this approach simply put "The Supreme Court of the United States on one side and the Lord on the other."[27] A more careful analysis suggests that the Court was not opposing God's law, if such there be, it was merely saying that the U.S. Constitution is as far as it will go in interpreting the law. Since the Constitution does not recognize a higher authority than itself, neither would the Court.

With the possibility of a higher law excluded, the Court then turned to earthly authorities—notably Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. After briefly noting how the colonists were taxed to support religions they did not subscribe to and were forced to go to churches they did not believe in, Waite then quoted the preamble of the Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom:

> [To] suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion . . . is a dangerous fallacy which at once destroys all religious liberty. . . .[It] is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order.[28]

"In these two sentences is found the true distinction between what properly belongs to the Church and what to the State," Waite declared. Legislative powers reach action only, not opinions, thus building "a wall of separation between Church and State."[29]

What seemed to be required was some proof that the religiously motivated acts in question had led to significant disruptions of "peace and good order," or that the existence or safety of the state was endangered. At a minimum, Waite's opinion to this point implies that to proscribe religious conduct someone's rights had to have been interfered with. If this had indeed been Waite's sole purpose, the Mormons would have had little to quarrel with in his decision. The Mormons felt that since polygamy did not injure anyone else, it should be constitutionally tolerated.[30]

But Waite went well beyond the category of injury to specific individuals. In effect, the Chief Justice assumed that Mormon polygamy in Utah territory was generally disruptive of peace and good order simply because polygamy was considered odious *everywhere else.* No one had charged George Reynolds or his wives with being in any way disorderly. In fact, much evidence existed at that time—from travelers' accounts to official judicial statements—that the Mormons were especially sober and, except for polygamy, usually law-abiding.[31] Nor did the Court lack authoritative statements had it wished to base its opinion on the "injury to others" test. Jefferson himself, in his notes on Virginia, had said,

> The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such actions only as are injurious to others. . . . Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error.[32]

Waite next turned to society's compelling interest in marriage. The Chief Justice did not choose to examine the sexual aspects of polygamy, which were certainly what most Americans associated with polygamy. To Waite, illicit sex was not the issue. The issue was illicit marriage.

Society was built upon marriage, Waite asserted, and whether monogamous or polygamous marriages are allowed will determine whether democracy can or cannot exist.[33] Since polygamy leads to patriarchy, and patriarchy to despotism, monogamy is the very foundation of the democratic state, Waite believed.[34] The idea that democracy rests on monogamy was widely held at this time, and Waite admittedly took it from the anti-Mormon political scientist, Frances Lieber, probably from Lieber's *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government,* published in 1874.[35] Waite did not quote Professor Lieber on religious liberty, however. On that question, Professor Lieber wrote in his 1839 *Manual of Political Ethics* that "if I believe that a certain service is essential to any religion, I have certainly an undoubted right to disobey the law [proscribing such conduct], and celebrate it in secret if I thereby do not injure anyone else."[36] If "service" could be read to include "commandment," the Mormons would certainly have agreed with Lieber, including Lieber's admonitions to practice his beliefs in secret (which the Mormons did until 1852).

No one today believes that democracy, however fragile, is dependent on the type of marriage that a society sanctions, but most still believe that polygamous wives are subservient to their husbands. Most of the Mormon women who practiced polygamy, however, did not openly admit that they were in a subservient status. What they actually believed may be another matter entirely. Richard Burton, a non-Mormon and perhaps the most dispassionate and experienced contemporary observer, put it most fairly when he wrote that Mormon polygamy, more than anything else, resembled "a European home composed of a man, his wife, and his mother."[37] Polygamous marriages, depending on the parties involved, were in fact "good, bad, and indifferent" and about equally hard on the husband as on the wife.[38] On this point Cannon quipped, "If I entertained the views that prevail outside of Utah . . ., I would think it punishment enough for men who married more wives than one, to have to live with them . . . ."[39] The possibility of *male* subservience in a household of several devout women seemed to have escaped Waite completely. Reynolds had minimized this possibility by having his wives live in separate homes and spending alternate weeks with each of them.

Waite next turned to the nature of polygamy itself, arguing whether such a practice should be given constitutional protection under the First Amendment.

> Suppose, one believed that human sacrifices were a necessary part of religious worship, would it be seriously contended that the civil government under which he lived could not interfere to prevent a sacrifice? Or if a wife religiously believed it was her duty to burn herself upon the funeral pyre of her dead husband, would it be beyond the power of the civil government to prevent her carrying her belief into practice?[40]

The question seemed gratuitous to the Mormons since they never asserted that religion could be used as a defense against either criminal homicide or suicide. On this point Cannon indignantly declared: "In the name of common sense, what possible analogy can there be between the destruction of life and the solemnization of marriage, between practices which extinguish life and an ordinance which prepares the way for life. . . . Because human sacrifice is wrong, does it necessarily follow that human propagation is wrong?"[41]

Finally, having declared that polygamy was like wife-burning, so odious as to have been everywhere prohibited in America, that such nefarious marriages led to patriarchy and consequently ought to be prohibited under the "bad tendency" rubric, that polygamy was as barbaric as the worst offense imaginable, Waite returned to his original contention that the Constitution was framed to protect all religious belief but not all religiously motivated actions. "To permit [polygamy] would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the laws of the land," the Chief Justice of the United States declared most emphatically.[42] This was truly the heart of the

matter—whether God or Caesar would rule America—and the bottom line of the ongoing *Kulturkampf.*

After an unsuccessful attempt to get President Hayes to pardon him on the grounds that his was merely a test case and an equally unsuccessful attempt to get a rehearing before the Supreme Court, George Reynolds was imprisoned in the federal prison at Lincoln, Nebraska and shortly thereafter sent back to Utah to serve his term in the territorial penitentiary.

Reynolds' internment was unusual in many respects. He received visitors—sometimes including "a wagon load" of his wives and children—almost every day and sometimes in such numbers that the prison warden threatened to move him out of the territory. He was also allowed to leave the prison and go home on five special occasions for a few hours each—twice when children were born to his polygamous wives. Shortly after the *Reynolds* decision was handed down, a reporter for the *New York World* interviewed George Reynolds for his reaction to the decision. Reynolds said that the Supreme Court's decision was a "nullification" of the Constitution, that the belief/conduct dichotomy was "twaddle," and that his second trial in Utah was grossly unfair because Judge White had helped the prosecutor from beginning to end. Reynolds was most disappointed over the Court's definition of the Free Exercise Clause. "Exercise means action, or it means nothing," he declared.[43]

The immediate reaction of the officials of the Mormon Church to the *Reynolds* decision was one of shock, bewilderment and defiance. On the day after the decision was announced, George Q. Cannon wrote in his diary:

> I had an important interview with Senator Edmunds of Vermont, Chairman of the Judicial Committee of the Senate . . . . [He] spoke formally of legislation to condone the past and to operate for the future . . . . [He asked,] "Will your people observe the law in the future?" Determined not to mislead or deceive I have given no assurance that they would . . . .[44]

On the following day, Cannon wrote to Apostle Taylor that the justices of the Supreme Court "appear willing to leave us to our fate, or the fate our enemies would mete out to us. Now it is up to the Lord to preserve us."[45]

Within a week after the *Reynolds'* decision President John Taylor was interviewed for his reaction by a correspondent of the *New York Tribune.* "I regard that a religious faith amounts to nothing unless we are permitted to carry it into effect," Taylor declared, and then went on to say that both Congress and the Supreme Court were now persecuting the Mormons as the Huguenots in France and the nonconformists in England had been persecuted.[46] When asked if religion could ever be a justification for breaking a criminal law, Taylor replied that it could in a country that had a constitutional guarantee of religious freedom. The government is the transgressor, not the Mormons, he declared.[47] After a lengthy defense of polygamy as compared to monogamy, Taylor dismissed Waite's belief/action dichotomy

as "so much bosh" and asserted that the main reason polygamy was proscribed in America was because Mormons were "but a handful of people."

Perhaps the strongest Mormon reaction to the *Reynolds* decision was expressed during the October 1879 general church conference where President Taylor thundered:

> God will lay his hand upon this nation . . . there will be more bloodshed, more ruin, more devastation than ever they have seen before. . . . We do not want these adjuncts of civilization. We do not want them to force upon us that institution of monogamy called the social evil. We won't have their meanness, with their foeticides and infanticides, forced upon us.[48]

The most extensive and scholarly reaction to *Reynolds v. United States* by a Mormon was George Q. Cannon's fifty-seven page review of the Court's decision published in 1879.[49] Cannon's main point was that so long as Mormon beliefs and practices do not interfere with the rights of their fellow men, they should be allowed under the First Amendment to practice their beliefs however nonconformist they might be. Reason, not force, is the only effectual agent against error, Cannon believed. No one had been wronged in this practice—neither the Mormon women nor their husbands—for they were not coerced. Nor were the polygamous children adversely affected, he wrote, for there was no approbrium placed upon them in the Mormon community. Nor had the nation been wronged, Cannon said, for Mormons are peaceable, industrious, frugal, thrifty and honest. "Our only fault," Cannon remarked wryly, "is that we are too much married."[50]

As one would expect the reaction of the major eastern newspapers was strongly supportive of the Supreme Court's decision. The *New York Times* called the Reynolds decision "a decided victory" against polygamy and a "great gain" for the nation.[51] Admitting that the law of 1862 had been passed solely to affect Mormons, the *Times* attempted to excuse this discriminatory approach on the basis that polygamy was really not a voluntary matter for Mormons, since all members of that faith who did not practice polygamy were regarded with distrust and suspicion. The *New York Tribune* took an even stronger stand, stating that this was the only possible way the Court could have decided this case. Calling polygamy an "abomination" which "stands on the same level with murder," Salt Lake City "a far off Sodom," and those who practice polygamy the "savage sultans of Utah," the *Tribune's* less restrained reaction was possibly more representative of the general public's reaction than that of the *Times*.[52]

The more distant aftermath of the *Reynolds* decision has been well examined elsewhere.[53] All branches of government rallied around the decision, and when it became clear that convicting polygamists of bigamy did not suffice, the government shifted its emphasis from prohibiting polygamy and incarcerating polygamists to the destruction of the Mormon Church itself. As President Chester A. Arthur put it, polygamy was the "cornerstone" of Mormonism, and in order to bring down this structure, the federal gov-

ernment's duty was to destroy the whole "barbarous system" which spawned it.[54]

With a century of hindsight and attitudes much more tolerant of deviant sexual behavior, a number of conclusions suggest themselves in this bitter conflict between what was then America's most despised sect and the elected and appointed representatives of the United States.

Chief Justice Waite's primary purpose of completely abolishing by judicial decision the "barbarous practice of polygamy" as the other "twin relic" had been abolished by war, did not, of course, succeed immediately. The Mormons simply ignored the *Reynolds* decision. Indeed, as anyone living today in Mormon Country knows, unsanctioned polygamy is still very much with us although not so openly evident and without the righteous fire that once aroused the nation to wrath. If prohibiting polygamy was insufficient as a means to end it, dissolving the Mormon Church, which the Supreme Court did in its *Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States* (1890), was effective.[55] Faced with the choice of giving up their "most holy principle" or giving up their whole religious organization, the Mormons capitulated. Historical hindsight makes it seem inevitable that this small and extremely unpopular sect would lose its battle with the majority will, particularly when, as George Bancroft had pointed out earlier, majority rule was the compelling idea of nineteenth Century America.[56] Open and notorious sexual behavior which shocks the moral sensibilities of the whole nation will not be allowed, religiously motivated or not. This is the major lesson of *Reynolds*,[57] and it supports Lord Devlin's belief that society will not tolerate sustained rebellion against the established moral code.[58] The Mormons' position that they should be allowed to practice their religious beliefs so long as no one was harmed thereby might be an eminently reasonable one, and was in fact advocated by no less a figure that John Stuart Mill, but when public feelings run high, it does not seem to be a very practical one.

If the *Reynolds* decision was inevitable, was it also wise? Virtually everyone who has analyzed *Reynolds v. United States* has said so.[59] I am less sure. First, *Reynolds* was the initial constitutional step in a legal crusade, not just against polygamists but against Mormons generally. Nonpolygamists were denied the right to vote; private property was confiscated without compensation; polygamists who ceased living with their plural wives were prevented from offering them financial support. *Reynolds* laid the legal groundwork for a national crusade not just against polygamy, but against the Mormon religion itself. The effect of the *Late Church* decision was to declare all Mormons beyond the protection of the First Amendment whether they practiced polygamy or not.

Second, the belief-conduct distinction is a gross oversimplification of these complex issues. Where does one draw the line with this rule? At one extreme, virtually all religious conduct could be proscribed on the grounds that it is action, including *taking* the sacrament, *going* to Mass, and even *praying* in church. At the other, if religious conduct can be proscribed, can it also be required? Could a student be required, for example, to attend ROTC if his

religious scruples forbid it? Could another be required to salute the flag? Can an office holder be required to acknowledge a belief in God? Or suppose a polygamist merely taught his children the doctrine of polygamy. Would that be belief or conduct.?[60]

Third, the reasoning in *Reynolds* seems excessively eclectic. Waite sifted through both Jefferson's writings and Lieber's books to find what was supportive while rejecting equally compelling material from these same authors which supported the Mormons' case. Waite ignored Jefferson when Jefferson wrote that the legitimate powers of government extend only to actions injurious to others. He ignored Professor Lieber's teaching that people had a right to disobey the law for religious reasons. Nor did Waite tell his audience that Jefferson was not a Christian but a Deist, suspicious of all revealed religion, or that Lieber was as blatantly anti-Mormon as he was anti-Catholic—hardly unbiased sources on the duties of the faithful. Waite was wise, however, in opposing the notion that anything should be allowed so long as it is religiously motivated. Like speech, the reach of religion cannot be absolute.

If the High Court's performance in this instance seems less than perfect, so, too, was the performance of the Mormons. After the initial efforts at cooperation, there is little in the record to show that the Mormons really intended to abide by the *Reynolds* decision if it went against them. Nor were their shrill harangues against monogamists or their dire threats of impending calamity against the nation if the Mormons did not get their way either convincing or laudable. The Mormons also seemed especially slow in recognizing the inevitable force of the law. Fervor may be good for the soul, but it can cloud the mind. Nor were the Mormons especially tolerant of their own deviants. Mormon bishops who refused to practice polygamy because it was illegal after 1879 were frequently released from their offices, and those who openly criticized church leadership were usually excommunicated. Finally, the Mormons seemed unimpressed with the idea that states, too, have compelling interests and that "a wall of separation" which protects religious freedom sometimes requires religious compromise.

A final conclusion can be drawn from the *Reynolds* decision. In a society where deep religious significance is given to monogamous marriage, where as Waite said marriage is a "sacred obligation" and a distinctly "Christian" practice, the law prohibiting polygamy was a public attempt to protect the *religious* sentiments of the majority from what Louis B. Schwartz has called "psychic aggression."[61] Polygamy offended not only the moral but also the religious beliefs of Protestant and Catholic America. As the Committee on the Judiciary put it, polygamy "brings our holy religion into contempt" and to allow this "new Sodom and new Gomorrah" to continue "will invoke the vengence of heaven.[62] The first organized opposition to polygamy came from the evangelical churches, and ministers played a prominent part throughout the crusade.[63] Mormon officials believed that Protestant leaders were "the great power in Babylon" and behind the antipolygamy legislation.[64] *Reynolds* is therefore a prime example of using law to protect the majority against religious outrage.

This point can be made clearer by comparing the attitude of the Supreme Court and the public toward polygamy in George Reynolds' day and in ours. In the last few years, the Supreme Court has moved away from its earlier attempts to promote sexual morality. The older distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children is now largely gone; birth control and abortion decisions are now essentially private matters, and the number of alternatives to the traditional marriage relationship is increasing. John T. Noonan, Jr. even suggests that the Supreme Court has gone so far as to eliminate all of the unique legal privileges that have formerly adhered to heterosexual monogamy.[65] Nor does the practice of polygamy seem to matter much anymore to the American public at large. Having lost much of their metaphysical dread and having vastly broadened the bounds of what is tolerable sexually, sporadic revelations that polygamous groups are still among us do not alarm as they once did. The national press is, at most, ambivalent on the principle and generally amused by these incidents. On the whole, today's polygamists are viewed as quaintly deviant religious fanatics rather than criminals, and neighbors will neither report them to the authorities nor convict them if they are indicted. This secularized public attitude means that effective legal measures to eradicate polygamy are simply not available.

Given these changed public attitudes toward the sexually deviant, it may be only a matter of time before the *Reynolds* doctrine is modified. The Supreme Court may already have taken the first step in modifying *Reynolds* when it allowed the Old Order Amish to plead religious belief as a valid defense against a criminal prosecution for failure to send their children to school until the age of sixteen.[66] In the Amish case, Chief Justice Burger emphasized that the Amish desire to insulate themselves from the modern world was in many ways admirable and that the old belief/action dichotomy of *Reynolds* can no longer be confined to logic-tight compartments. Foregoing one or two years of schooling does not impair a child's ability to be self-supporting, and it causes no lasting harm to society, Burger felt; hence a state interest is not compelling against the clear language of the First Amendment. The Old Order Amish reject, for religious reasons, capitalism, public education beyond the age of fourteen, competition, intellectual achievement, telephones, automobiles, television and a host of other modern paraphernalia. Is the rejection of monogamous marriage for religious reasons substantially different in a society that no longer seems to care as deeply about polygamists as it once did? Apparently Justice Douglas does not think so. In his dissent in the Amish case, he predicted that "in time *Reynolds* will be overruled."[67]

If Justice Douglas is correct and *Reynolds* is eventually overruled, or if the increasingly permissive attitude of courts toward private sexual activity between consenting adults is continued, the Church might be required to face the issue of polygamy once again. Suppose, for example, that the Mormons were given the chance, should they care to do so, to practice a form of marriage their founder once described as the "most holy" and divine form of matrimony and a ritual absolutely essential to exaltation. Suppose that it could be shown that the manifestoes of 1890 and 1904 really were based on

illegality and public hostility at that time—as Wilford Woodruff and other Church leaders had said they were. Would Mormon leadership welcome the opportunity to reestablish polygamy? Would the leadership feel required to resume the *practice*? Since the Church has never renounced the *doctrine*, I strongly suspect this to be the last thing current church leaders would choose. Polygamy, it seems, is an acute embarrassment, something they absolutely never discuss in General Conference or in their numerous manuals of instruction. It is wholly out of character and exceedingly difficult to imagine today's conservative, business-oriented, carefully dressed corporate leaders even considering the earlier ways, especially as their focus shifts from Utah and the nineteenth century to the world of the twenty-first century. Nor is the leadership alone. To many Mormons, polygamy is now, as was once stated by their enemies, a "relic" of the distant past, and if not actually barbaric, a practice that educated, affluent and sophisticated Mormons no longer take seriously.

The irony of this lies in the fact that most of the descendants of those who suffered "the merciless rage of popular fury" have come to embrace the very concepts their grandparents so abhored. If Brigham Young and John Taylor were to view Salt Lake City today, I suspect their consternation on this issue would be considerable. They saw polygamy as a "true and everlasting principle" of transcending value and eternal and inexorable force. Contemporary Mormons, at least on this issue, see truth and even revealed truth not so much as transcendent and eternal but as important and worthwhile to *this* generation. The rhetoric may still be there, but neither the courts nor the American people have been very upset by Mormon rhetoric. The point is that Mormons now willingly conform to the ideals of monogamy. The idea of returning to their earlier ways is as abhorent to them as it once was to their detractors. This is perhaps the most enduring lesson of *Reynolds* for Mormons.

NOTES

The writer wishes to thank George Funk for his assistance in gathering materials and suggesting improvements in an earlier draft of this article. Also helpful were Davis Bitton, David Brion Davis, John Flynn, Robert Hine, and Brigham Madsen.

[1]For an excellent discussion of this relationship in colonial times see David H. Flaherty, "Law and the Enforcement of Morals in Early America," *Perspectives in American History*, vol. V (1971), p. 203.

[2]See especially Lord Patrick Devlin, *The Enforcement of Morals* (Oxford, 1965); H.L.A. Hart, *Law, Liberty and Morality* (Stanford, 1963); and Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Boston, 1977).

[3]See Mary Ann Glendon, "Marriage and the State: the Withering Away of Marriage," *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 62 (1976), pp. 663 and 673; John T. Noonan, Jr., "The Family and the Supreme Court," *Catholic Univ. Law Review*, vol. 23 (1973), p. 255; and Robert G. Dyer, "The Evolution of Social and Judicial Attitudes Towards Polygamy," *The Utah Bar Journal*, vol. 5 (1977), p. 35.

[4]Glendon, p. 674.

[5]Illegitimate children of polygamous marriages and former polygamous wives increasingly have been given legal rights to financial support, according to Glendon, p. 674.

[6]The best single account of this conflict is Stow Persons, "Religion and Modernity, 1865–1914," in James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, *The Shaping of American Religion* (Princeton, 1961), vol. 1, p. 369. Also excellent is Martin Marty, *The Modern Schism* (New York, 1969), chap. 4.

[7]See Persons, p. 374; Marty, p. 96; and Jacque Ellul, *The New Demons* (New York, 1975), chap. 2

[8]On this topic I have followed Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte and Politik der Deutschen Zentrums-Partei,* 9 vols. (Köln, 1938), especially vol. 4; Ernest Rudolf Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungs-geschichte Seit 1789,* 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1969), vol. 4, beginning at p. 814; and H. Bornkamm, "Die Staatsidee im Kulturkampf," *Historische Zeitschrift,* CLXX (1950), pp. 41 and 273.

[9]*Journal of Discourses,* vol. 5, p. 187. Hereafter *JD.*

[10]Quoted in *New York Independent,* December 2, 1869, under "The Mormon Question."

[11]See *Congressional Globe,* 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, p. 1514. McClernand's "sapping" idea was a common one at that time. See also G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life* (New York, 1976), chap. 15 "The Spermatic Economy."

[12]This phrase first appeared in the 1856 Platform of the Republican Party.

[13]From a sworn statement made in 1874 by William Clayton, private secretary to Joseph Smith and the man who first copied the revelation on plural marriage. The full quotation is worth preserving here:

> "After the revelation on celestial marriage was written Joseph continued his instructions, privately, on the doctrine, to myself and others, and during the last year of his life we were scarcely ever together, alone, but he was talking on the subject, and explaining that doctrine and principles connected with it. . . . From this I learned that the doctrine of plural and celestial marriage is the most holy and important doctrine ever revealed to man on the earth, and that without obedience to that principle no man can ever attain to the fullness of exaltation in celestial glory." *The Historical Record,* vol. VI (1887), p. 226.

[14]The best single documentary source on Mormon polygamy is Gilbert Fulton, ed., *The Most Holy Principle,* 4 vols. (Murray, Utah, 1970–1975), a massive collection of contemporary references to polygamy from the inception of the doctrine to the present. See also, Davis Bitton, "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *The Journal of Mormon History,* vol. 4 (1977), p. 101.

[15]See Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough* (New York, 1954), p. 446; Bernard DeVoto, *Forays and Rebuttals* (Boston, 1936), p. 80 ff; and B. H. Roberts, *Celestial Marriage* (Salt Lake City, 1885), p. 52.

[16]The fullest discussion of this point is George Q. Cannon, *A Review of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Case of George Reynolds v. the United States* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1879), beginning at p. 9.

[17]George Q. Cannon "Letterbook," LDS Church Archives, January 10, 1879.

[18]"Journal of George Reynolds," 6 vols., LDS Church Archives, vol. 5, entry for October 21, 1874. Reynolds began his diary in 1861 and continued it until 1906.

[19]"Journal of George Reynolds," vol. 5, pp. 85–87.

[20]See Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law," *Utah Law Review,* vol. 9 (1965), p. 334.

[21]See *United States v. Reynolds,* 1 Utah 319 (1876) for the entire record.

[22]See "Charge to the Jury," *Deseret Evening News,* December 10, 1875, for the full account.

[23]98 U.S. 145 (1879).

[24]See C. Peter Magrath, "Chief Justice Waite and the 'Twin Relic': Reynolds v. United States," *Vanderbilt Law Review,* vol. 18 (1965), p. 507; and Roy Jay Davis, "Plural Marriage and

Religious Freedom: the Impact of Reynolds v. United States," *Arizona Law Review,* vol. 15 (1973), p. 287.

[25]98 U.S. 145 (1879) at p. 162. [26]*Ibid.*

[27]George Q. Cannon, *A Review of the Decision*, p. 6.

[28]98 U.S. 145 at p. 162. [29]*Ibid.*

[30]Cannon's *A Review of the Decision,* note 17 at p. 19, goes to great length to show how the Mormons could live with this test.

[31]See especially, Richard Burton's *City of the Saints* (New York, 1861).

[32]Cannon made much of this point, *A Review of the Decision* note 17 beginning at p. 19.

[33]98 U.S. 145 at p. 166.

[34]This was a common belief among political scientists, according to Magrath, "Chief Justice Waite, p. 530, n. 25.

[35]Lieber declared Mormonism a "stupendous outrage" and the greatest "absolutism" that has ever existed. Monogamy he called "the very first principle. . . of our whole western civilization." See the fourth edition of this work published in 1901, at pp. 99 and 288.

[36]Francis Lieber, *Manual of Political Ethics,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1839), vol. 2, p. 304. Lieber went on to say that whenever laws clash, we must obey the *superior* in preference to the *inferior*—precisely what the Mormons thought they were doing.

[37]See Richard Burton, *City of the Saints* (New York, 1963 edition), p. xxiii.

[38]See Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough,* chaps. 3 and 14, n. 16.

[39]Cannon, *A Review of the Decision,* p. 43, n. 17.

[40]98 U.S. 145 at p. 166. The funeral pyre analogy may have come from the Mormons themselves. Orson Pratt, in an address to 10,000 saints in 1869, used this image as an example of what religious freedom should *not* include. To Pratt only a religion based on the Bible should be tolerated in America. Judge White, who was in the city at that time, may have heard of this analogy and, with delicious irony, incorporated it in his Supreme Court opinion.

[41]Cannon, *A Review of the Decision,* p. 34, n. 17.

[42]98 U.S. 145, at p. 167.

[43]George Reynolds Papers, Brigham Young University Special Collections, Mss. #10.

[44]"George Q. Cannon Journal," entry for 7 January 1879, located in the Office of the First Presidency of the LDS Church, Salt Lake City. (Closed).

[45]George Q. Cannon "Letterbook," LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, 8 January 1879.

[46]O. J. Hollister, *The Supreme Court Decision in the Reynolds Case,* Salt Lake City, 13 January 1879, Bancroft Library.

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 6. [48]*JD* 20: 316ff.

[49]See *A Review of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Case of Geo. Reynolds v. the United States* (Salt Lake City, 1879).

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 43. [51]*New York Times,* 8 January, p. 4, col. 4.

[52]*New York Tribune,* 8 January, p. 4, col. 5.

[53]See Magrath, "Chief Justice Waite," pp. 534 to 543, n. 25; Ray Jay Davis, "The Polygamous Prelude," *American Journal of Legal History,* vol. 6 (1962), p. 1; Linford, "The Mormons and the Law, pp. 317–370, n. 21; and Ray Jay Davis, "Plural Marriage and Religious Freedom: The Impact of Reynolds v. United States," *Arizona Law Review,* vol. 15 (1973), pp. 287 and 306.

[54]See James D. Richardson, ed., *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* 1789–1897, 10 vols. (New York 1969), vol. 8, p. 57.

[55]136 U.S. 1.

[56]See Lawrence Veysey, *Law and Resistance: American Attitudes Toward Authority* (New York, 1970), p. 39.

[57]A judgment concurred in by Leo Pfeffer, *Church, State and Freedom* (Boston, 1953), p. 532; Philip B. Kurlan, *Religion and the Law* (Chicago, 1961), p. 22; and Loren P. Beth, *The American Theory of Church and State* (Gainsville, 1958), p. 82.

[58]See Devlin, *The Enforcement of Morals,* pp. 9–10, n. 2.

[59]See Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough,* p. 376, n. 16; Linford, "The Mormons and the Law," p. 340, n. 21; Magrath, "Chief Justice Waite," p. 543, n. 25; and Davis, "Plural Marriage" p. 305, n. 54.

[60]In 1955 the Utah Supreme Court held this to be "action" and made a polygamist's children wards of the state. See *In re Black,* 283 P. 2d 285.

[61]Quoted in Richard A. Wasserstrom, ed., *Morality and the Law* (Belmont, California, 1971), p. 93.

[62]"Polygamy in the Territories of the United States," Committee on the Judiciary, 36th Cong., 1st. Sess., Report 83, 14 March 1860, p. 4.

[63]Gustive O. Larson, *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, California, 1971), p. 53.

[64]For a typical example see "George Q. Cannon Letterbook," 1871–1879, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, entry for 16 January 1879, wherein Cannon and Taylor discuss the *Reynolds* case in confidence.

[65]See Noonan, "The Family and the Supreme Court," p. 265, n. 3.

[66]See *Wisconsin v. Yoder,* 406 U.S. 205 (1972). [67]*Ibid.,* at p. 227.

The Holding Forth of Jeddy Grant

GENE A. SESSIONS

AS THE STORY GOES, and as countless Mormon preachers and teachers have told it, embellished it and retold it for generations, it was a classic confrontation between a conspiracy of falsehood and the heroism of truth, between learned folly and divine wisdom. The scene is Jeffersonville, the seat of Tazewell County, Virginia, sometime in the late 1830s. A large congregation of lawyers and ministers has assembled in the courthouse for an unusual sermon to be delivered by a brash young Mormonite missionary from Ohio. The tall lad, apparently uneducated and a bit foolish, has agreed to a challenge whereby he will give a sermon from a text prepared by his adversaries and delivered to him just before the speech. Among those present is John B. Floyd, who will later serve as Secretary of War during the Johnston's Army episode of the late 1850s. The courthouse is packed and buzzing as lanky Jedediah Morgan Grant, gaunt, and threadbare, strides to the stand. A clerk, appointed for the occasion, steps up and hands Jeddy a folded piece of paper on which is written the text for his sermon. The audience titters as the green preacher opens the paper—only to find it blank!

Without pausing or showing concern, the Mormonite circuit rider begins to speak:

> My friends, I am here today according to agreement, to preach from such a text as these gentlemen might select for me. I have it here in my hand. I don't wish you to become offended at me, for I am under promise to preach from the text selected; and if any one is to blame, you must blame those who selected it. I knew nothing of what text

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> they would choose, but of all texts this is my favorite one. You see the paper is blank. . . . You sectarians down there believe that out of nothing God created all things, and now you wish me to create a sermon out of nothing, for this paper is blank. Now, you sectarians believe in a God that has neither body, parts nor passions. Such a God I conceive to be a perfect blank, just as you find my text is. You believe in a church without Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, etc. Such a church would be a perfect blank, as compared with the Church of Christ, and this agrees with my text. You have located your heaven beyond the bounds of time and space. It exists nowhere, and consequently your heaven is blank, like unto my text.[1]

The sermon continues, holding its listeners in awe, until Mr. Floyd jumps up shouting, "Mr. Grant, if you are not a lawyer, you ought to be one." Turning to the people, he asks for a collection to buy the noble Mormon orator a new suit of clothes. Ultimately symbolic of the young missionary's triumph is the action of an unhappy Methodist-Episcopal minister who is forced by the crowd to take up the change in his own hat. When the money is counted, there is enough for a horse, saddle and bridle, as well as for new clothes.

As a faith promoter, the story packs an undeniable wallop, but the truth of it is a different matter. Some corroborative evidence of the tale's basic validity exists outside of Mormon mythology, but more important is the image it presents of this early traveling disciple of the Prophet Joseph Smith. Notwithstanding the well-documented and oft-repeated accounts of the missionary experiences of such as Brigham Young, Heber Kimball and Wilford Woodruff, students of Mormonism have given little attention to the common proselytizer of the early period who went through his own process of conversion while producing life-sustaining converts to the nascent religion, and in so doing grew into a way of life and a set of socioreligious attitudes that would have profound effects upon the future course of the Latter-day Saint movement. The hero of the blank-text legend stands as an intriguing example of this simple thesis. Descending perpetually deeper into his commitment as an enthusiastic preacher, he was a missionary who never returned.[2]

Born in 1816 to a New England shinglemaker and his wife, Jed Grant was the seventh of twelve children. While living in northwestern Pennsylvania in the spring of 1833, the Grant family joined the Mormon Church, moving shortly thereafter to Kirtland, where Jeddy's next older sibling, Caroline, met and married the Prophet Joseph's brother, William Smith. This familial tie with the Smiths understandably heightened the dedication of the Grants to their new faith. In his eighteenth year, Jedediah seemed especially anxious to become involved in the Prophet's cause, so much so that the following spring he eagerly enlisted in Zion's Camp. For many who went with Joseph to "redeem Zion" from the hostile Missourians, the ensuing experience went beyond the bounds of their faith. Not only did the small army fail to accomplish its supposed mission, but the hardships and trials of the journey forced some to reevaluate their commitment to the Restoration and its youthful leader. For others, however, their experiences in Zion's Camp increased faith

and ratified the contract with God and his prophet. Into this group fell young Grant, who returned to Ohio with renewed loyalty to the cause of Mormonism.[3]

In February 1835 Grant found himself among those called to a special series of meetings in Kirtland at which the Prophet literally reorganized the Church of the Latter-day Saints upon the steadfast remnants of Zion's Camp. The nineteen-year-old boy saw the Twelve Apostles—Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, and the rest—chosen and ordained and was then himself selected as one of the First Quorum of Seventy. Joseph ordained his young follower himself, charging him with the duties of a traveling emissary of the Kingdom.

Three months later, Grant left Kirtland on his first mission for the Church. Teamed with twenty-five-year-old Harvey Stanley, he cautiously proselytized through former home areas in New York. Traveling to Buffalo from Fairport on the steamer *General Porter,* the two then walked into the hinterland of New York, carefully and often painfully trying their hand at the business of itinerant preaching. For five months they declared the gospel in Wyoming and Genesee Counties and then through Livingston County on a rough line between Buffalo and the former Grant home at Naples, Ontario County. When they returned to Kirtland in October, they had baptized thirteen relatives and friends.[4]

Through the winter of 1835–36, Jeddy worked alongside his father and brother on the temple and witnessed its dedication in March of 1836, but he was soon ready for another mission. Two weeks after the temple ceremonies, he departed again for New York, this time by himself.[5] He would visit home only briefly during the next six years—years that would mold his character and determine his outlook. In his case, they would also be years that would have a considerable impact upon hosts of people far beyond the temporal and geographic bounds of his fields of missionary endeavor.

As he traveled through New York the second time, he returned to the same areas he had visited with Stanley the season before. Alone part of the time, he teamed up on occasion with such other Mormonite preachers as his brother Joshua Grant, Don Carlos Smith and Samuel W. Denton. By the end of August, the others had left for Kirtland, but Jedediah remained through the winter, finally going home in March 1837. Three months later, he was off again, working through the summer with Joshua and their childhood friend, Benjamin Winchester. The three worked their way eastward across New York and then southward through New York City into New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania. When Winchester chose to remain at Philadelphia, the two brothers decided to carry their efforts into the Piedmont region of Virginia and North Carolina. Arriving there in September 1837, Joshua Grant suddenly changed his mind and left for Ohio. Jeddy remained alone. Working through the rural counties of western Carolina and southwestern Virginia, he built up churches and serviced their spiritual needs in a wide-ranging circuit for the next year. Having heard of the Missouri troubles in which his own family was suffering, Grant left his flocks in the South and made his way to

Far West, arriving there in November 1838, just in time to help his father's family remove to Illinois during the exodus of that winter. He stayed at Commerce through the spring of 1839 but quickly became bored with events there and presented Mormon leaders with a letter from North Carolina requesting his return. Leaving again for the South on 1 June 1839, Jeddy would not return to the center of Mormon activity until the fall of 1842, three and a half years later.[6]

Extant documents covering the long and nearly continuous missions of almost seven years portray much the same Elder Grant as the mythmakers created in the blank-text legend and in a second story of the same genre in which the valiant Jedediah confronts a self-serving Baptist minister who challenges him to a debate. Umpires are selected, and the house is densely crowded. Grant begins by asking the preacher, "Who stands at the head of your church in southwest Virginia?" The reverend takes the bait: "I do, sir, I do, and who, Mr. Grant, stands at the head of your church in southwest Virginia?" Grant rises, bows his head, and says, "Jesus Christ, sir, Jesus Christ." This, of course, ends the debate.[7]

The sectarian ministers Jedediah encountered may not have always come off from debates as badly as this one supposedly did, and there were certainly few who ended up with their hats in their hands taking collections for the triumphant Mormonite, but they were ever-present (according to Grant's own account), working evil behind the scenes and trying to dissuade his listeners from the truth. Indeed, the young elder seemed more concerned over what the preachers were doing when he was not present than over the occasional face-to-face confrontations. A healthy touch of fear of these potent adversaries caused Grant to wonder how the preachers were interpreting his words after he was no longer there to defend himself and his radical religion. At one place, he held a series of meetings in a schoolhouse in which the people were so attentive and believing that the building was soon too small to hold them all. But, worried Jeddy, "thair priests were vary much sturd or aroused up," and although they attended the meetings and although Grant gave them opportunities to raise objections, he "codn't git a word out of their heads, but as soon as I wold git 3 or 4 miles off they wold begin to go round from house to house and warn the people against goewing to hear me preach." He comforted himself with the belief that most of his congregation "was determined to hear the truth and obay it in spite of men or Satan, but O how the priests cride false prophets, Jo Smith, Gold Bible."[8] Concomitantly frustrating to the Mormon elder were the clandestine efforts of the sectarian ministers to influence the press against him.[9]

While the preacher from the West did not record such exciting events as the blank-text legend among his encounters with the "Rev. D.D.s," his journal and letters do maintain that the sectarians always suffered defeat at the hands of Mormon truth. In New York, an Elder Parsons stood in one of Grant's meetings and, with his voice trembling, said that the Book of Mormon contradicted itself and the Bible. The Mormon responded by offering the minister both the pulpit and time to bring forth the contradictions, all of

which called the bluff of the preacher, who then left in shame.[10] Another New York parson challenged the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, only to have Grant badger him into admitting that his only objection was Joseph Smith's having a copyright on a supposedly translated and sacred book. "The poore man," said Jeddy, "semed to be vary soraful to think that he had not enny more grounds to work upon."[11] While the future Mormon leader reported that he often had "3 calls whare I am not able to fill one," he also had constant persecution, traceable to "the priests, both Methodist and Baptist . . ."[12] Nevertheless, all of his disputes with them "resulted in faver of the Truth, and in the Glory of God our Heavenly Father."[13]

In a letter to the *Times and Seasons* written from North Carolina late in 1840, Elder Grant summarized (with the editor's help) the processes and tactics the sectarians had adopted in their fight to counter his inroads against their flocks:

> The priests have contended in public against the impenetrable law of God written to Ephraim, until they have become disheartened and have left the field of public investigation clear and undisturbed; they now use a private influence, threatening their members with excommunication if they listen to the doctrine of the saints. I shall not attempt to describe the course, or conduct of the priests,—a whole Encyclopedia of wit, argument, and abuse would not more than do the subject justice. It sufficeth to say, that all their public exertions have proved abortive and insufficient to prejudice the public mind, and their private influence is not sufficient to keep the honest in heart from hearing the fulness of the gospel as taught in the last days by the servants of the Lord, who are unfurling the bloodstained banner among the nations of the earth.[14]

And there seemed to be plenty of the "honest in heart" around. Although difficult to quantify, the successes of Jedediah Grant's early missions seem to be rather remarkable. When he worked through New York, most of the converts appeared to be family members and old friends. Indeed, young Jeddy baptized nearly all of his older siblings and their families into the Church during his two journeys across the state in the mid-1830s. In his earliest outings, before his commitment to the preacher's life had deepened considerably, the pattern was one of travel between the homes of brothers and sisters and uncles; the decision to go southward in 1836 was then a difficult and very significant one, for it involved for the first time unknown quantities of strange places and faces. Although a New Englander, Grant fearlessly applied his necessary modicum of charisma to attract a large following of friends and converts in Carolina and Virginia, quickly establishing branches of the Church that were still functioning and providing bases for missionary activity fifty years later.[15]

After establishing his circuits, Grant apparently had little difficulty providing himself with the necessities of life. There were always converts and sympathizers—"Sister Blackmonds" and "Sister Biglers"—with food and warm fires to welcome the tall preacher as he came around each time. By the time of his second mission to the South, Jeddy had become essentially a

professional minister, comparable to any Methodist circuit rider, feeding his scattered flock, holding camp meetings and converting sinners. The only significant difference was that he was converting them to Mormonism and a golden dream of gathering to the West. When unable to hold a meeting or preach a sermon, he would go house to house, obtaining subscriptions to church periodicals—the *Times and Seasons* or the *Messenger and Advocate*—or like other preachers he would read and write, stocking his repertoire of sermons and debates with well-bred phrases. This must have paid off, for some of his efforts were so successful that he would baptize two dozen converts at a meeting and leave "them all overwhelmed in tears."[16] He was good at what he was doing, and there was little in the entire process to discourage him from continuing. It had become his chosen profession, one he could never leave behind.

Even though Grant and others like him were often far from the central gathering places of the Church and therefore removed from the centers of the religion's activity, they were still deeply stirred by the turmoils of the late thirties in Kirtland and in Missouri and in a very different way than were those near the scenes of the troubles. Jedediah Grant, did not own property until he was thirty-one years old and living in Salt Lake City. For him, the "persecutions" of Ohio and Missouri were pure ideology—good against evil, God versus Satan. And this concept is what men like him taught subsequent generations as they explained the Saints' apparent inability to live with their former neighbors.

This should not suggest, however, that Jeddy was ignorant of events at "home." Correspondence, though meager, combined with accounts of visiting companions and rare trips west, gave him the flavor of happenings in Zion. Indeed, he displayed a general hunger for information, asking one friend to "write all the news you can think of about Kirtland and Missouri and the affairs in that country,"[17] and another to send news of Joseph and what he was saying on such issues as slavery.[18] But much of what he heard about happenings among the Saints in the West came to him through the rumor mill. "During the last two years," he recorded in 1840, "the western breezes from Ephraim's lovely plains, have been frequently impregnated with scurilous reports, and base epithets of the foulest kind against the saints of the Most High."[19] The South was particularly succeptible to fearful rumors during those years, and this only helped to magnify the anti-Mormon slander in rural Carolina and Virginia while Grant was there. A northerner himself, he carefully noted how the ministers of Protestantism played a heavy role in "vamping over" reports from the North to suit their purposes. Mormonism, like New England reformism, was suffering in the process.[20] Unfortunately, and probably unknown to him in most cases, some of the stories about the Saints were true.

Despite some comprehension of difficulties at home, Jeddy could never understand why all of his successes in the South seldom persuaded other missionaries to join him "on the happy plaines of North Carolina" or Virginia.[21] Only his brother Joshua and occasionally Don Carlos Smith would come to assist him, no matter how glowing his reports of a ripe field for the

harvest of souls. At one point, this frustration brought him face-to-face with his own doubt in a confrontation with his ever-deepening commitment to the cause. To Grant, however, the experience represented only an encounter with the same force that tempted Jesus upon the mount.

> Alas ses the tempter your alone in a distante land without monney or clothes. Now said he I shoe you a butiful plan that will rase you to emanunce direcly. Now ses he you had better leave NC and goe direcly to the Illinois and thare goe to studing law or goe to worke on a farm. By eather of these means said he you can acquare welth and honor but if you stay here you are deprived of the society of your friends relations. You will receive nothing bu pursecution for all the time you spend in the vineyard. Not onley this said he I intend to sowe the seed of discord in Kirtland and else whare. This said he will disharten menny of your colleges [colleagues] and tha will forsake the vinyard and you will be left alone.[22]

Jeddy's tempter spoke to the young man's frailty, but Grant's faith and dedication by this time was equal to the blast and would quickly put worries of home and discord in the Church out of his mind.

> After beholding the cloven foot of the Tempter I arose from my seate and like a hungry lion in [the] forist in pursute of his pray I went to the grove with grate relosity and uncovered my head and prostrated myself upon the ground and pourd out my soul to the God of Israel and the cloud was rent asunder. The tempttasion was gone and the Spirit of the Lord spake peace to my sold saing ferenot I am with thee. Then did I discover that I was not alone for the Lord was with me. I then arose rejoycing and commenced proclaiming the Gospel the truth of the Son of God.[23]

Experiences like this created within Jedediah Grant a strong self-image and a sense of purpose about the Restoration that never left him. Though he would live for only fourteen more years after bidding his southern flocks farewell for the last time, Jeddy's missions would continue to affect him and thousands of Saints more profoundly than the relative few who assembled at Burkes Garden, in Tazewell County, Virginia, in September of 1842 for a final conference to honor Jedediah Grant and his brother Joshua before their departure for Nauvoo. Although total attendance at that meeting is not known, sixty persons were there from the Burkes Garden Branch alone. Evidently an impressive affair, the conference was supposed to last three days, but instead, continued four days—from September 11 to September 14. Jedediah prayed and preached at every session. At the key meeting on the twelfth, Grant took for his text II Corinthians 4: 17: "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."[24]

Shortly thereafter, Jedediah Grant was on his way west to weigh out his won measure of glory. Affliction, that delicious food of the zealous, had sustained him in a strange way through his entire young manhood, much as it had the Prophet Joseph's new religion during its own youth. The tempter

was always present, siphoning off those for whom simple life came to mean more than the constant and unnatural struggle of building a kingdom unto the Prophet and his ever-demanding God. But for Jeddy Grant, the means of building that kingdom had become the end itself. There was for him no limit to sacrifice, little room for sedentary comfort and complete intolerance for anything short of perfect dedication and loyalty. This attitude, built into him during these formative years, became the guiding attribute of his future leadership in the Church. It was bred, however, not in the persecutions of Kirtland and Missouri, but during his strident preaching of the gospel among the misled sectarians of the east.

Returing to Nauvoo, Grant was almost immediately appointed to return east to shepherd the flocks his friend Benjamin Winchester had gathered at Philadelphia. He remained in that position until he joined the exodus into Iowa in 1846. Once in Utah, he quickly rose to high offices in both civil and ecclesiastical spheres—mayor of Great Salt Lake City, general in the Nauvoo Legion, speaker of the territorial house of representatives and (in 1854) second counselor in the First Presidency under Brigham Young. His prowess and predilection as an orator, honed to a fine edge during his missions, as well as a high measure of self-education acquired by reading widely, had brought him into the leading councils of the Church despite his youth and his long absences from the centers of Zion. But those early missions continued to sculpt his sensibilities. He never came to grips with comfort. As well could the Apostle Paul have settled into the calm existence of Salt Lake City in the early 1850s. Although Grant married six wives and in many other ways assumed the very roles his North Carolina tempter had cast in the way of his mission, he was always a preacher of uncompromising righteousness.

By the late summer of 1856, just nine years into the Utah period, Jeddy and another old-time missionary named Brigham Young had decided that the Saints were too well off, too unaccustomed to the necessary afflictions that qualify one for sainthood. The result was the Mormon Reformation of 1856–57. This was a seething revival after the order of the Great Awakening in which the entire population of Mormondom received the blisterings of hellfire, mostly from the mouth of Jeddy Grant, who literally preached and baptized himself into a frenzy that led him to his deathbed within a period of two months. When he died just a few weeks short of his forty-first birthday, Grant was in the prime of his chosen occupation, the only one he had really ever known. He had become a phenomenon that would disappear all too soon from the Mormon landscape—the old-fashioned preacher.

Perhaps the passing of Jed Grant and others like him had something to do with the change that occurred in Mormonism around the turn of the century when directed by Hyrum's son Joseph and Jeddy's son Heber, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints left the world of passionate preachers and radical ideology for the placid mainstream of American life.

NOTES

[1]Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia* 4 vols. (1901; reprint ed., Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 57–58, quoting Theodore B. Lewis.

[2]Silvan S. Tomkins, "The Psychology of Commitment: The Constructive Role of Violence and Suffering for the Individual and for Society," in Martin Duberman, ed., *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), has suggested six stages of gradually deepening commitment through which the dedicated adherents of a movement pass to a point of no return, when no other way of life seems possible or desirable. Although Grant does not fit as precisely into some of these stages as William Lloyd Garrison does in the Tomkins model, he nevertheless arrives at the final stage where he must continue in his commitment as a proselytizing preacher, even when he finds himself no longer among nonbelievers.

[3]Some details of Grant's life are available in Mary G. Judd, *Jedediah M. Grant, Pioneer-Statesman* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1959).

[4]Journal of Harvey Stanley, Ms., Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereafter Church Archives.

[5]Journal of Jedediah M. Grant, Ms., Church Archives.

[6]*Ibid.*; Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *passim.*

[7]Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* vol. 1, p. 58, quoting Theodore B. Lewis.

[8]Journal of Jedediah M. Grant.

[9]*Ibid.*; letter, Grant to editor, 15 December 1840, *Times and Seasons,* 15 March 1841, pp. 347–48.

[10]Journal of Jedediah M. Grant. [11]*Ibid.*

[12]Letter, Grant to J. G. Bigler, Papers of Jedediah M. Grant, Ms., Church Archives.

[13]Journal of Jedediah M. Grant. [14]*Times and Seasons,* 15 March 1841, p. 347.

[15]James H. Moyle, working in the Surry County area in the 1880s, discovered the base Grant had established so secure that two generations of missionaries had called it "the nest" and seldom ventured from it. Moyle, *Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle,* ed. by Gene A. Sessions (Salt Lake City: James Moyle Genealogical and Historical Association, 1975), pp. 110–12.

[16]Journal of Jedediah M. Grant. [17]Grant to Bigler.

[18]Letter, Grant to Moses Martin, 18 May 1838, *Elders Journal* 1 (August 1838): 51.

[19]*Times and Seasons,* 15 March 1841, p. 347. [20]*Ibid.*

[21]Grant to Bigler. [22]*Ibid.*

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]Clerk John M. Tibbs reported the minutes of the conference at Burkes Garden in *Times and Seasons,* 2 January 1843, p. 63.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The New Biology and Mormon Theology

JAMES L. FARMER, WILLIAM S. BRADSHAW AND F. BRENT JOHNSON

> The spirits of fish, birds, beasts, insects, and of man, are in the image and likeness of their natural bodies of flesh and bones, and of the same magnitude, filling every part of the same. It is the spiritual substance, and not the body, that sees, hears, tastes, smells, feels, thinks, enjoys, suffers, and manifests every other affection or passion characteristic of the animal creation. It is this self-moving, powerful substance, that quickens, animates, and moves the natural body—that forms and fashions every part—that preserves the organization from decay and death.
>
> Orson Pratt, "Figure and Magnitude of Spirit"

EXEGETES AS WILLING AND CAPABLE as Orson Pratt to combine empirical and theological insights have all but disappeared from the Mormon scene. His successors have retained the enthusiastic optimism of early Mormonism, but they have not replaced the empirical beliefs of the nineteenth century with the more correct information which is available to us now. One can only wish that the discoveries of modern science had been available to Orson Pratt, for some of the recent discoveries open up new possibilities for theological discussion. The new biology has given us insights into the nature of life that

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bring into question many of the easy assumptions that Mormons often make about the nature of the soul (body and spirit). In this essay we hope to point to developments which raise interesting ethical or theological questions. Unfortunately, we cannot provide the answers to those questions.

It is possible to remove cells from a human being and to keep them alive indefinitely—long after the donor has died. Organs of a dead person can be transplanted into another human being, where they function as part of the new body. Finally, it is possible to keep a human body "alive" long after the brain is dead. Conversely, there are organisms which begin life as single, independent cells, which at a certain time crawl together and form a new organism with specialized body parts and a new form of behavior. Where is the spirit in these examples? Do new spirits inhabit the cultured cells from a human being? Does a "general" spirit quicken lower life forms?

Two or more mouse embryos can be fused to produce a single mouse (a chimera) which may have three, four, or more parents. As pointless as such a creation sounds, it has great practicality for the study of biological processes. It is almost certainly possible to create human chimeras. If the spirit is present from the moment of conception, or from very early embryonic development, how many spirits are housed in a chimera? Closely related to this question is the phenomenon of identical twinning. Identical twins begin as a single embryo which at some point in development splits into two. At what point are two spirits present?

Identical twins are clones. Another type of clone can be formed by removing a nucleus from an individual and implanting it into an enucleated egg. After the egg has developed into a many-celled embryo, several of the nuclei from the embryo are again transferred to other enucleated eggs. These eggs develop into adults which are genetically identical to the original nucleus donor. This procedure will be very valuable to stock breeders. If it can be applied to cattle, it can also be applied to humans. If human cloning is ever accomplished, what role will the spirit play—and at what stage of development?

The test tube baby is already with us. A small piece of the ovary of certain infertile women can be removed surgically and induced to form eggs. After the eggs are fertilized by the husband's sperm, one healthy embryo is reimplanted into the woman's uterus. From this point on, the pregnancy is not unusual. The unused embryos are discarded. Are the discarded embryos human souls? We Mormons have a plethora of opinions in answer to this question, but no clear doctrine.

External fertilization offers several other new possibilities. A woman could have children without ever being pregnant if she could find a surrogate mother for her children. Two women could have a child, since it seems to be possible to use one egg to fertilize another egg to produce an apparently healthy embryo. A woman who was totally incapable of producing eggs could bear children produced by external fertilization of a donated egg by her husband's sperm and implantation of the embryo into her uterus. This last

procedure is much like artificial insemination by a donor, a procedure accepted by the Church although not encouraged, in which the wife of a sterile husband becomes pregnant by sperm from an anonymous donor.

Stock breeders are working very hard to perfect techniques which would allow them to maintain sperm, egg and embryo banks. Thus a mating which produces superior stock could be repeated thousands of times, with the embryos being implanted into surrogate mothers. If perfected, these techniques would allow humans to "custom order" their children from human embryo banks. For instance, a couple who wanted a superior athlete as their progeny could order an embryo produced from the sperm of a professional basketball player and the egg of a superior woman tennis player. The sex of the child could be controlled by discarding the embryos of the unwanted sex.

There do not seem to be any great technical obstacles to the above procedures. The Church does not seem to place an inordinately high value on biological parentage, judging from its encouragement of adoption and its tolerance of artificial insemination. Perhaps then the crucial question about the acceptability of some of these procedures revolves around the fate of the unused embryos. That remains to be seen.

The emotionally charged issue of abortion requires some comment. Spontaneous abortion is far more common in humans than most people realize. Somewhere between twenty percent and well over half of all conceptions end in spontaneous abortion. Most of these happen in the first days or weeks of pregnancy, usually escaping the notice of physicians and often of the pregnant woman. When aborted fetuses are examined, a high percentage are found to be genetically defective. Thus abortion appears to be nature's way of eliminating most seriously defective fetuses. If one were to assume that every embryo is a human soul, the simplest conclusion would be that many (perhaps most) of our brothers and sisters never experience mortality in a meaningful way. There are more complicated assumptions—for instance, that the spirit of the aborted fetus is reassigned to another body. The common belief that mothers will be allowed to raise a baby to adulthood after the resurrection should the child die early in this life is a variation on this theme. Our scriptures do not allow us to identify any of these assumptions as doctrine.

Amniocentesis is often (incorrectly) identified with abortion. This procedure, in which fluid and cells are removed from the amniotic sac for examination, can be used to determine whether or not a fetus is mature enough to survive outside the womb. It also allows the diagnosis and treatment in the womb of certain disorders such as methylmalonic acidemia and blood-type incompatibilities, conditions which are often lethal to the untreated fetus. Additionally, it is possible to determine whether a high-risk fetus has a particular genetic disorder. If the fetus has the genetic disorder, it can be aborted clinically. These procedures allow couples who are known to carry defective genes or chromosomes and older women to have children without fear. These high-risk parents often forego having children altogether if such

procedures are not available. Although there is still some risk of other birth defects, the overall risk is greatly reduced.

The ethical problem associated with clinical abortion of defective fetuses is fairly obvious. At one extreme are those who consider abortion synonymous with murder. Perhaps at the other extreme are those who believe that all considerations of abortion are private matters which are not the legitimate concern of society. The position of the LDS Church is less clear. Although abortions are clearly forbidden in most cases, they are permitted under exceptional circumstances when the health of the mother is threatened or following rape. Abortions of defective fetuses have not been explicitly approved or disapproved. It can be argued that clinical abortion of defective fetuses is an extension of spontaneous abortion which already eliminates most defective fetuses.

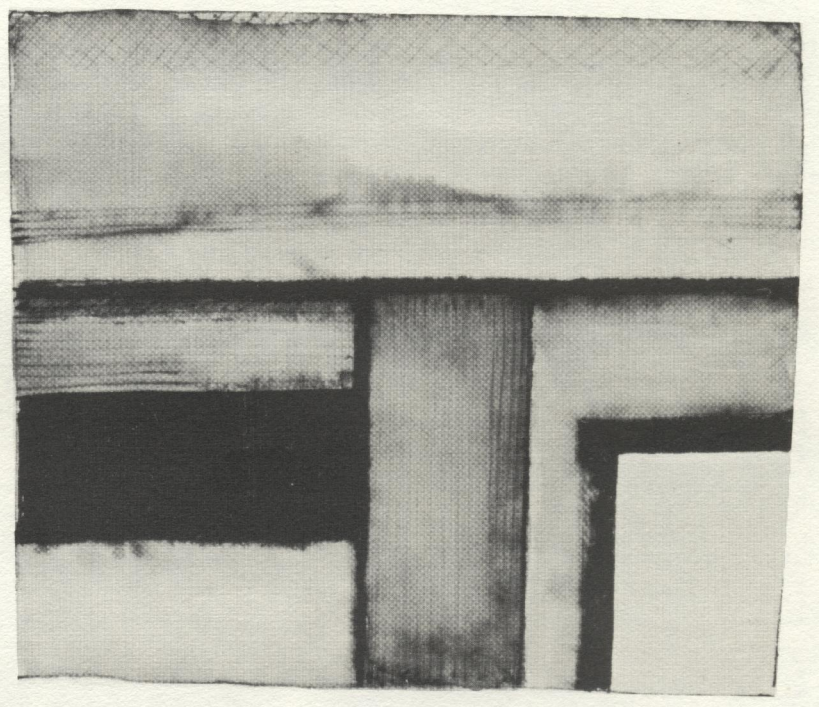
Recent discoveries raise other questions about the spirit-body relationship. At least two mental illnesses—manic-depressive syndrome and schizophrenia—seem to be genetically controlled. The new science of sociobiology—which promises to be at least as controversial as the ideas of Darwin and his successors—argues that altruistic behavior is also genetically controlled. If it indeed is true that much of human behavior is genetically controlled and is responsive to chemical modification and perhaps genetic engineering, what role should be ascribed to the spirit in overcoming sins?

Recombinant-DNA experiments (gene splicing) allow the transfer of genes from any organism into bacteria. It is very likely that we will soon be able to place genes from any source into any organism, including human beings. This would allow the insertion of "good" genes in place of "bad" genes in some cases. Few people would argue that such gene therapy is unacceptable. However, if it should prove possible to alter behavior or some other socially sensitive trait, the impact on our ideas about the spirit-body relationship could be profound.

Some people believe that the moment of death is divinely determined. If this is so, why is death routinely interfered with by the use of antibiotics, surgery and prayer? If the hour of death is determined, is it sinful to intervene, or is it commendable because it demonstrates our love? A related issue is the phenomenon of faith healing. Physicians who are not necessarily religious use the techniques of psychosomatic medicine to achieve "faith" healings which are at least outwardly similar to those we see in the Church. What is the relationship between the spirit and the body in these situations?

Many of the discoveries and techniques we have mentioned have worked together to create a paradoxical attitude in many people. On the one hand there is awe and admiration for the feats of science. On the other hand, there is suspicion and fear that we have been tampering with things that ought not to be interfered with. The resulting anxiety is sometimes relieved by a general feeling that "God would not let *that* happen." Perhaps there is a Murphy's Law of history: Anything that can be used for evil will be. However, it seems to us that the appropriate response to a potential for evil is to seek to

do good rather than to attempt to set limits on science. Although the new biology may alter the way in which Mormons think about some ethical problems, it will not fundamentally change the need to live by faith in a world that we do not fully comprehend. The Lord may have placed very few constraints on us in our search for knowledge and understanding. It seems rather that he allows us much freedom in this world. As a result, science moves inevitably toward synthesis of living things, as it has already achieved the ability to alter species. It is reassuring to us to know that Mormon theology offers us the chance to work toward godhood, not only in the life to come, but in this life as well, as we discover more and more about the nature of God's universe and are given the opportunity to use that knowledge to do good works.



Quackery and Mormons; A Latter-day Dilemma

L. KAY GILLESPIE

THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEW is with a man tried by the state of Utah as a "quack."[1] His practice is based on massage, herbs, health foods and in reading the iris of the eyes. The trial resulted in a hung jury and thereafter the state dropped the case. The rationale supporting this man's approach to health care was his Mormon beliefs and his interpretation of Church teachings. His views are representative of those expressed by other similar practitioners interviewed in Utah.

Question: How do you explain your practice as being in harmony with your Mormon religion?

Answer: God gave to us a body that will heal itself, given the proper food, etc. The only problem is that we have lost it through the ages. Man himself has polluted himself. Let's start at the first, Genesis 2:29:

> And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

[This scripture, along with D&C 89: 10–13, was used to indicate that meat should not be eaten, or if so, only sparingly.]

Meat makes me sluggish. We are also told not to eat fat or blood. (Leviticus and Deuteronomy)

Question: All of this is included in the Law of Moses, is it not?

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Answer: Yes, but the Law of Moses is still to be obeyed. I asked Elder _____ [one of the Twelve] about this the other day. I asked if we were not to obey the Ten Commandments and he said, yes; then I asked why we also weren't expected to obey the health laws contained in the Law of Moses. He said, "I'll have to think about that."

> Isaiah 1:19–20: If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

[This scripture was interpreted by him to mean that the scalpel will be used against those who do not eat well.]

> Ezekiel 47:12: And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, shall grow all trees for meat, whose leaf shall bring forth new fruit according to his months, because they issued out of the sanctuary; and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine.

Throughout the scriptures they talk about herbs as meat. I draw a distinction between herbs and drugs. Herbs are in their natural state and drugs have been altered by man. For this same reason, I also draw a distinction between whole wheat flour and white flour.

Question: What about auras and other such phenomena?

Answer: Widtsoe talks about an ether around the earth.[2] The way I interpret this is that it is a spiritual realm around the earth. I don't really agree with some of the techniques (pendulum, etc.). I believe the power through which things operate on this earth is the priesthood. There is a magnetic energy around each person, an aura, that Joseph Smith and some of the other brethren talk about. There are negative and positive poles around each individual. These auras have different colors and different intensities. If you have two people, these auras will actually transfer from the strong to the weak. Anytime a person has a blemish on their skin or elsewhere, and a strong aura touches that, it drains from them, from this aura. Cancer cells are the worst for draining energy from this aura. There are so many things in this field that don't meet the eye, and most of them we're afraid to even talk about. It is very frustrating because not the AMA or any other organization has all the answers, only the priesthood, and the AMA doesn't have the priesthood. People need to be able to make their own choice. Being LDS there is no other alternative.

Question: What about out-and-out fraud? Shouldn't there be some provision or punishment for fraud?

Answer: Yes, that becomes a matter for the courts. To my knowledge there has never been a complaint against me, only the undercover agents for the

government. If a carpenter or someone else does a bad job, it doesn't take people long to complain.

Question: Have you ever received any problem from the Church? Any indication that your membership might be in jeopardy?

Answer: I heard that through the ward once, and I called Elder _____ (one of the Twelve) and he said 'God bless you, this is truth.' So that is the reason I still do this. If he had said no, I would have stopped.

[Talking about various forms of diseases]

Question: Doctors would have to do a blood test or urine analysis of some sort to detect such a problem, how would you detect it, through the feet or eyes or something?

Answer: It would show up in the eyes, and would be taken care of through a diet, a cleansing diet. Not as strong as a purging diet. It's not just a bunch of us quacks that recognize this but there are an awfully lot of medical authorities who do, but it just goes in one ear and out the other.

Question: People really seem to support you and even become stronger in their support as time goes by, do they not? Even if the doctors and government are calling you quacks?

Answer: I've tried to look at both sides of the issue. [Reading from the dictionary] Quack—A boastful pretender to medical skill, a charlatan. In that respect I don't like it.

Question: How would you answer that? You, I assume would say that you are not a pretender to medical skill, right? You don't deal with the medical aspect at all.

Answer: I'm not a medical man, I don't like drugs. In fact, we haven't used drugs for twenty years in my family.

Question: I have heard from several people the statement that "The beliefs of the LDS Church foster quackery." In essence you would agree with that. If what you are doing is called quackery, then you would say that the beliefs of the Church support you, it that right?

Answer: Yes, the whole thing ties together. Section 42 of the D&C as well as the Word of Wisdom.

Question: What would you say about Utah being fertile ground for those who would take advantage of the members of the Church. Say, those coming from back East or elsewhere and using the Word of Wisdom to make a pitch?

Answer: Well, they better understand the Word of Wisdom. I can tell in five minutes if they are working for the Word of Wisdom, or if they are working for themselves.

Question: Do you think the people could pick that up?

Answer: They could if they understood the Word of Wisdom, but most of them don't. There are only three aspects of the Word of Wisdom that they understand, smoking, drinking, and tea and coffee.

Question: Are there some techniques that you wouldn't approve of?

Answer: There are some that I don't understand, but I wouldn't stop anyone from using them, that is their free agency.

Question: How do you decide if something is true or not as it relates to health?

Answer: The Word of Wisdom says everything you need to know if you'll read it and study it. Whenever I read a book if it does not coincide with what the prophets have told us, with what the Word of Wisdom says, and what the Bible says, and so forth, then I don't want it. That is my guiding principle.

This interview highlights some of the difficulties involved in the Church taking a specific official stand on the issues of health care and treatment. Recently the leadership of the Church has become concerned that the names of some church leaders are being associated with nonmedical treatments and practices. Nutrition and health lessons in the Relief Society have also become objects of controversy, and agencies such as the American Cancer Society and various medical associations have made attempts to get the Church to make a statement relating to medical care, health care and quackery. Perhaps in response, on 19 February 1977 an editorial appeared in the *Church News,* from which the following is excerpted:

> The Church . . . deplores the patronage of health or medical practices which might be considered ethically or legally questionable.
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> People with serious illness should consult competent physicians, licensed under the laws of the land to practice medicine.
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> There are times when we should pray for the sick, and through the priesthood lay hands upon the head of the ill and bless them . . . Certainly, through divine intervention, the sick continue to be made well.
>
> But our belief in the divine power of healing should in no way preclude seeking competent medical assistance.

This was the first article to appear in an official Church organ specifically addressing the question of quackery in nearly seventy-five years. In 1902 President Joseph F. Smith had advised in the *Improvement Era:*

> Instead of flocking out to hear smooth-tongued imposters, people should leave them severely alone. Instead of dosing themselves with patent medicines, they should learn to keep their bodies healthy by right living (see Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 89), by inhaling pure air, taking plenty of exercise and bathing not only often in fresh water, but also in the sunshine with which our merciful Father has so abundantly provided us. If there are cases of sickness, as there will be notwithstanding any precaution we may take, which common sense and good nursing, or simple home remedies do not suffice to cure, let us follow the advice of the scriptures (James 5:14–16), but if we do not believe in the Elders, or in the prayer of faith saving the sick, let a reputable and faithful physician be consulted. By all means, let the quack, the traveling fakir, the cure-all nostrum, and the indiscriminate dosing with patent medicine be abolished like so much trash.[3]

While scarcely a ringing endorsement of the medical profession, quacks—of the snake oil salesman variety—were clearly condemned.

The February 1977 editorial was shortly followed by another, dated 18 June 1977. This statement was similar to the first, but much more detailed.

> From the beginning of time the prophets have taught us how best to live in this wicked and confusing world, and have assured us, as did Lehi of old, that "man is that he might have joy."
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> They have likewise taught us to avoid extremes and "be temperate in all things" (D&C 6:19; Alma 38:10). This advice applies to our health habits as well.
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> But sick people should be cautious about the kind of care they accept as treatment for their illnesses. Some unprincipled practitioners make extreme claims in offering cures to the sick. They take money from their patients, give them no help, and in some cases seriously harm them.
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> Frequently, fads are advocated under the guise of the Word of Wisdom by unauthorized persons with unwarranted claims respecting health. Some questionable practitioners use other phases of religion, too, like the raising of the right hand to the square as a part of a health ritual. At times, they assume to speak in the name of the Church and even give "official" interpretation related to health.
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> They have displayed pictures of presidents of the Church or of the Temple to give an "authoritative" backdrop to their teachings. Their exhibits of foods and remedies are enhanced by copies of the scriptures obviously placed there to give further appearance of credibility to their projects.
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> The Church officially disclaims all such pretensions. Also, it completely disclaims any sponsorship or endorsement of such teachers, remedies, foods or fads. It does not and cannot promote remedies of any kind. It deplores the use of ritualistic practices in connection with supposed cures as bordering on the sacreligious.
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> The use of health practices which are questionable either legally or ethically is likewise deplored. People who have health problems are

> advised to counsel with competent professional practitioners who are properly licensed under the law of the land. . . .

Strong as these comments may be, they still leave unanswered questions and issues for the future, particularly as Mormonism becomes an increasingly international church. To encourage the members to seek "competent medical help" can mean different things in different cultures. Even among "western" practitioners of scientific medicine, one finds surprising variability. Perhaps more to the point, what status is to be accorded such locally revered practitioners as the Indian medicine man and the Spanish curandero, or their counterparts in other cultures?

The claim of many unconventional practitioners, particularly in Utah, that they are treating general authorities and others in leadership positions is another facet, albeit a delicate one, of this issue needing further attention. Whether true or not, such claims are powerful advertisements for many members of the Church who are unable to distinguish between the inspired and human words and practice of Church leaders. Additionally, the ecclesiastical good standing of practitioners who are Mormon is often considered proof that there is nothing wrong with either the practitioner *or* the practice. What then of the family who is told by their stake patriarch to visit a good LDS practitioner who cures by using quaking aspen bark and black salve?

Quackery and the use of unconventional practices and techniques have existed for a long time. The definitions and attitudes towards such practice and techniques have differed in various historical contexts. Many of the medical practices in use today were at one time considered unconventional and unproven. Conversely, what is considered conventional medical practice today may be considered unconventional tomorrow.

In sharp contrast to this record stand the absolute claims of a revealed religion—"true, unchanging evermore." For those faithful members who perceive Mormon leaders as almost always speaking beyond their own historical context, the use and acceptance of any health care practice will continue to involve a conscious consideration of a difficult latter-day dilemma. Statements from Church leaders confidently and unequivocally endorsed medical concepts which if put into practice in 1979 would be (and are) considered quackery. More recent statements—less officially set forth—[4] from present Church leaders as well as the increasingly influential LDS medical community, argue strongly that early opinions have long since been overtaken by the advances of modern science. The "quacks" of Mormondom and those who follow them have opted to cling to the former position; those who patronize the medical establishment accept the latter.

NOTES

[1]The definition of quack used to label this man is limited entirely to a legal context in which a practitioner has been taken to court to be prosecuted for "practicing medicine without a

license." Using this definition leaves unaddressed those questions pertaining to the status of chiropractors, osteopaths, naturopaths and other practitioners of marginal (to medicine) acceptance. There are other definitions of "quack" that could have been used including one by Brigham Young (JD 15:226) "Who is the real doctor? That man who knows by the spirit of revelation what ails an individual, and by that same spirit knows what medicine to administer. That is the real doctor, the others are quacks." The definitional problem is further explored in other works by the author:

"Cancer Quackery in the State of Utah." Comprehensive Health Planning, State of Utah, 1976.

Cancer Quackery: The Label of Quack and Its Relationship to Deviant Behavior. Palo Alto, CA: R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1979.

"Quackery: Definitional Contexts and Comparisons." *Encyclia: The Journal of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters,* 54(1977):79–89.

[2]"The doctrine of the ether explains how, may be, all the happenings of the universe are indelibly inscribed upon the record of nature. A word is spoken. The air movements that it causes disturbs the ether. The ether waves radiate into space and can never die. Anywhere, with the proper instrument, one of the waves may be captured, and the spoken word read. That is the simple method of wireless telegraphy. It is thus that our actions shall be known on the last great day. By the holy spirit God holds all things in his keeping. His intelligence will radiate into space, to touch whomsoever it desires. He who is tuned aright can read the message, flashed across space by the Almighty. Thus, also, God, who is a person, filling only a portion of space, is everywhere present." John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith as Scientist: A Contribution to Mormon Philosophy,* (Salt Lake City: The General Board of Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, 1920) p. 24.

[3]*Improvement Era,* 5:624 (June 1902).

[4]Lee Smith, "Herbal Remedies: God's Medicine," *Dialogue* XII (Autumn 1979): 37–60.

On Mormonism, Moral Epidemics, Homeopathy and Death from Natural Causes

THESE THREE BRIEF REPRINTS provide interesting insights into early Mormon medicine. The first piece, from an essay entitled "Millerism" in *The American Journal of Insanity* (January 1845), although not directed at Mormons is relevant to the context in which they preached and converted.

The second piece, the first medical journal article to discuss Mormons in more than a sentence or two, is from London's prestigious *The Lancet* (September 1858). In it a "missionary approach" is again debunked by the medically learned. History has played an ironic twist on the analogist, however. Homeopathic medicine, irrational though it seemed—and was—at the time, generally proved safer and no less effective (or equally ineffective) than the orthodox medicine espoused by *The Lancet*.

The third article, reprinted from *Times and Seasons* (1 March 1842), is a short extract from a London newspaper to which the Mormons have appended a redundant, yet revealing reply, setting forth their own perspective on religion and mid-nineteenth century health care.

MORAL EPIDEMICS

By looking at the Reports of the Lunatic Hospitals in the northern States, we notice that into three of them, *thirty-two* patients were received during the last year, whose insanity was attributed to *Millerism*.

Allowing something for exaggeration and mistakes in the accounts of the evils that have resulted from the inculcation of this doctrine, it must be evident to all, that they are alarming. But in our opinion the country has as yet seen only a small part of the evils this doctrine has produced. Thousands

who have not yet become deranged, have had their health impaired to such a degree as to unfit them for the duties of life forever; and especially is this the case with females. The nervous system of many of those who have been kept in a state of excitement and alarm for months, has received a shock that will predispose them to all the various and distressing forms of nervous disease and to insanity, and will also render their offspring born hereafter, liable to the same.

We have no hesitation in saying that, in our opinion, the prevalence of the yellow fever or of the cholera has never proved so great a calamity to this country as will the doctrine alluded to.

This doctrine for the present, we presume is dead, and probably will not soon be revived;—but let us inquire if there is no *improvement* to be made of it, and if there can not be some measures adopted to prevent the spread of equally injurious though dissimilar delusions hereafter.

The prevalence of one such delusion prepares the way for others. We must therefore expect them, and those who wish well to the community ought to strive to prevent their being extensively injurious.

Such delusions many have hoped and believed, belonged only to the dark ages of the world, or spread only among the illiterate and ignorant. But such is not exactly correct, for many intelligent and well-disposed persons embraced Millerism. In fact, we believe for the most part, the promulgators and believers of this doctrine were sincere and pious people. We entirely acquit them of any bad intentions. In fact, such *moral epidemics* appear always to spread, as was remarked in the last number of this journal, "without aid from any of the vices that degrade our social nature, and independent of any ideas of temporal interest."

But what can be done to prevent the occasional recurrence and spread of these *epidemic or contagious monomanias?*—for such they in fact are.

Reasoning with those thus affected is of no use. In fact, we are assured by one of the believers in the late delusions, that according to his observation, it but tended to confirm them. They are monomaniacs, and the more their attention is directed to the subject of their delusions by reasoning with them, the more is their *diseased faith* increased. We do not believe that much, if any, good has resulted from the numerous sermons and tracts that have been published exhibiting most clearly the calculations and predictions of Mr. Miller to be erroneous.

We therefore recommend the following course; and we address ourselves to the heads of families, and to the religious portion of the community.

1st. Do not go to *hear* any new, absurd and exciting doctrine taught, and keep away all those over whom you have influence. This need not and should not hinder you from obtaining a knowledge of all new truths and new doctrines; for such are in this country immediately published. Read about them if you wish, but do not go to *see* and *hear—to swell the throng of gazers and listeners*, for as has been said, such things spread chiefly by *contagion* and *imitation*.

You would keep yourselves and would keep others under your control from hearing lectures of an irreligious character, and directly intended to

inculcate vice, or to injure the health. Take the same course as regards new, absurd, and exciting doctrines. Read about them, as we have said, if you choose, but do not run after them, nor make them the subject of conversation.

Thousands of printed tracts upon Millerism, scattered through the country, would have done no harm, if there had been no *preaching* of the doctrine,—*no nightly meetings and collecting in crowds to hear and see.*

In connection with this subject, we beg very respectfully, to suggest to all religious denominations, the propriety of lessening the number and frequency of protracted religious meetings, and especially of those held in the evening and night. We are confident, that although some good results from them, that very much evil does also. They prepare many to entertain the delusions referred to, by creating an excitement bordering on disease, and unfitting the mind to contemplate important subjects calmly. They also seriously impair the health of the clergy, and unfit them for other duties. We ourselves may be more sensitive upon this subject than others, as we live in the midst of many, who, a few years since, were among the most worthy and pious of the land, and who are now and probably will be while they live, tenants of a Lunatic Asylum. According to our observation, the greatest number of such cases occur among those who have long been pious, but who having become excited, agitated, and worn down by attendance, week after week, on nightly religious meetings, until their health became impaired; they then began to doubt their own salvation, and finally despaired of it, and becoming decidedly deranged, were conveyed by their beloved friends to our care, and often to prevent self-destruction.

These few hints we have thrown out with all candor, and hope they will be so received. While we would carefully avoid saying any thing that might hinder the spread of the truths of the Bible, or the conversion of a single soul, we feel it to be our duty to call attention to methods of attempting to extend religious doctrines which we believe are not unfrequently productive of disease, madness, and death. (*American Journal of Insanity*, January 1845, p. 250–253)

MORMONISM AND HOMEOPATHY

We find by the *Plymouth Journal,* of August 19th, that the Mormons are increasing in the neighborhood, but are complaining along with the homeopathic quacks, that their doctrines are misrepresented and misunderstood—that the Book of Mormon and Hahnemann's Organon, the *Millenial Star* and the *Homeopathic Review* are not read so extensively as they used to be and should be, and that even when read, it is not with a view to enlightenment. Delightful and congruous union! Mormonism and homeopathy! *Arcades ambo,* truly may we say. Congenial spirits as they are, no wonder they both read the same journals, and patronize the same "reviews." But it seems the prospects of the *Millennial Star* once shone brighter, as also those of the *Homeopathic Review,* than they do now. Unexpected and

deplorable event! Even in the downfall of these literary humbugs it appears that their last and gasping supporters still hold on to them for other reason than their great "enlightenment!" What miserable duplicity of these recreant followers of Mormon Smith and his golden tablets, and homeopathic Hahnemann and his charcoal globules! From the controversy which has been going on in the Plymouth newspaper, we learn that a clergyman had been assailing a medical practitioner for his so-termed prejudices against the globulistic quackery, and for his objecting to waste his time in reading the rubbish of Hahnemann, Currie, Black &c. The latter, in reply, referred to Mormonism, to the spread it had made in this country and in America, to its disciples in many parts of the kingdom, and to their forming a new state (Utah), as proving it equally to be a verity. He asked the divine whether he had ever read the Mormon Bible, and other works on Mormonism to satisfy himself *truly* and *clearly* as to the truth or falsity of the new system of religion? He offered, if his reverence would peruse these delectable writings, himself to read the works relating to homeopathy, and to try and profit by their perusal; rightly enough maintaining, however, that the one task was no more required than was the other to convince each of the absurdity of the separate delusions. We need scarcely add, that the clergyman thought Mormonism to be an arrant imposture, denounced its converts as either knaves or fools, and did not think it at all necessary to wade through the Mormon Bible in order to be sure whether his convictions were true or false. The medical practitioner thereupon declared that *he* had a like surety for the humbuggery of globulism, and equally declined the delightful privilege of being compelled to bewilder himself with its cabalistic books of *hocus pocus*. The reverend parson seems to have caught a Tartar. (*The Lancet* 2:285, 11 September 1858)

SHE DIED A NATURAL DEATH

Extract from the "London Despatch":

On Wednesday an investigation was gone into before Mr. Baker, the coroner, at the Royal Oak, Galway-street, St. Luke's, on the body of Elizabeth Morgan, aged 55 years, whose death was alleged to have been caused through improper treatment by unqualified persons. Maria Watkins, of 31, Cross-street, Islington, said she had known the deceased about 12 months. For some time past she had suffered from a spasmodic affection, and on Tuesday week last witness was sent for to attend her. Witness found her very ill, but no medical gentleman was called in, it being against the religious tenets of the sect to which the deceased belonged to do so. The sect to which she belonged styled themselves "The Church of Jesus Christ, and Latter-Day Saints," their place of meeting being in Castle-street. Cow-cross. They dated their origin from the Apostles, and treated their sick according to the following text, taken from the last chapter of the Epistle of St. James: "If there be any illness amongst you ye shall call for the elders of the Church,

and anoint yourselves with oil in the name of the Lord." She (witness) had known cases of healing under such circumstances, but the deceased sank and died on Saturday last. Mary Ana Albin, Spencer-place, Goswell-road, wife of one of the elders of this foolish sect, said she was called to see the deceased on Tuesday morning, and from her appearance thought she was suffering from inflammation of the bowels. No surgeon was sent for. Witness administered some "sage tea with Cayenne pepper" in it; leeches and other remedies were also applied. Everything was prayed over before it was given. The Coroner said the remedy appeared to him to be worse than the disease, and he hardly knew how to deal with the case, as he had his doubts whether it was not one of manslaughter. In his opinion the case was not strong enough to warrant a verdict of manslaughter being returned, but he trusted the publication of it in the papers would act as a caution to the members of this strange sect, and that they would see the necessity of calling in medical aid. The jury, after some deliberation returned a verdict of "Natural death," with a hope that the present inquiry would act as a caution to that body how they acted in such cases for the future.

If we were not somewhat conversant with the follies and absurdity of men who profess to regulate religious affairs, and to give tone and energy to the multifarious creeds that are now extant, we could scarcely have believed that any men professing any degree of intelligence, or holding any office of importance, could be found to give birth unto, be connected with, or bear witness of such a bundle of nonsense; such sheer ignorance, and profound folly, as is manifested, in the above article. But as it is published by the "London Despatch," a journal that professes to rank among the foremost of the British Empire, and in other papers of importance in the professed metropolis of the world, as it has emanated from the emporium of learning, science, and divinity; the professed fountain of all true intelligence, the seat of bible societies, missionary societies, and tract societies; the place where nobles are instructed and kings learn wisdom, we of course must notice it. What then is the important thing that has attracted the attention of nearly all editors in the city of London! that has excited the deep interest, and careful investigation of a learned London jury, and a more profoundly learned coroner? something solemn, deep, and awful, something that must be published in the public journals of the day, and be heralded to all the world. Therefore listen ye nations and give ear ye kings of the earth, let all the world attend with respectful deference, for be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, that "ELIZABETH MORGAN, AGED 55 YEARS," IS DEAD. *Oh Tempore!!! Oh Mores!!!* Yes the solemn fact is announced by the "London Despatch"—*she is dead*—but what gives deep interest to the fact and adds solemnity to the scene is that she died a *"natural death!!!!!"* she was not murdered in cold blood; she was not poisoned, nor drowned, nor burned to death, she did not die in a mad-house, nor cut her throat; neither had she the privilege of being killed through the administration of the learned medical faculty, nor through the nostrums of the more learned, but less popular Thompson; it was her fate to die a *natural death!* and therefore the learned

coroner "trusted the publication of it in the papers would act as a caution to the members of this strange sect, and that they would see the necessity of calling in medical aid." Therefore ye Latter Day Saints pay attention and live forever; for it would seem by this that the inhabitants of the city of London never die, because they have abundance of "*medical aid*" or if they do die they are assisted by the faculty to die, they do not die a natural death—for the coroner thought it necessary to warn this "foolish sect" lest they should be guilty of dying a natural death and no doubt (according to the statement of the coroner) if Elizabeth Morgan had still remained a citizen of London and not have joined that "strange sect," (who die naturally) but that she would either have lived forever or have had the privilege of dying an unnatural death through the assistance of medical aid.

But the Latter-Day Saints are a "strange sect" a "foolish sect" but why so? "they dated their origin from the apostles, and treated their sick according to the following text taken from the last chapter of the epistle of St. James: 'If there be any illness (is any sick) among you ye shall (let him) call for the elders of the church, and annoint yourselves with oil in the name of the Lord.' [*and let them pray over him, annointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.*"] The coroner seems to be ignorant of the doctrines of the Latter-Day Saints, or he never would have stated that they "dated their origin from the apostles." We believe in apostolic religion, but we do not date our origin from them—we believe that the religious world have all become corrupt long ago, and that it needed a revelation from heaven to restore apostolic religion, and that we have had such a communication; but we do not profess to have descended lineally from them. The learned coroner seems also to be ignorant of his bible, or he would have quoted the above passage a little more correctly than he has done. Respecting its being contrary to our religious tenets to employ "medical aid" we would remark that it is unqualifiedly false, and that we have no tenets prohibiting any such thing, but we think that sister Morgan had as much right to refuse medical aid and die a natural death if she thought proper, as a Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker, Universalist, or any other person; and that the coroner had no right to hinder her, nor to try other people for allowing her to do so.

But the people prayed for her "according to the text of St. James" 'if any are sick &c.' The thing has at last come out; the coroner did not think it right to follow the directions of "St. James," for he thinks them a "strange sect" a "foolish sect," and admonishes them to beware of such conduct, from which we must naturally infer that the coroner does not believe the epistle of James, nor do any of the sects in London, [for his profession must make him generally acquainted with the sects] and he thinks this is a 'strange' sect because they do, and that they are very 'foolish' for believing it. A man may be a Drunkard, a Shaker, a Methodist, a Southcatonian, a Presbyterian, or a Wilkinsonian; he may dance, or shake, or whirl around on his heel, or rend the heavens with his shouts, or sit still and say nothing; he may profess to be a mortal, or an immortal man; he may do any thing that is unscriptural, and it will be orthodox but to believe the bible, and to practice its precepts is

'foolish and strange' to this enlightened and Christian coroner, and to the inhabitants of London. But that they die after this administration is singular. The apostles however and the ancient churches used to administer in this ordinance, and yet they died. It is well for them that they did not live in the city of London, the seat of religion, and science, or the pious coroner and his coadjutors would have tried these ungodly men for practising contrary to their religion, and would have warned all the sect against their impositions and follies. (*Times and Seasons* 3:711–712, 1 March 1842, Joseph Smith, editor. Also appearing in this issue was a letter from Lorenzo Snow, who had preached Sister Morgan's funeral, which eulogized "our beloved sister" at some length.)

An Official Position

WILLIAM LEE STOKES

NOTHING HAS SO BAFFLED and frustrated man as the problem of his origin. It is doubly troublesome because both science and theology feel impelled to solve it by offering two totally opposed solutions. Believers in Judaeo-Christian scriptures find an answer in the first two chapters of Genesis which they interpret as requiring a divine supernatural origin for the human family. Science has discovered another possibility in the form of the theory of organic evolution. The ordinary citizen, caught between two certified sources of truth, has trouble deciding what he can safely believe.

Latter-day Saints are caught in the evolution anti-evolution conflict in much the sameway as other Bible-based religions but to an intensified degree. The gospel plan of eternal progression is peculiarly body-oriented. Before birth the spirit is said to be unembodied; it is embodied at birth, disembodied at death and reembodied in resurrection. That every worthy spirit should receive a proper human body is a fundamental necessity so important that the possibility of its coming by chance or by accident, without divine provision, is unthinkable.

In the minds of most church members, organic evolution leaves God out of the picture and reduces the body of man to the level of a lower animal. And yet, the arguments for evolution are so persuasive and voluminous that many waver in their opposition. In the face of conflicting evidence and in a state of painful indecision, many if not most members would welcome a decision from a credible authority wiser or better informed than they. Many, therefore, believe that such a decision actually exists and that it is set down in the statements of General Authorities. The impression is widespread that organic evolution has been officially condemned by the Church and that evolutionists are holding their views in opposition to duly constituted authority.

WILLIAM LEE STOKES *is professor of Geology at the University of Utah. His textbooks in geology have been widely used for over twenty years.*

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
47 EAST SOUTH TEMPLE STREET
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

DAVID O. McKAY, PRESIDENT

February 15, 1957

Professor William Lee Stokes
2970 South 15th East
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Brother Stokes:

Your letter of February 11, 1957, has been received.

On the subject of organic evolution the Church has officially taken no position. The book "Man, His Origin and Destiny" was not published by the Church, and is not approved by the Church.

The book contains expressions of the author's views for which he alone is responsible.

Sincerely your brother,

David O. McKay
(President)

But is this so?

In 1957 as Head of the Department of Geology at the University of Utah, a position once held by Apostle James E. Talmage, I became aware of the need to know the position of the Church on organic evolution. This feeling was intensified by the publication in 1954 of the book *Man, His Origin and Destiny* by Joseph Fielding Smith, then President of the Twelve Apostles and later to become President of the Church. I decided to make inquiry of President David O. McKay not only for my own personal satisfaction but on behalf of thousands of college students who are entitled to correct information. My letter to President McKay need not be reproduced. In essence I asked him if the Church had taken a position and if President Joseph Fielding Smith's book had the weight of an official pronouncement. I believe President McKay answered with the intention that his statements would be used by me in connection with my official duties as a teacher in a public institution but he did not specifically grant me permission to publish the letter. Rightly or wrongly I have forwarded copies to those interested enough to ask for them

and these have been copied and recopied to give the letter fairly wide distribution. At no time did I personally broadcast the letter or give it wide publicity even though I think I would be justified in doing so.

Antievolution sentiment continued to grow in the 1950s and was strengthened by further publications by General Authorities such as *Doctrines of Salvation,* a compilation of President Smith's writings by his son-in-law, Elder Bruce R. McConkie, and by Elder McConkie's own book, *Mormon Doctrine.* In *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City, Bookcraft, Inc., 1958, p. 230) after quoting from President John Taylor (*Mediation and Atonement,* p. 160–161) Elder McConkie states: "This aptly expressed and plainly worded statement from President John Taylor summarizes the official doctrine of the Church as to the falsity of the theory of organic evolution."[1]

In the face of what appeared to me as a contradiction of authorities, or at least a serious difference of opinion, I continued to feel a need to publish the McKay letter but was restrained by the idea that I had no clear permission to do so. However, I acted at last, and on 13 October 1968 I again wrote to President McKay and asked for permission to publish the essential statements from his 1957 letter. At this time he was so ill (he would die 18 January 1970) that I scarcely expected a reply. However, on 18 October 1968 I received a letter over the signature of Joseph Anderson, Secretary to the First Presidency, stating that he had been directed to tell me that there was no objection to my use of the quotation, "on the subject of organic evolution the Church has officially taken no position," in my book.

Not until now have I published the McKay letter as I have made it the cornerstone of a manuscript I have written titled, "Can Latter-day Saints accept evolution?" This book has been rejected by all local publishers and may never see the light of day. That is another story. The letter is still timely and appropriate. Today may be an even better time to make it public than when it was first written. I therefore submit it for facsimile reproduction with the foregoing paragraphs as an introduction.

In postscript let me say that I have been accused of forging this letter and of taking unfair advantage of President Smith. Let the readers judge. I am personally grateful that the Church has not been caught in the position of taking a stand that might very well prove to be wrong in the future. This has already happened to a number of fundamentalist churches among whose ranks I am happy not to be included. It is also faith promoting to me to know that God expects men and women to sift and study many subjects for the truth that is in them and that He does not solve all our problems by official pronouncements.

NOTE

[1]The second edition of *Mormon Doctrine* (1966), p. 248, while dropping the term "official," conveys virtually the same message: "This aptly expressed and plainly worded statement from President John Taylor expresses the same views and perspective found in the writings and sermons of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, Charles W. Penrose, and many of our early day inspired writers." Nowhere is it suggested that a view such as that expressed by President McKay might also be held by inspired leaders.—Ed.

Song for his Left Ear

for Harlow Soderborg Clark, surgically deaf

DENNIS CLARK

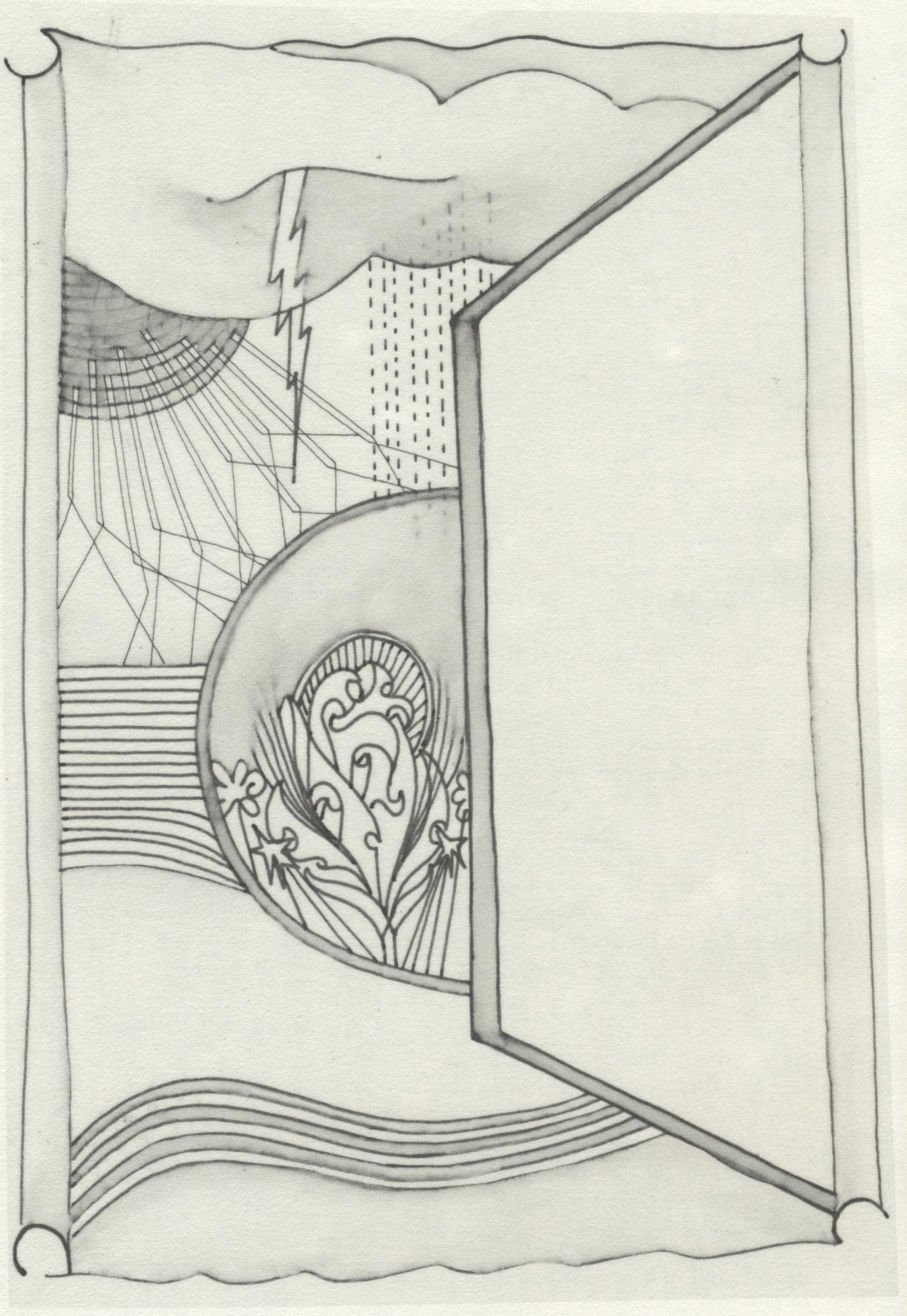
By sheer nerve you've gone Van Gogh one better:
cut your ear off from your brain, but
left it blooming in your hair.
You'd auditioned city living just so long—
till thickened by the screech, slam, purr and shove of traffic
one nerve sent early warning,
spun the world past your eyes,
milking your fear of falling and scalding the Fall with fear;
then that diagnosis came round with Thanksgiving.

Now there's twice as much to hear with one ear shot.
Your surgeon only cut the old line out
in his New Year's resolution of your lost tangle with balance;
his mining of the flesh against your skull from ear to brainstem
for Christmas gave you full control of what you choose to hear . . .
as well as what you hear because it's there.

You can listen to the fog that muffles headlights,
hear the current singe and surge on filament,
throwing the world's shadow on the fabric of your mind;
you can hear Beethoven as he heard himself—
with the advantage of one ear for what musicians hear.
In the basement cool of your bed at night
you'll rehearse the creak and shuffle of the stages of your life
till you hear the tears that start at the recall
and the flushing of the blood at the re-membering
of the feats, humiliations, joys, defeats, applause . . . .

when familiar with the motions and emotions of a life
you have ears for the inaudible
whispering you to act.

DENNIS CLARK, *a native of Los Angeles and long-time resident of Seattle, works in a library in Orvo, near his home.*



Song of Creation

LINDA SILLITOE

Who made the world, my child?
Father made the rain
silver and forever.
Mother's hand
drew riverbeds and hollowed seas,
drew riverbeds and hollowed seas
to bring the rain home.

Father bridled winds, my child,
to keep the world new.
Mother clashed
fire free from stones
and breathed it strong and dancing,
and breathed it strong and dancing
the color of her hair.

He armed the thunderclouds
rolled out of heaven;
Her fingers flickered
hummingbirds
weaving the delicate white snow,
weaving the delicate white snow
a waterfall of flowers.

And if you live long, my child,
you'll see snow burst
from thunderclouds
and lightning in the snow;
listen to Mother and Father laughing,
listen to Mother and Father laughing
behind the locked door.

LINDA SILLITOE, *well-known poet and journalist, is working on a M.A. at the University of Utah.*

FROM THE PULPIT

Jesus and the Prophets

LOWELL L. BENNION

IN HIS WRITINGS on the sociology of religion, Max Weber contrasts two types of religious leaders: *emissary* and *exemplary* prophets. The founders of the great religions of mankind fall into one of these two categories.

Prophets of the Near East—Moses, Zoroaster, Peter, Paul and Muhammad—were all emissaries. They believed they were sent of God; they spoke for him in his name. People followed these prophets when they believed they were speaking for God. Professor Louis Zucker, teacher of Old Testament literature and himself a Jew, has called the prophets of Israel "God-intoxicated" men.

It took earnest persuasion by the Lord to get Moses, Isaiah and Jeremiah to accept the call to be his mouthpiece—an audacious calling indeed. (Read Exodus 3 and 4, Isaiah 6 and Jeremiah 1.) Once in the harness, the prophets still struggled with both God and man as each sought to be the Lord's emissary to a stiffnecked people.

What kind of men were these emissary prophets? They could be described as sons of thunder for they came raging like a storm, striking like lightning, threatening doom and destruction with occasional rays of light and hope.

> Woe to them that are at ease in Zion . . . (Amos 6:1)
> Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? . . . (Amos 3:4)
> Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it? (Amos 3:6)

They spoke with abandon, fearlessly and with full confidence that the Lord would fulfill their word. One of the most colorful and dramatic of Israel's prophets was Elijah. You will recall his contest with the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel. Jezebel, a foreign queen, had brought to Israel a host of the priests of Baal who ate at her table at the expense of Israelites whose faith in Jehovah they sought to undermine.

LOWELL L. BENNION *is executive director of the Salt Lake Community Services Council. His most recent book is* The Things That Matter Most.

This situation angered Elijah so much that he called all the people of Israel and the prophets of Baal together for a contest to see which was the living God—Baal or Jehovah.

First he instructed the devotees of Baal to build an altar, to place wood on it and to offer a bullock as a sacrifice. Then Elijah challenged the priests of Baal to call down fire from heaven as proof of Baal's existence. They cried from morning until noon, but there was no voice, no answer. At noon Elijah mocked them, saying,

> Cry aloud: For he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awakened. (I Kings 18:27)

When evening came, Elijah dressed his altar with wood and placed the bullock on it. Then he had the sacrifice drenched with four barrels of water, again and again. This was not enough, so he had a trench built around the altar. This, too, was filled with water. Imagine his confidence, his faith and his triumphant, almost arrogant mood before men. Then note his humility and submission when he turned in prayer to Jehovah.

> Lord God of Abraham, Issac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that thou art God, and that thou hast turned their heart back again. (I Kings 18:36–37)

Elijah illustrates the strong and changing moods of the Hebrew prophets. They could be angry with their people—threatening, sarcastic, caustic—and then become messengers of hope, harbingers of peace. Isaiah, after rejecting the religious devotion of his people, calling them people of Sodom and Gomorrah, spoke these comforting words:

> Learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. (Isaiah 1:17–18)

In fact, Chapter one of Isaiah runs the whole gamut of prophetic moods and portrays beautifully the spirit of the emissary prophets of Israel.

Their message was not abstract theology, not systematic philosophy, not a catechism of beliefs, not a code of behavior, but spontaneous outbursts—exhortations of faith, righteous indignation, hope—whatever the situation called for. Their preaching has such great underlying themes as the ethical character and will of God and man's service to such a being—but the presentation is always dynamic, emotional, urgent and inseparable from the historical setting which provoked it.

Emissary prophets were human. They never said "follow me," or "do as I do." It was always "hearken unto the Word of God," "do as he says." Never did they say "I have found the way." Moses, traditionally the greatest of the

prophets who talked with God, took the honor unto himself when the Lord provided water for Israel, so he was not permitted to enter the promised land (See Numbers 20).

When Isaiah had a vision of God in the temple, his response was:

> Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts. (Isaiah 6:5)

Paul acknowledged his human weakness and then did a little honest boasting in the same breath:

> For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me. (I Corinthians 15:9–10)

Let it be noted, then, that the very word prophet means "one who speaks for God." The Hebrew prophets—Moses, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah and Paul—were giants in the prophetic role. They knew their role as emissaries of the Most High.

Religious leaders of India and China, however, are called *exemplars* by Max Weber. What kind of men were they: Lao-tze and Confucius in China, Buddha, Mahavira and unknown Hindu teachers in India?

The exemplary religious leaders of the Far East differ markedly from the emissary prophets of the Near East. They never speak for God—"thus saith the Lord." Confucius, when asked about the supernatural, replied, "If you cannot serve men how can you serve spirits?" When asked about death, he answered, "So long as you do not know life, how can you know about death?" Confucius was a humanist. For him man was the measure of man. He was either agnostic or atheistic, and, therefore, he did not think himself an emissary of deity.

The same can be said for Buddha. "Who has ever seen Brahma face to face?" asked Buddha. "Would the further bank of the river Akirvati by reason of this man's invoking and praying, hope and praising, come over to this side?"

Buddha, a wealthy young prince, recognized the great amount of suffering in human existence. After much reflection, he discovered the cause of suffering and worked out a system of thought and action which would enable an individual to overcome suffering. This way of salvation was created by Buddha without reference to deity. The Buddha himself followed his own path and truly exemplified the principles he taught. He, like Jesus, gathered around him loyal, devoted disciples who only later began the process of deifying him.

Confucius, too, exemplified the fine moral virtues he taught—integrity, propriety, the golden mean, respect for elders. People followed him because

they saw in him his teachings personified. He never called on a god to support them.

In Hinduism and Taoism the concept of God is of one who is quite impersonal. He is the great soul or essence from which all things came and to which all things will return. Never do either Lao-tze or the Hindu philosophers consciously speak *for* a god.

The Far Eastern religious founders were learned. Confucius was an editor of Chinese classics. Hindu philosophers were gurus or teachers and exemplifiers. Lao-tze was reportedly a librarian. They were all men of reflection, of calm meditation. Their works are characterized by philosophical detachment; they are timeless, nonhistorical. Buddha, in particular, was a calm, thoughtful, systematic thinker. Even the mysticism of Hinduism and Taoism appears more rational than emotional. In both instances, it lacks the emotional fervor of the Christian mystics of the late middle ages: Francis of Assisi, Eckhard, St. John of the Cross.

Where does Jesus fit among the religious leaders of the Far East and the Near East? Was he an emissary or an exemplar? Did he speak for God or for himself? The answer is both. Jesus was a supreme emissary in the tradition of the Hebrew prophets. He was also an exemplar, accepted and followed because of who and what he was.

Matthew, Mark and Luke are called the synoptic gospels because they all have the same basic arrangement. They begin with Jesus' birth or with his ministry and unfold his life until his triumphant resurrection. By contrast, the Gospel of John begins by declaring Christ to be God, and it proceeds to demonstrate his divinity in nearly every occurrence. We might expect Christ to be portrayed as an emissary in the synoptic gospels and as an exemplar in the Gospel of John, but he is presented as both emissary and exemplar in all four gospels.

Let us first illustrate his emissary spirit:

> And when he was gone forth into the way, there came one running, and kneeled to him, and asked him, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God. (Mark 10:17–18)

This same conversation is recorded in Matthew 19:16–17 and in Luke 18:18–19. An emissary always defers to God, as Jesus did in this instance.

The Lord's Prayer shows full respect and honor to the Father:

> Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven . . . for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen. (Matthew 6:9–13)

In the Garden of Gethsemane Jesus cried, "Saying Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done." (Luke 5:30–31) The same attitude towards the Father is expressed in John:

> Now about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple, and taught. And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?
>
> Jesus answered them, and said, My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory: but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him. (John 7:14–18)

On the other hand, Christ's exemplary character is clearly portrayed in all four gospels. Mark reports Christ saying, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee." (Mark 2:5) The power to forgive sins was a prerogative of Deity in Israel and, in the ears of scribes, was blasphemous when spoken by man, but Jesus said it on more than one occasion. In a similar vein, Jesus declares himself to be Lord of the Sabbath, to be above the rules governing Sabbath observance in Israel. "For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath day." (Matthew 12:8)

Jesus declared his own exemplary nature in these unequivocal words:

> All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.
>
> Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and by burden is light. (Matthew 11:27–30)

Jesus' exemplary nature, as we might expect, is portrayed most often and most powerfully in the Gospel of John. At Jacob's well, he tells the woman of Samaria that

> Whosoever drinketh of this water [meaning of Jacob's well] shall thirst again: But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life. (John 4:13–14)

In the strongest possible language, Jesus declares himself to be the exemplar, the revelation of God.

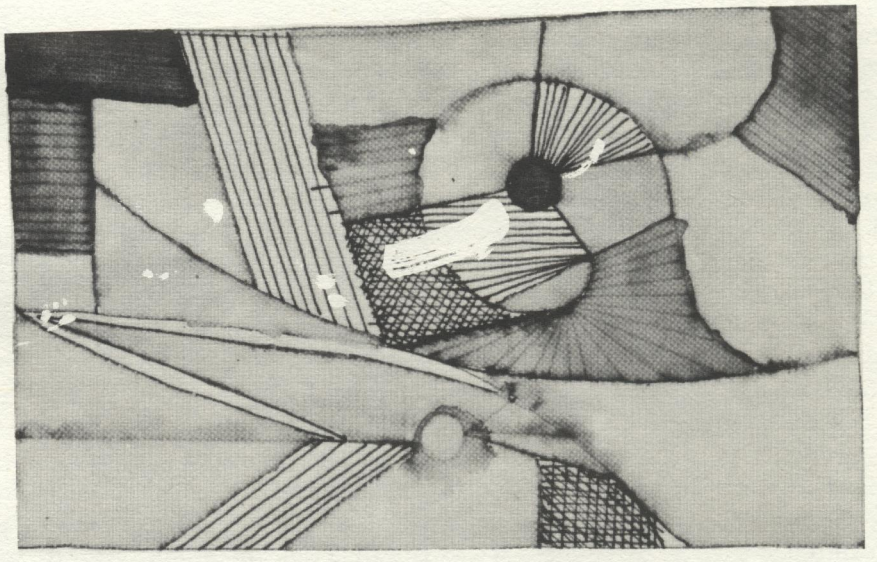
> Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me. If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. Philip saith unto him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?
> (John 14:6–9)

Two views of Jesus emerge from the gospels: In one he is an emissary prophet, intimate spokesman for God, confident of his having been sent, speaking with authority for the Father, deferring to him with humility and

reverence. In the other, he teaches the truth in his own right. He bids men to come unto him for comfort, to find the truth, to gain everlasting life. He presents himself as the revelation of God. He and the Father are one. No other prophet or religious leader has assumed this dual role of emissary for God and exemplar of the religious life.

Add to these two roles Christ's divine mission as the Son of God, Redeemer of mankind, Savior from death and sin, and it is no wonder that he has had such great historical appeal and has acquired such a large following.

One can follow him because one believes that he spoke for God. One can follow him because of the quality of his life and teachings, for what he said and did. One can follow him because he was and is the Redeemer. One can follow him for all three reasons. He is unique in this threefold appeal.



PERSONAL VOICES

My Father's Name Was Sam

HERBERT HARKER

ONE SPRING DAY WHEN I was about three years old, I hunkered near where my father and the hired man were treating seed grain with formaldehyde. Father handed me the bottle to smell, but apparently I misunderstood, and tried to taste it. There followed a rush to the house with me riding on my father's shoulder. I do not remember the raw egg mixed with ashes or whatever it was they gave me to make me retch. All I remember is that desperate sprint and the wind in my face as I rode atop my father's shoulder.

I'm grateful for that memory, because I have not always been conscious of Father's concern. About a year after the formaldehyde incident, he came home leading a pinto horse that snorted and switched its tail and flashed a wild white eye at me. As I recall, it was a tri-color, with dark patches shading to tan and then white. I'm sure I had never seen anything so beautiful. A childish impulse prompted me to ask Father if I could have the horse, and when he said yes, my astonishment was almost equal to my joy. Life had nothing more to offer me—my days were complete. All day I sat on the stairs in the barn and watched my treasure munching in its stall.

But one morning when I reached the barn, my horse was gone. I ran into the farmyard, frantically, looking. Finally, I hailed the hired man to ask if he knew where my horse was. In the pig pasture, he replied. I raced to the pasture, where I saw the pigs hungrily surrounding some object in the grass. Screaming, I tried to drive them back. The pigs paid no attention, but I got close enought to see byond their flopping ears and smacking snouts a tattered patch of tri-colored horsehide gleaming in the sun. My older brother had followed me—and explained that the horse was no good: a neighbor had given him to us, and early that morning Father had shot him for pig feed.

Life on the prairie was hard, and if people were to survive, they had to become hard as well. Still, I don't think the incident was a conscious lesson

HERBERT HARKER, *author of Turn Again Home,* is writing his third novel.

in toughness by my father—only an example of the degree to which he himself had become desensitized. If I had ever mentioned it to him in later years, I doubt if he would have remembered it.

My father's name was Sam. As I grew up, it became a special delight for me to introduce myself as Sam Harker's son. Everybody knew him, even miles from our home. Most men, it seemed, had worked for him at some time, and many referred to him as the best boss they ever had. And I was indignant when I overheard a hired man say, "That's *one* thing old Sam knows how to do, butcher a beef," as if there might be something that my father couldn't do.

What I could do was draw pictures. By age seventeen I was probably the acknowledged artist in the community, and I went to Banff one summer to study painting. There I worked hard and waited to be discovered, but nobody was paying any attention. When a roommate who was taking theatre stage-craft dashed off a quick portrait of a friend that was far beyond anything I could do, my gifts as an artist finally came into focus. William Carlos Williams said that he thought if he had turned his efforts in another direction, he could have become as good a painter as he was a poet. I don't feel that way. My sparser gifts are not so evenly spread. I think I have the capacity to write better than I can paint, but it took me a long time to accommodate that thought. By about age twenty, though, the shift was complete, and I went out and bought a typewriter.

I recall my wife encouraging me years ago with the fact that Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote eight hours a day for fifteen years before he had anything published. I took heart too from the story that Robert Frost worked patiently for almost twenty years after his first poem was accepted and before his second sale. I hope these stories are true. It is good to think that I share a long incubation period with Hawthorne and Frost if nothing else.

At the end of my own fifteen years, after I had accumulated several hundred unpublished short stories, everything fell in on me. I didn't come to my senses—my heart was broken, that's all. For more than five years I scarcely wrote a line.

When I was ten, a bull elk wandered down from the mountains and had been seen in a neighbor's wheat field. We children arrived at school with nothing on our minds but the elk, while our fathers grabbed rifles from the cupboard and drove off to find it. We spent an agonizing day at school, wondering who had been the successful hunter. In the evening, we learned that the elk had escaped. Later still, my father told us how he had been the one to find the animal and stalk it. He even had it in his sights. But as he drew down on that wild, free creature, he realized that he had no desire to kill it; he raised his rifle, and fired into the sky. The elk leaped away toward the river, and was not seen again. The next day I proudly bore the taunts of my school friends, glad for evidence of a tenderness in my father that I had never before suspected.

The five year hiatus included some of the blackest days I had known. Not

only was my career in limbo, but it seemed that my judgment was faulty, and I augmented my discouragement with foolish, half-desperate measures.

What I didn't know was that help was on the way; some of it had already arrived. I moved back into the area where the writer, Ross Macdonald, renewed his encouragement and guidance. I began writing a weekly newspaper column, and more and more I found myself turning to my childhood experiences for a subject. For the first time, I seemed to recognize my material.

Then an early copy of *Dialogue* fell into my hands. It is hard to explain the impact of this magazine on someone who has lived alone with questions that he dared not admit to himself much less share with others. Over the years I had satisfied myself that my faith was grounded in my own experience and that it no longer depended on the testimony of others. Still, I was troubled at times, if by no more weighty question than why I was the only one to be troubled. For me the famous line about the "myth of the unruffled Mormon" was a liberation. I grew up in a small Mormon community, had been "active" all my life, had never been to a university. I don't believe a person accustomed to an open market on ideas can understand isolation of the mind. When a professor friend of mine read my novel *Turn Again Home,* he said he doubted there could be a nineteen-year-old Mormon who had never heard of Mountain Meadows. But I was over thirty before I heard of it—and then from a Catholic, of course. I mention this because I want to emphasize to Eugene England and Robert Rees and Mary Bradford and those other dozens of committed people associated with the magazine that yes, it is worth the struggle. They have extended the Mormon dialogue to thousands who did not know that it existed. Somehow, *Dialogue* seemed to put me in positive touch with myself, revealing to me for the first time the concept of a Mormon as a man.

In the midst of my doldrums, I one day read a quotation, Chesterton, I believe. His thought was that we all think the treasures of life are wealth and fame and power, when all we need to make us truly happy is something to be enthusiastic about. I was ready for that aphorism, and it literally turned me around. By chance I got an afternoon job, and every morning I rose with the birds and wrote until time to go to work. Five years later, Random House published my first novel.

This was not the end of the story, but it was a culmination of a sort for me. On my next income tax return I gave my profession as "writer." Since then I have found that the struggle to maintain that title can be almost as grueling as the effort to achieve it. But every morning I approach the task with gratitude.

One autumn, as we worked in the field, a shiny new car drove through the stubble toward us. We boys didn't recognize the man who got out of it, but Father did, and went out of our hearing to greet and laugh and talk with him. After he left, Father told us that he was a local man who sometime before had moved away and become rich, and I felt proud that such an important man had walked upon our humble farm.

For several years, he visited us in the midst of our harvest, each time driving a bigger automobile and with reports of another promotion by his company. His easy air seemed to taunt our long days in the field, doubly so when I grew old enough to understand that his reason for coming was to collect money my father owed him. About the time he became president of the corporation, Father made his last payment, and the man never visited us again. It was some time later that Father explained to me how rich he always felt when he looked out across the waving grain fields, and how badly his fortune had shrunk by the time he got the harvest in and finished paying his bills.

One night Father was late coming in with the sheep. By this time I was married and living in the city with children of my own, but we were home for the week-end. We sat down to supper, and wondered where he was and why he was taking so long. Just before dark we went out looking, and found the herd scattered, and finally our father, lying alone in the field. Hours before he'd had a heart attack and, as we learned afterward, very nearly died.

I am now about the same age my father was when he had his attack. I take courage from the fact that I am also about twenty pounds lighter, but I have no assurance that I can look forward to another fifteen good years, as he did. Even granted that, I'll really have to hustle my pen, considering the time lost, to get all the books out of me that are in there. One of them, I hope, will be worth something—I mean in a human way, the way that one of Father's lamb chops gave people something they could sink their teeth into.

As I sit here, trying to solve the problems of my most recent novel, I remember a July hailstorm many summers ago. When the fury had passed, we looked out to see the sun glistening on hail piled against the fence like rhinestone golfballs. Father took the family for a drive to inspect the damage. The grainfield, which an hour before had waved in tall young shoots already beginning to head out, was now as black as ploughed ground. But the next spring, Father planted again.

The other day at the beach, I watched a young fellow bucking in the waves on his Jet-ski. For an hour he ridged the water back and forth, awash in foam and noise and as I looked at him his posture seemed familiar. I remembered Father hunched above the walking plow, his strong hands guiding it, his feet awkwardly straddling the furrow as he trudged against the fading light. I remembered too, his telling me, "I never especially wanted to be a farmer." Nor did I. Am I exempt because I knew what I did want? Father and I were different sorts, and yet his blood flows in my veins. I feel him urging me beyond myself; I feel the dogged motion of his life steadying mine; I feel his shoulder underneath me, bearing me swiftly through the wind and hail to save the remnant years.

Living with Opposition in All Things

MARVIN RYTTING

IN A RECENT ISSUE of *Dialogue,* Clifton Jolley described the personal essay as a good way to confront the "beast." I usually confront the beast in the shower. It is not that it lurks there more than anywhere else, but the hot water beating on my back soothes my body and clears my mind so that I can examine dilemmas with a lucidity unmatched—except in the sauna. So over the years I have written dozens of personal essays (and hundreds of letters to the editor) in the shower. Although few of these have been transcribed onto paper, my wasting of water has been beneficial. I have maintained my sanity, I am still in the Church, and I occasionally have an interesting thought to add to a conversation. But ideas and feelings need to be shared, and sometimes even personal sharing with friends is not enough—they finally need to be written.

My excuse for committing to writing my struggles with Mormon paradoxes came from a meeting of the Society for Values in Higher Education. I prepared a paper for a session on struggling with religious traditions. Writing for a non-Mormon audience forced me to spend some time analyzing Mormonism so I could provide a context for my dilemmas. I described Mormonism as a synthesis of religious traditions (an idea I stole from Jan Shipps), pointing out how it combines a strong Semitic identification and a vision of Christian primitivism with the early American experience (and later with the secularization of modern middle-class America).

Through this analysis, I realized that Mormonism, for me, is simultaneously beautiful and a source of conflict and paradox, and so I decided that the scriptural "opposition in all things" includes the opposition I find within my Mormon tradition and within myself. Mormonism's rich religious heritage invites creative exploration, but this is discouraged by an institutional need for orthodoxy and conformity. This strain makes the process very difficult, but in examining my Mormon heritage, I found a role model for my

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explorations—Joseph Smith. The Prophet Joseph creatively manipulated the religious traditions incorporated within Mormonism to justify his unorthodox views on traditional Christianity. When confronted with some of the paradoxes of Mormonism, I justify my own unorthodox views through similar manipulation of my religious tradition.

One of these paradoxes is the Church's response to the contemporary feminist movement. The Church hierarchy is generally opposed to feminist positions, but by the time this attitude has filtered down to the local level, it sometimes becomes a dogmatic—and I think irresponsible—militancy, as with some of the International Women's Year meetings. As one who was found working with "the followers of Satan" at an IWY meeting, I tasted first hand the enmity of the Saints. This reaction within the Church makes it difficult to be a Mormon feminist. To deal with the apparent paradox of being a Mormon and a feminist, I have turned to my Mormon heritage for justification—just what many other Mormon feminists have done.

This process can be seen in *Exponent II,* the *Dialogue* issue on women, books like *Mormon Sisters* and *Sister Saints,* and in study groups springing up throughout Zion. By turning to the past, we have discovered a rich legacy of feminism within Mormon history, with role models of active, liberated women, successful in medicine, law, commerce, education, publishing and politics, and speaking out in favor of many feminist views of the day. This is very useful to those of us who are trying to reconcile our feminist views with a culture antagonistic to those values. There is a danger, however, that we will end up painting a glorified picture of our liberated foremothers which is just as distorted as the glorified homemaker image. We do not need to show that the Church was not sexist in the nineteenth century or that all Mormon women were liberated. That would not be true. The important lesson is that it was possible to be a Mormon woman and more than a housewife. Now we need to focus on contemporary role models to show that this still is possible.

The emphasis on the cultural past was a necessary stage, but I have found in my personal past another explanation for my feminism. I used to try to explain why I am a feminist in spite of being a Mormon; I now claim that I am a feminist *because* I am a Mormon. My Mormon upbringing prepared me to accept feminist values. This first became clear to me a few years ago when I took an airplane trip to my sister's wedding.

I had been asked by our local women's center to participate in a panel discussion on *The Liberated Man* by Warren Farrell, so I had the book with me. In my traditional family, it was soon noticed and I had been challenged by my brother-in-law who asked whether or not I really agreed with such ideas. I presented him with Farrell's list of traditional masculine values—power, aggression, adventure and sexual exploitation—and compared these to his list of traditional feminine values—gentleness, concern for others, good family life and tender caring. I asked him which set of values was closer to Mormon values, the traditional masculine or the traditional feminine. He had to admit that traditional masculine values do not agree with Mormon values and that we ought to liberate ourselves from them.

As I made my point (my brother-in-law is a judge), I realized that I had not been raised to value the traditional male way of being. Although my Mormon culture had taught me to value the traditional patriarchal role and the leadership and authority roles, it did not teach me to value the traditional male personality. I had been raised to be gentle and kind, loving and patient. This also meant that I was taught not to be sexually exploitative and not to try to prove my manliness through aggression or vulgarity. Here is the paradox of my Mormon background, then: it gave me a sexist ideology but a feminist personality. With the two in conflict, personality easily wins. I find that I like feminists but have little in common with traditionally masculine males. And feminists like me. Some talk of the need for men to change in response to women's liberation, but I did not change—I merely discovered a viewpoint that values what I already value; and I found people who value me the way I already am. Religious dogma and social and political ideology are no match for personality structure, basic values and friendships. Just as I find in Mormon history a cultural heritage to justify my feminism, so I find in my history a personal heritage to explain it.

In addition to Mormonism's past and my own past, I find confirmation of my feminism in the present. My trip to Utah for my sister's wedding made me aware of several aspects of my sex role behavior—how it felt and how it affected others. I have always been so involved in caring for our children that it seemed natural to take my ten-month-old son with me to Utah. The whole family could not afford to go, but he could fly for free. I was amazed at the reactions. Everyone was so impressed. I was so brave and daring (and a little bit foolhardy) to risk such a venture on my own. Only later did I realize that this reaction was an unintentional insult to me. No one was surprised or impressed when my wife, Ann, took our two girls to California for her sister's wedding, but they expect me to be helpless with one child. (I also resent the implication that I cannot cook or take care of the children—or even myself—which is inherent in the Relief Society battle plan whenever Ann is sick or away from home. Why not bring food for *her* when *I* am away?) The most surprised person seemed to be the man at the check-in counter of the Salt Lake Airport who kept asking me where the rest of my party was.

I must admit that I was a bit surprised when I called the flight attendant to ask for a spoon because I was ready to feed the baby and a man appeared and offered to heat the food for me. That is an image in which I still take delight: a male flight attendant warming a bottle so a father can feed his baby. There are other images not so pleasant, such as changing the baby's diaper on a metal bench in the middle of a crowded corridor in Chicago's O'Hare Airport. There is no good place in an airport for a man to change a diaper (the same is true of our church buildings—I always have to change the diaper on the landing leading to the stage).

The nicest memory of that trip is the bonding between me and my son. That concentrated dose of togetherness and primary caretaking produced a lasting closeness that I value. In priesthood meeting we sometimes talk about how important it is for a mother to care for her children and what joy that

brings. If we men really took that seriously, we would fight to be equal partners in that joyful process. I value it enough to do it; in fact, I think I want Ann to work so I will have an excuse to stay home with the children. I would go crazy, however, if I had to do it all the time (and housework is a different story altogether; the best that can be said of it is that it is barely tolerable when it is shared). I find it disconcerting that while the brethren in priesthood meeting are aware that their wives are going crazy and feel sorry for them, they still insist that wives must stay home because that is what the Church teaches—end of discussion! Not only did my Mormon background prepare me to be a feminist, but my experience as a father convinces me that a feminist is what I ought to be.

I have faced similar conflicts in my attempts to be a Mormon and a humanistic psychologist. Although the two roles often seem incompatible, I am humanistic *because* of my Mormon heritage. In the field of psychology, the paradoxes of the Mormon Zeitgeist make for some strange theoretical bedfellows because of the overriding importance of free agency. The idea that we are free to choose is central not only to Mormon theology, but also to our social and political philosophy and our moral exhortations. Of the three basic schools of thought in psychology, only humanism posits free will, and therefore, by default, many Mormons are attracted to humanistic psychology. But there is a problem here because the humanistic value system is at variance with the fundamentalism of modern Mormonism.

An example of the ambivalence this causes occurred last year when Rollo May was invited to visit Brigham Young University. He had been invited, and was given a warm reception, because he is a leading advocate of free will. He noted, however, that he was disappointed in his audience, saying, "You as an audience are a little too obedient, and I do not feel as though I have been challenged by your questions." A psychologist at BYU responded that the reaction stemmed from the natural courtesy of the students and from an epistemology differing from May's. Truth is discovered not by questioning a humanistic psychologist or trading ideas with one but by revelation from God. Students at BYU are to listen respectfully (i.e., passively) to worldly ideas and then accept or reject them depending upon how closely these ideas conform with revealed truth.

I became converted to humanistic psychology at BYU. Not only did the free agency issue steer me in that direction, but Abraham Maslow's concept of self-actualization sounded compatible with the Mormon version of perfectionism. It was also at BYU that I was introduced to the human potential movement through an encounter group. In graduate school, my humanistic orientation became more sophisticated and more clearly defined; my value system converged with humanistic philosophy, and I received training as a leader of encounter groups. Although all of this increased my distance from Mormon orthodoxy, the changes in my thinking were subtle and natural, and they seemed to flow from my Mormon background.

My acceptance of humanistic psychology was helped by an inclination toward subjective ways of knowing which grew out of my contact with

personal revelation. Humanistic psychology also values experiential knowledge, but this similarity leads to a paradox because what I have experienced subjectively in my work does not fit well with Mormon orthodoxy. Yet if subjective experience is a legitimate (but not ultimate) basis for my religious knowledge and conviction, how can I deny it in other contexts? Such experience is not the primary criterion for what I believe, but my Mormon background teaches me not to ignore it, and I refuse to deny what I have experienced both within and outside of the Church—even when they conflict. And even the conflict should not surprise me because Mormonism and humanistic psychology agree that there must be opposition in all things.

It would take an entire issue of *Dialogue* to discuss all of the paradoxes that I have come to accept, but the ultimate one may be the expectation that Mormons are supposed to be "in the world but not of the world." This injunction creates an overriding ambivalence about practically everything. We should be blessed with riches but not be materialistic. We are supposed to enjoy life but not too much. Our theology exalts the body, but the flesh is suspect. We are to experience joy but not too much pleasure. We need to know good and evil through experience but never do anything wrong. I think that we really have not solved the puzzle of being in the world but not of it. I know that I have not. At BYU, it seemed that not being of the world meant being five years behind it, but somehow I do not think that is what God has in mind.

When I was in graduate school, I was part of a Mormon community with an academic orientation. I associated with others who were dealing with similar paradoxes and conflicts, and I was comfortable in the ward. As I began my career, however, I moved into a ward in which I was the only academic—a ward where the fundamentalist extreme was the norm. It soon became apparent how far I had drifted from the orthodox position. The connection between this drift and my academic orientation as a humanistic psychologist became clear to me when I used the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) in teaching a personality research course.

The POI is a personality test designed by Everett Shostrom to measure the degree of self-actualization as described by Maslow. I first analyzed it (and analyzed myself with it) in a graduate seminar. I was a little chagrined to find myself only partially actualized. The second time around, however, I knew how to take the test, and so I produced for myself the beautiful profile of an actualizing person. This time I also analyzed the test in depth and discovered that what it really was testing was agreement with the value-laden assumptions of humanistic psychology. My improved scores were not due to my ability to fake a test nor to my status as a better person. They reflected a change in my attitudes, a change that brought me closer to humanistic psychology. That this change was related to my Mormon background was confirmed by the nonactualized profile of one of my students who happened to be a Mormon. When I examined his responses, it was clear that he scored low because his answers were consistent with typical Mormon expectations. It was obvious that Mormon society and humanistic psychology define the

optimal way to fulfill human potential in very different terms. Humanistic psychology's self-actualization involves self-acceptance and self-determination; whereas the Mormon version of perfection involves perfect obedience. Concepts which, as an undergraduate, I had seen as equivalent turned out to be defined as opposites.

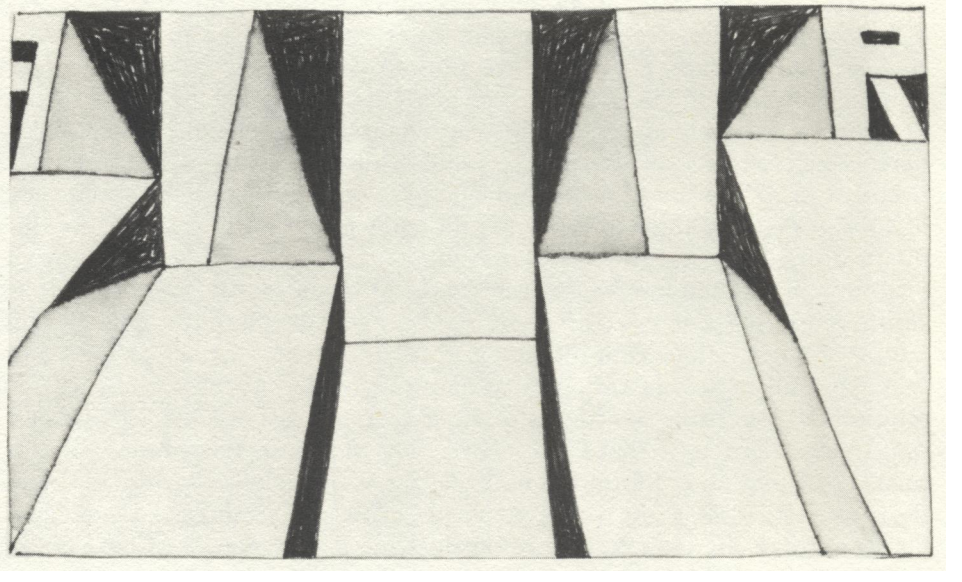
The result of these paradoxes is that today I find myself in a bind. I am perceived by myself and by others as a marginal Mormon because I question some positions of the Church and openly disagree with others. My disagreements with the Church are based in large part upon my professional or academic experience, which in turn is deeply rooted in my Mormon heritage. Stated in another way, my Mormon background (both my personal history and my view of Mormon history and theology) strongly influenced my academic orientation, an orientation that causes me to question my current Mormon culture. My response has been to call upon my heritage (my past and Mormonism's past) to understand, explain and justify my present.

I do not think that what I have described is unique. I think all of us are scientist/philosophers, trying to make sense out of this crazy life. When the world view we have created is not adequate to explain what is happening, we redefine it. Sometimes we redefine the present to fit the past; sometimes we reinterpret the past to fit the present. Individuals do this; institutions do it; societies do it. There are problems in this process. I am aware that I distort the past. I sometimes say that I was born in the wrong century. If only I had lived in the days of the Prophet Joseph, I would have fit in. But in more lucid moments I know that is not true. I would have had as much or more trouble accepting Joseph's demand of unquestioning support and obedience as I have accepting the Church's current pressure for conformity. But still, I suggest that it is psychologically sound to reinterpret, or selectively remember the past in such a way that helps us to adequately deal with the present. And I would argue that this is preferable to redefining, or selectively perceiving, the present in order to maintain a past that may no longer be useful. I think we ought to exploit our religious heritage—the myths, the history, the rituals, the traditions and the philosophy—in a way that clarifies the meaningfulness of life in the present.

A few of us from the Society for Values in Higher Education group have continued to meet at the University of Chicago to explore more deeply the nature of our religious commitment and its dilemmas. I have become aware that what all of us are doing is attempting to define the essense of our religious traditions by distinguishing between the essential and the tangential. I have discovered that I am incorrigibly Mormon. What must I accept, then, to maintain my Mormon identity? I have struggled with this for many years; I even plotted out different levels of doctrinal necessity. Joseph F. Smith defined the essential Mormon doctrine as acceptance of God as the Father, Christ as the Savior and Joseph Smith as a prophet. I have conservatively defined the essential behavioral code as that which is necessary to maintain a current temple recommend. But for me, the essense of my Mormonism is the doctrine of eternalism as spelled out by Joseph Smith toward

the end of his life. By this I mean that even if I were to leave the Church, I cannot imagine changing my concept of myself as an eternally existent (backwards and forwards) being. I do not know for a certainty that my version of eternity is accurate, but I strongly affirm that my conception is the way it ought to be, and I do not think I could accept another vision. Because among Christian religions, this doctrine is unique, a Mormon is the only thing I could ever be.

What I have written about my experience as a Mormon may be described by some as mere rationalization—the attempt of one who has strayed to justify his sinful ways. On the other hand, some of my non-Mormon colleagues think it is a stubborn refusal to let go of a tradition that causes me much conflict. As I see it, I have three alternatives: I can throw away my Mormon heritage (rejecting my personal history and breaking family ties); I can recant my heresy, and repent (giving up my academic and personal integrity); or I can continue to search my Mormon tradition for ways to define myself as a committed Mormon while maintaining the right to make my own resolutions of the paradoxes of Mormon life. For me, the first two alternatives are unacceptable. They require denying my experience—experience which I value. I therefore choose to live with the contradictions of the third.



AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

IT WAS INDEED a historic moment when on Friday 9 June 1978, President Spencer W. Kimball announced, in a five-paragraph letter to all the leaders of the Church, that God "has heard our prayers, and by revelation has confirmed that the long-promised day has come when every faithful, worthy man in the Church may receive the holy priesthood, with the power to exercise its divine authority, and enjoy with his loved ones every blessing that flows therefrom, including the blessings of the temple." This monumental pronouncement was hailed by much of the nation's media as the most important shift in Mormon policy since President Wilfred Woodruff's 1890 Manifesto barring polygamy.

Everything else written about the Mormons in America's newspapers in 1978 suffered by comparison. Even a cursory view of Linda Thatcher's extensive bibliography which follows illuminates the fact that more than sixty percent of what was written in newspapers about Mormons during 1978 was published in the western states nearest Utah. While it is interesting, and perhaps meaningful, to gather statistics on the number of inches of newspaper space devoted to issues relating to the Church (some 323, 375 inches in 1978, according to the Church's own tabulations), it is also important to keep in mind how many people actually see what is being written.

Only the Church's opposition to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment stimulated articles throughout the year in such prestigious publications as the *Buffalo News, Chicago Tribune, Denver Post, Honolulu Star Bulletin, Los Angeles Times, Milwaukee Journal, New York Times* and *Washington Post.* Although there were several major articles on other topics in newspapers with circulations of more than 100,000, the majority appeared in publications with limited circulations. The most prominent Mormon topics in 1978, apart from President Kimball's announcement and the ERA, were education, local poli-

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tics, polygamy and Utah's heritage. Significant issues receiving local coverage in Utah were the American Civil Liberties Union-Mormon Seminary Suit in Logan, and the federal government's fair housing suit against BYU.

Mormon scholars and students have an obligation to write for the general public as well as for those who read the highly selective works cited in "Among the Mormons." Today's newspaper editors are obviously interested in material on Mormons; they would undoubtedly welcome new insights into Mormonism. Our obligation is to provide them.

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REVIEWS

Cartooning Mormons

Freeway to Perfection. By Calvin Grondahl. Salt Lake City: Sunstone Foundation, 1978. 95 pp., illus. $2.95.

Reviewed by GARY L. BUNKER, *Professor of Psychology at Brigham Young University.*

Caricaturing the Mormon experience is hardly a new venture, but the cultural context of the present differs drastically from the past. For nearly the first century of Mormonism, cartoonists, including such powerful image makers as Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler, maligned the Mormons unmercifully. On the other hand, a few Mormons and even some non-Mormons sympathetic to the plight of Mormonism used the cartoon medium to defend the faith. They likened Orson Pratt to David against Goliath in the Newman-Pratt debate, caricatured Senator Cragin and Congressman Cullom for their anti-polygamy legislation, attacked the Godbeites for their heterodoxy, and chided the national media for the simplistic treatment accorded Reed Smoot. Of course, such humorous counterattacks were no match for the flood of anti-Mormon illustrations in the national press.

With Mormonism now more securely rooted in the modern social setting, the Mormon cartoonist can afford to be more introspective and reflective as opposed to the apologetic stance of his artistic Mormon forebearers. It is in this spirit that Calvin Grondahl has applied the cartoonist's tools of the trade to Mormon themes once again.

Grondahl has already established himself as a cartoonist well beyond the borders of the Wasatch front. Syndicated nationally by the Newspaper Enterprise Association, his cartoons appear in more than seven hundred newspapers. His artistic commentary on the national scene is often the most profound and persuasive statement on the editorial page where it appears.

By and large Grondahl maintains the high standard of excellence in this collection of Mormon cartoons. According to Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf the cartoonist's creative product can be judged by three criteria: wit, fidelity to reality and moral purpose. Judged against each of these requirements, Grondahl's work fares well.

Religious cartooning presents some special problems for the popular artist. The potential for misunderstanding and offending the sensibilities of the faithful is particularly acute. Despite touching on a wide array of themes encountered in the Mormon experience, including home teaching, courtship, large families, food storage, visual aids from the pulpit, pageants, the lost tribes, Relief Society rehearsals, E.R.A., "religious" fads, etc., with very few exceptions, Grondahl, manages to avoid the pitfalls of speaking lightly of the sacred and making fun of others. A cartoon portraying an old maid giving a family home evening lesson to plants exemplifies the exception because it perpetuates an unfortunate stereotype. Such cartoons are neither typical of the volume nor of Grondahl. On the whole, it is not the carnival mirror of distortion that is held up to us, but an insightful and entertaining reflection of the frustrations, moral dilemmas, foibles and challenges faced by Mormons.

Aside from the quality of the humor which readers of Grondahl have come to

expect, there is an equally compelling reason for seriously considering purchasing a copy. Proceeds from the volume to the publisher, the nonprofit Sunstone Foundation, will support continued publication of *Sunstone*, a magazine which has already made its mark in behalf of Mormon thought.

A Minor Landmark

The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West. Edited by Richard H. Jackson. Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 9. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. 169 pp., maps, charts, graphs. $6.95.

Reviewed by RONALD W. WALKER *a research historian in Salt Lake City.*

Ask any Mormon culture buff about *Dialogue, Sunstone, BYU Studies* or perhaps the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and you will get an informed response. But the Charles Redd Monographs in Western History? The odds are better than even that all you will get is a blank stare and shrugged shoulders. These volumes deserve better. During the last seven years, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University has issued nine volumes, sometimes uneven in format and quality but usually interesting and often important.

The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, a compilation of seven essays edited by BYU geographer Richard H. Jackson, is the most recent and in some respects the best in this continuing series. While more carefully and expensively packaged than some of its predecessors, it nevertheless shares some of the earlier editorial pitfalls. There is no index, and pesky typos mar the text. Several tables are unclearly titled, while more than one map suffers from unclear definition and unexplained gobbledygook. Jackson would have pleased readers by providing biographical sketches of the contributors, several of whom are only beginning to make their professional way. And I fear some may sell this collection short because its introductory essay does a better job summarizing contents than placing the book within its scholarly setting and attempting to assess its importance. If the Redd Monographs are to widen their appeal, they must continue to improve their readability.

Nevertheless the book is a minor landmark. Along with Richard V. Francaviglia's recently published *The Mormon Landscape* (1978), it is a clear declaration that Mormon geographers intend to extend what has been a rather low profile. Until now Mormon scholars have turned to Lowry Nelson and Donald Meinig or to a growing volume of graduate school theses and dissertations when looking for geographical insights. Mormon geographers have been reticent to speak beyond their professional peers to a broader audience. *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West* portends changing times.

The volume not only reaches out to the general Mormon reading audience, but it also communicates. Some of the essays display the paraphernalia of modern geography—age distribution pyramids, curlicue graphs which wiggle worm-like up a page, population density maps and over a dozen statistical tables. While this data and visual analysis may not be light bedtime reading, the material is not deadening. Generally the prose is lucid. The articles are written in lucid prose with the authors varying in perspective and methodology. Five of the essays are written by professional geographers and two by historians. The line between historical geography and geographic history is thin, and the blend is compatible.

Only the loosest of themes bind the subject matter—the interaction of nineteenth century Mormons, their culture and their environment. In the lead

article, Jackson summarizes the perceptions of 135 diarists who travelled the Mormon trail before the coming of the railroad. His conclusion: the pioneers themselves did not sense an hostile environment which subsequently became the grist for spread-eagle July 24th oratory. Lynn Rosenvall lists Mormon settlements that did not succeed and reminds that the usually skillful settlers at times failed to gauge their surroundings. Fully 46 or over 8 percent of their 537 settlements collapsed. Alan Grey argues that LDS westward expansion was only a thrust on the vast stage of Occidental migration, and he seeks parallels between the Mormon community and the New Zealand settlement at Christchurch. For those who do not realize the youthful, European nature of nineteenth century Mormonism, Wayne Wahlquist's profile of a typical early settler living near Salt Lake City may be surprising: "In 1860 the average (mean) Mormon settler along the Wasatch Front was Caucasian, not quite twenty years of age, with British-born parents and several younger brothers and sisters." Using almost two dozen maps, Dean Louder and Lowell Bennion chart by decade the movement and density of Mormon population from 1860 to 1970 and in the process attempt a sharper definition of the LDS "core" cultural area.

Predictably perhaps, historians Melvin Smith and Charles Peterson are more traditional in their presentation; neither tables nor bar graphs intersperse their writing. Smith tells the saga and sacrifice of the Mormons' failure to make the lower Colorado River a commercial artery and indicts Church leadership for calloused disregard to the settlers' trials and hardships. Finally, taking John B. Jackson's axiom that "Landscape is history made visible" as text, Peterson examines the Mormon past as seen from the successive and overlapping landscapes as produced by the Mormon village, the homestead farmer and the dry farms at the turn of the century.

Inevitably, quality in a collection of this sort will be uneven. And even the most pleasing and provocative essay will occasion a few *obiter dicta* from a critical reader. While Allen Grey's article seeks to escape the provincialism which abounds in LDS scholarly literature, his Salt Lake City/Christchurch parallels seem so broad as to prevent any meaningful insight. Jackson's piece reminds us that the Mormon migration was probably the best managed, large-scale mass movement in American history. Yet one leaves his article with an uneasy qualm that only part of the story has been told. Andrew Jenson estimated that 6,000 Saints died enroute to Zion. Though his statement was undocumented (and apparently undocumentable) and most fatalities occurred on the Iowa and Nebraska plains in 1846–47, there still seems room for tragedy and toil on the Mormon trail. Were Jackson's diary-keepers subject to the same spirit of romance, i.e., excitement for the thrill of the journey, that later swelled the breasts of Pioneer Day orators?

My favorite pieces are those by Wahlquist and Peterson. One may carp that the former's population estimates rest on several unverifiable assumptions, such as the flow of unreported immigration and emigration (Brigham Young at times despaired over settlers leaving the territory). Nevertheless, Wahlquist's population totals are certainly the best available, and his survey of nineteenth century Wasatch Front sex ratios, age structure, ethnicity and nativity is insightful. Peterson, in turn, continues the quest for personal and LDS heritage which he expressed several years ago in his Mormon History Association Presidential Address. He writes eloquently of the land and the common people who inhabit it—sometimes with language which seems ready to soar beyond his control. Peterson is interesting reading, even if some of his views require other historians to follow his wake and provide nuts-and-bolts documentation.

Some will say that this collection offers little that is new. True, most of its essays are taken from the authors' graduate school dissertations with only minor retouching. But Jackson has chosen his selections well, and the result is a commendable public statement of what Mormon historical geography is currently about.

A Woman Not Defeated

The Blending. By Evelyn Yoki Tan. Hollywood, Calif.: Cameron McKay Productions, 1978. 195 pp.

Reviewed by KATHRYN MCKAY, *past president of the Utah Women's History Association and a member of the Utah State Historical Society's Staff.*

In this era of the "Women's Movement," scholars are looking for documentation to rectify past neglects, and women in general are looking for "roots" and role models. There is a searching of materials by, for and about women—used to assuage guilt, to uphold cherished assumptions and even to provide greater understanding of women's experiences and feelings. Since women have not often been the writers of history or social commentary nor the subjects of archival collections, such material is difficult to find. *The Blending,* the autobiography of Evelyn Yoki Tan, is therefore a welcome contribution.

Evelyn Yoki Tan, a prominent California businesswoman, was born in Hawaii of Okinawan parents, was married to and later divorced from a man of Chinese-Portugese descent, converted to Mormonism, and with luck and ability, competed successfully in a male-dominated business world. *The Blending* is the recounting of the family history, the cultural, generational and personal conflicts and contradictions, the events and decisions which propelled her out of her heritage, out of her traditions and out of her assumed roles.

Tan tells her story in a simple, straightforward manner. This style may be disconcerting to those demanding literary flourishes and those hoping for more intensely described drama. Others may also dismiss *The Blending* because its vanity press publisher has included slightly embarrassing testimonials from political, business and academic notables.

Tan is a woman who has experienced all the prescribed roles for women—dutiful daughter, supportive sister, loving wife and mother. Her descriptions of fulfilling those roles contribute to our greater understanding of their variety and complexity. She has also experienced the typical woman's roles as the transmitter of culture and the transient from one culture to another.

Tan remembers and uses Okinawan words; she lovingly describes the old customs; she dedicates her book to her parents in appreciation for their traditions. But she also discusses her marriage outside of her race and culture and her subsequent ostracism. She relates her process of "westernization"—cutting her hair, going to school, adopting that most American of religions—Mormonism. She describes her movement away from dependency on family and husband towards independence and self-sufficiency.

Tan sees her life as a blending of these roles. She sees her life as concililation even though confrontation has punctuated much of it. One wonders if the conciliation is a reflection of success and security. Tan is a woman whom circumstance and character have not defeated.

Since the autobiography covers Tan's life only to 1950, one also wonders about the years spent away from the multienthic environment of Hawaii and about the years spent achieving her economic security. And one wonders how Tan views her life and herself in relation to other women and in relation to the continuing struggle of women to find their place in American and in Mormon society.

Perhaps Tan will deal with these topics in another book. One hopes so. In the meantime, *The Blending* is a fine contribution to the literature about women, about women's roles, about women's experiences.

A More Difficult Path

Reflections on Mormonism. Edited by Truman G. Madsen. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Center for Religious Studies, 1978. 222 pp., biblio., indices. $6.95.

Reviewed by C. WILFRED GRIGGS, *Assistant Professor of Classics, History and Scriptures at Brigham Young University.*

Perhaps the most significant thing to say about the importance of this published collection of papers read at Brigham Young University in March, 1978, is that it exists. To have eleven scholars renowned in various aspects of religious studies visit the Mormon university and present research in their fields related to Mormon beliefs and traditions is a history-making event. (Twelve were invited, but Ernst Benz was unable to be present because of health problems. Nevertheless, a paper authored by him has been included in the volume.) Not all the participants actually made such a comparison as the title of the book suggests, but the implications for Mormonism are sometimes as significant in those which make little or no mention of Latter-day Saint beliefs as those where overt comparisons or distinctions are suggested.

Truman Madsen, editor of the volume, provides an introductory essay outlining the historical emphasis of Mormonism. As well as that worthwhile addition to the guest papers. Madsen has also written brief introductions to each of the symposium papers. Even if these interpretive paragraphs are necessary, they would have been better joined together at the beginning of the volume, because their present placement just before each essay tends to prejudice the reader's perception of the meaning and significance of the contributions. The editor also should have made it clear that Benz was not present at the symposium and, more important, he should have noted that the Benz paper was translated from German by a BYU faculty member.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the value of the collection is to give a brief examination and analysis of a few of the essays. With so little yet published on the astounding archaeological discoveries at Tell Mardikh (Ebla) in Syria, any book with an informative article on that subject is worth possessing. David Noel Freedman is less formal in his paper than many of the other contributors, and the significance of his material for the Abrahamic Tradition in history could be overlooked quite easily by a reader not aware of the Ebla texts. The suggestion by such an eminent scholar that evidence now available compels one to consider the book of Genesis as an historical and not just a mythological work is revolutionary in the world of modern scholarship increasingly skeptical in such matters.

W. D. Davies, displaying a more detailed search into Mormon thought than many of the participants, focuses on Mormonism as it relates to the subject of Israel in history. Consonant with his own predilections about the origins and history of Christianity, Davies interprets Mormonism historically as an American reaction against an overly-Hellenized Christianity (hence the Mormon emphasis on the Israelite roots of Christianity) just as Marxism was a European reaction "against the false spiritualization of a too-much Hellenized Christianity. . ." Even if the Latter-day Saint is uncomfortable with the comparison between Marxism and Mormonism, he can take solace in the seriousness with which Davies analyzes the points of contact between old Israel and Mormon beliefs.

The difficulty of his task in identifying and comparing Messianic passages in the Pseudepigrapha and the Book of Mormon is admitted by James Charlesworth. He notes that not all agree on what is Messianic in the Pseudepigrapha nor on how

the documents have been edited and transmitted. Regardless of how one feels about the validity of Redaction Criticism (e.g. either as leading to a reconstruction of the various editions of a text or simply as an imposition upon a text of the modern critic's imaginative and conjectured theory of textual genesis and development), Charlesworth applies that method to the Book of Mormon and the Pseudepigrapha in order to determine the earliest Messianic passages, as well as those which were added later. Documents containing allusions to the deeds of Jesus in the Pseudepigrapha are considered by Charlesworth to be Christian interpolations rather than prophetic insights. Likewise, the Book of Mormon passages which give specific details from Jesus' life are assumed to be the work of later editors rather than prophecies of the future. Since this methodology is typical of modern literary analysis of ancient texts, one can glean some idea of how the method works when applied to the Book of Mormon. Unfortunately, the experiment does not validate the method; it simply illustrates it.

As in the case of Charlesworth, one must approach Krister Stendahl's paper knowing that it was written within a methodological framework quite foreign to most Latter-day Saints. The author treats both the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon in Third Nephi as literary inventions rather than as talks given in history. Even so, the distinctions between the two sources are significant because they suggest that the Book of Mormon is not simply a careless plagarism of the Biblical passage in question. Stendahl observes that consistently the specific terms "like altar and temple and Jerusalem are gone" and that "Nephi does not see Jesus as a teacher in his community who takes the ongoing requirements of the Torah for granted. Much of the Jewishness of the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew is missing in Third Nephi, not surprising in a society which had been modified during six centuries of separation from Jewish influence. What at first appears critical of the Book of Mormon may, if Mormons do their homework, lead to greater understanding and appreciation of the Nephite record.

Not only is Jane Dillenberger willing to take some examples of "Mormon art" seriously, notably the large paintings of C. C. A. Christensen relating to the saga of Mormonism, but she in turn appeals to Mormons to take art seriously. Her challenge is stated in poignant terms at the end of her paper: "I would appeal to the Mormons to initiate a new 'cleaning of the temple'—to remove the illustrative, shallow socialist-realist-religious art, and wait the coming of artists who are equal to your epic history and your grand vision." This remark epitomizes a difficulty for Latter-day Saints when outsiders examine Mormons and Mormonism carefully. The non-Mormons see all too often that Mormons do not appear to take seriously enought the demands and expectations of the gospel in their personal study and in achieving excellence in religious learning. Instead, a less difficult path is commonly taken within the Church, that of taking *oneself* seriously. This results in a much more shallow and superficial public portrayal of the gospel than it deserves. *Reflections on Mormonism* hopefully will serve as a catalyst to stimulate better scriptural and artistic scholarship within the Restored Church.

The Poetic Mystique

The Grandmother Tree. By Marilyn McMeen Miller Brown. Provo, Utah: Art Publishers, 1978. xiii+56 pp., illus. $3.95.

Mahanga: Pacific Poems. By Vernice Wineera Pere. Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies (BYU-Hawaii), 1978. 39 pp., glossary, Paper $3.00. Cloth $9.00.

Reviewed by VENETA LEATHAM NIELSEN, *Professor Emeritus of English at Utah State University.*

Beyond the sentience and the craft, under the sound and shape and color of the poem, one seeks the mystique that synthesizes and sets forth a poet's real real-

ity. Marilyn McMeen Miller Brown's book of insights into the lives of women in a rural pioneer culture where womanly intelligence, intuition and ingenuity often more than equaled the obstinacy or the courage of the men, presents the reader with an image of unusual sensibility and strength.

In a poem entitled "Rocking Chair Judge" she juxtaposes upon the raw brutality of frontier discipline the perhaps perverse maternal urge to protect and even love the faulted sinner in spite of his sin, small or great. Rocking, pleating her handkerchief as if she were pleating up time, the old one recalls saving a boy from a grandfather's unreasoning punishment and, in a brave defiance, hiding and feeding an Indian in flight from certain death: Once out of the woods, an Indian limped, bloody, His blue lips trembling and begging for food./ Grandma gave him some bread from her larder./"They are comin', I killed me my woman," he told her.

Some of Mrs. Brown's poems are almost pure narrative yet always lighted by the shine of compassion and love that foster and guard life for any child, old or young. Several poems imply the invaluable power of total identification with her subject so that she truly participates in the spirit of the woman she is experiencing. Such identification is in "Lesson" where, riding the horse her grandmother rode, the "druid shadow" becomes herself. In "Indian Playmate" she finds herself a mirror of that girl, in an interconnectedness that suggests profound spirituality. Rilke wrote, "When I create I am true." Often, reading Mrs. Brown's poems one is reminded of the lucent aura of understanding love which shines over her presences in a subtle resemblance not to any one poem but to Rilke.

For most of her readers, the appeal of this book will be in nostalgic episodes told by the grandmothers and shaped into free verse by the author with obvious delight. The humanity of these stories, the humor, the tenderness of touch make such stories as the hiding of a hen so Mama can't slay it for Sunday dinner, the charming off of warts with a rag from Grandpa's nightshirt, the ritual of Saturday night bath, the soap-making day, the peach-canning day and other sunbeamed memories of "the olden days" nice to read. For me, the sense of kind and kindness is enough.

Poignant feeling for timeless primitive forces and for native traditions peculiar to her island home now "acculturated" by contact with mainland civilizations and their motorbikes, movies, and jukeboxes pervades *Mahanga* by Vernice Wineera Pere, a New Zealand poet of Maori, French and English ancestry. The best of her poems seem to speak a reverence for the irrecoverable lost heritage of time more rich and true. Two haiku crystallize this mood:

Premonition

A pale morning sky
moon of yellow tin-foil and
a black shag soaring.

Laie

The deepening night
sleeping village bordered by
the rumbling ocean.

Some of the poems in this collection are more nearly essay, written, because of a good ear for verbal rhythms and melody, in the line lengths of free verse. These deal openly with personal attitudes and opinions, and are good moral reading, such as in "Waiting Room," "Why Do We Smile," "Transcendental Thought," "Reflections," "Split Personalities."

The poem quality of those which deal with children and friends, teachers and pupils, is effective and affective, delicately achieved. But when the reader reads on more than one level, as in the homeland poems, power and mysticism combine to make the reading unforgettable. For example, in "Big Surf" the tides of ocean threatening the island become the tides of time and change, threatening to inundate her human world.

"—all our certainties
have come to grief
as we behold the thundering
turmoil of white water
smashing against the tenuous
off-shore reef
we dearly hope will hold.

"Acculturation", though poetry ends and moral essay takes over two thirds of the way down the page, both tells of and creates images of the meeting of East and West. In "Pake Cake and Prayer" Charlie Goo's store vibrantly illustrates and dramatizes the encounter with a carefully retrained lament for the coarsening of values by foreign interlopers.

> the kids file in
> hungry for pake cake and soda,
> crack seed, won ton chips,
> and nacho cheese doritos.
>
> The juke box wails I love you
> into the undistinguished morning.

"The Boy Named Pita," "Hokulea" and many others are complex expressions of what seems most valuable and moving in this poet's book. "Song from Kapiti" is a testament of genuine and admirable dedication. Hers is poetry we must feel to read, and having read it, we are grateful to know another woman who not only honors her people and explains herself but glorifies the images of humanness.

> I am she learning to sing
> the sweet sad songs of a people's sor
> I am the lone bird
> alive in a limbo of longing,
> enduring the winter world,
> surviving
> on the slim promise
> of a future summer.

In such poetry there is no need of startling techniques or unusual firecracker associations, as it would be superfluous to hang exotic costumes on a soul. It is poetry that is needed, ar reassuring.

Brief Notices

GENE A. SESSIONS

A Joseph Smith Chronology. By J. Christopher Conkling. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979. 286 pp., index, $6.95.

For those souls who are either unaware of the seven-volume *History of the Church* (the so-called "Documentary History") or simply scared of its bulk, and for those strange sorts who enjoy reading laundry lists of events, here is a gem of small price. Offering the student of Mormonism an almost day-by-day account of the life of the Prophet, Conkling clothes his book in respectability by using footnotes and a name index. In many ways he is successful, for while *Chronology* is largely redundant, its handiness makes it quite useful, even to the professional historian more familiar with and unafraid of the stuff from which it came. As with most works drawn largely from secondary sources and "pseudepigrapha" such as the *History of the Church*, it contains much information that is unreliable and much other that is more ancillary than informative. In the long analysis, such works as this one betray Mormonism's increasing membership in the league of the rushed, where there is no time for reading and comprehension, only for quick lists and ready answers. The trouble is that history grows more complex as time passes and as the present crowds with more information about it. When we end up reading and thinking about lists of names, dates and places, we know we have reached the point in the progress of history when there is just too much of it, and when our minds have decided that it is impossible to understand it. Maybe if we can just memorize the day-by-day, the step-by-step, history will lose some of its vastness, and some of its terror. Now, on with our list of books. . . .

Favorite Selections from Out of the Best Books. Edited by Bruce B. Clark and Robert K. Thomas. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979. Xiii +324 pp., indices. $7.95.

More proof of the rush malady coming upon us is this shortcut of a shortcut. Between 1964 and 1971, several volumes in a series entitled *Out of the Best Books* came forth from the Church for use in the Relief Society's cultural refinement program. Now, the two BYU professors who compiled those works have chosen what they consider the most meaningful selections and have brought them together in one volume. One immediately wonders what value a digest of a digest might hold for LDS readers, but the answer comes swiftly: Talks! What better way could there be to convince a congregation that you have learned out of the best books as the Prophet commanded than to quote from a book that quotes from the books you want everyone to think you have read? After all, we have not the time to read real books, do we? All sarcasm aside, however, Clark and Thomas have a good eye for the majestic in literature, and it is better to read what they choose than to read nothing at all.

The Windwalker. By Blaine M. Yorgason. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1979. 99 pp., illus. $4.50.

At first glance (which lands on a melodramatic jacket painting by the author himself), this one looks like another dumb book about the noble savage by some Mormon who still believes kids on the placement program turn white. Once open, however, much more than the expected emerges. Yorgason, who teaches in the church system, weaves an intricate tale of religion, aging and death that has little to do at the core with Indians. What the hero of the story does has rather to do with mankind's ultimate confrontation with things spiritual. An old Indian, left to die in the wilderness, surprises his family and himself by living on, and while doing so carrying on an intriguing dialogue with God, or "Giver-of-life." Much of the text is in verse that sometimes comes up corny, but even then the meaning of it all comes through. Yorgason's message goes something like this: In the midst of the staggering acceleration of time with which we are all confronted, we must take the time to remember that our journey to the end is just as primitive and just as awesome as it has been for every thinking soul who ever walked the earth wondering what its all about. *The Windwalker* asks the reader to think about such a basic reality, even though the modern world presses in upon us with only the material, and a veritable avalanche of it that denies death and hence any reality at all.

Born of the Spirit. By E. Richard Packham. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1979. xii +76 pp., index. $6.95.

As the title suggests, here is a complete book dealing with the issue of being born both of the water and of the spirit. Christ's oft-quoted challenge to Nicodemus, found in John 3:5, could become the center of a hot debate between Mormon and non-Mormon scriptorians if anyone ever decides to look honestly at the traditional LDS interpretation of the passage. To most of the Christian world, Jesus was simply telling the Pharisee that he misunderstood the command to be born again by saying that entering into his mother's womb again was impossible. Christ explained that a man must be born not only of the water (birth itself) but of the spirit also. Indeed, the Mormon interpretation holds little water in the contextual sense, yet again and again we hear the missionary challenge to be born of the water (baptism) and of the spirit (the gift of the Holy Ghost). Predictably, Packham has nothing to say about this sticky issue and instead gives us page after page of a dull sacrament meeting sermon guaranteed to send even the most dedicated church-goer into a sound sleep. Perhaps Packham should have called it *Bored of the Spirit.* Where are the Parley P. Pratts and B. H. Robertses when we need them?

Woman's Divine Destiny. By Mildred Chandler Austin. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979. 77 pp. $3.95.

In these days of fear and consternation over the dangers to the family of nascent feminism in the Church, what more appropriate recipient of the now-coveted Milk the Mormons Award could there be than a book telling Mormon women that all they need to know is what God told Eve in the Garden of Eden, and then uses more than seventy-five pages to cite all the stuff God has said about women ever since. According to Ms. Austin (that ought to get her), nothing has changed since Mother Eve ate the apple. All a woman has to do to be happy is "be a helpmate [sic]," let her husband rule over her, and be a mother. Ah, wouldn't it be lovely if that would do it? But what about the single woman? What about the divorced woman? And what about the twenty-five years that nine of every ten women in America will work outside the home? What about the forty years or so in the "empty nest?" But those are tough questions, and we would *never* expect a recipient of our mammary prize to worry over such things. It would seem that if the Lord had so much more to say about women in a changing world than what He said in the beginning, He should have a lot more to say as time passes. God never changes, but the world He created does. If Mormonism is the living religion it claims to be, then Austin's simple-minded book has no place in it.

Take Time to Smell the Dandelions. By Karla C. Erickson. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1979. 88 pp. $3.95.

Raising children is something about which God told Adam and Eve very little while He had them in the Garden of Eden, and thousands of generations of parents have suffered accordingly. Erickson's little "How To" manual has some intriguing ideas about how a two-hundred-pound father might begin to get into the world of his little ones, which is never easy. The trouble with a book like this is that if a parent cares enough to buy it and read it in the first place he or she has probably won the battle already simply by the caring itself. Nevertheless, Erickson outlines a whole passel of *ways* to care. Too many parents love, but don't know how to love. And there *is* a big difference. Aimed primarily at the relationship between little children and parents, it says nothing about dealing with adolescents, yet Erickson is undoubtedly right when she calls for a strong bond between little ones and their parents, so strong that it will not break when the kids hit puberty.

God the Father. Edited by Gordon Allred. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979. 316 pp. $7.95.

In what we might call the ultimate book on Parenting, Gordon Allred has brought sixteen essays and discourses on the nature of God the Father together in one volume. Indeed, one might take a complete course in Mormon theology using Allred's book as a text. Of course, the key selection is the mysterious and ascendant King Follet Discourse on the "kind of being God is" that Joseph Smith delivered in April 1844. No piece of Mormon thought has had a more far reaching effect than this one. But Allred's other selections are just as intriguing. B. H. Roberts was in fine form when he wrote "Christian Creeds and the Unknown God" as was James E. Talmage with "God and the Holy Trinity." While Mormonism does not have nor does it need under its creed a school of theologians, discussion of the nature of God becomes too often lost in the midst of other more picayunish matters of religion. *God the Father,* while in the class of a shortcut compilation, offers a compact reminder of the Restoration's unique concept of the Eternal and man as a literal child of God.

Hard-Rock Miners: The Intermountain West, 1860–1920. By Ronald C. Brown. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1979. 336 pp., illus., appendices, biblio., index. $15.95.

Coming back to earth in the most real sense, we notice this piece of revisionist literature that applies its iron to some of the most colorful history of Utah and hence Mormonism. Brown maintains against all odds that industrialization benefited miners far more than it harmed them by building a pool of wealth that ultimately brought good pay and better conditions into the mines. In the Utah/

Mormon context, his thesis would belie the Mormon mythology about the advantages of forsaking the riches of the mines for the subsistence of the fields. But Brown's controversial contention seems silly in the face of the horror industrialization wreaked upon the miners as it demanded more iron and more coal at whatever the price in human suffering. Brown seems to be saying that it is all right to exploit the worker today as long as you feed him tomorrow. Whether his thesis is convincing or not is not what makes *Hard-Rock Miners* worth our concern but rather its fascinating look at the social history of the industry. Most attention goes to Colorado and Nevada, but enough of the history of mining as a way of life in the midst of Mormondom comes through to make this a book well worth the attention of the student of Mormon history. We tend to forget that for many years the crucial question among the Saints was to mine or not to mine.

An Analysis of the Names of Mormonism. By John R. Krueger. Bloomington, Indiana: The Selbstverlag Press, 1979. 20 pp. biblio. $3.00.

The author, a professor of Ural-Altaic Studies at Indiana University, has accomplished an unbelievable study of the names found in Mormon scriptures, those both peculiar to Mormon sources and common elsewhere. His original hopes were to see his labors rewarded with a publication in *Dialogue* or some other "respectable journal," but he had to settle instead for a vanity publication from his own press (P.O. Drawer 606, Bloomington, IN 47401). The reasons for Krueger's inability to find a journal that would publish his work have certainly nothing to do with the quality and comprehensiveness of his endeavor. The little pamphlet contains everything one could possibly ever want to know about Mormon names, and the information comes in all shapes and sizes, but mostly in the form of lists, which is the piece's downfall: It is virtually impossible to read. Krueger's competence and skill as a linguist cannot compensate for his apparent poverty in the style that would have enabled him to present his data in an intriguing and fluent way. Still, his little pamphlet answers many fascinating questions about Mormon names, and asks even more than it answers. After stating his purpose in the beginning—to analyse Mormon names without questioning the veracity of the religion itself, Krueger proceeds to ask Mormon scholars and adherents to explain the clear evidence that the complexity of Mormon names increased as Joseph Smith matured, and to recognize that such Greek names as Timothy should not have occurred in the Book of Mormon. We must wonder whether Krueger submitted his article to Modern Microfilms, although Jerald and Sandra would have required far more editorializing than the professor from Indiana would have permitted.

INDEX TO VOLUME XII

Combined Author, Title, Subject Index

General guidelines:

1. Subject headings appear in **BOLDFACE.** Occasionally an author will also be listed as a subject.
2. Articles are set off by quotation marks; only the page number on which an article begins is listed.
3. Within an entry, names in sub-headings are listed alphabetically by *first* name. Thus, Brigham Young will precede Joseph Smith.
4. The following abbreviations are used: (L) designates a letter-to-the-editor; (R) designates a book review, and (F) a film review.

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