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MORMONS AGAINST HITLER

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SUNSTONE

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Readers' Forum

No Stereotypes

My first and, in all probability, my last attempt to harrass a weary editor, finds me wandering in the shadowy worlds of "Iron Roders" and "Liahonas." A world created by Dr. Poll—Ref: "What the Church Means to People Like Me." To say that I agree or disagree is a moot question. But after much pondering, I would say that somewhere between the air of the prejudicial and opinionated "Iron Roders" and the bland egotistical air of the conceited "Liahonas" there walks another breed of Mormons. To label them I can not; that they exist is sure, for I am one of them.

Just thought you would like to know that all Mormons cannot be stereotyped.

Max H. Rammell
Driggs, Idaho

Has it occurred to you that you and others are doing the church and church youth a disservice with critical, even denigrating, remarks regarding quality of education available at the BYU? Unfortunately, it seems to have become an amusing pastime among Mormon "intellectuals" to be critical of academic opportunities offered there. I too used to be critical, but I have found my criticisms are outdated as the quality of education has improved steadily in the last decade.

While certainly in the interview with Gardner, the verb tense of the phrase "The best and brightest won't go there" is open to interpretation, coupled with the many other snide remarks we have heard about the Y, it only helps to discourage the "best and the brightest" from going there.

I was apprehensive about my own children's choice of BYU when accepted

at Harvard, Stanford, and Princeton. My fears were eliminated as through the Honors program, proper choices of classes and professors, they did find challenge and academic stimulation there. The education was also good enough to result in acceptance at top-ranked graduate schools of their choice.

It is certainly unfortunate for the school (not to mention the church's reputation) that the erroneous notion that "only those who can't get accepted at other universities go to BYU" still thrives and is perpetuated.

Anonymous
Pasadena, California

Orthodox Borrowing

The Robson article "Time and Omniscience in Mormon Theology" is perhaps the finest thing written "in the Church" in the last ten years.

Perhaps, now we can get someone to take up Sterling McMurrin's well-thrown gauntlet. When will someone write truly *Mormon* theology—without the wholesale borrowings from Orthodox Christian "absolutist" terminology? When will Mormons come to realize that the entire concept of the Atonement is *totally foreign* for Mormon theology? It is totally unnecessary in Mormon theology because mankind did not *faux pas* in the Garden of Eden. It did precisely what it was supposed to do. Mortality is *not* a mistake requiring supernatural "atonement" to patch up the error. Mortality is a standard examination given to all applicants for eternal life. "Atonement" is one of several

"orthodox" borrowed concepts which have no application to truly Mormon theology.

"Original Sin" is another. Despite superficial mouthing of the Second Article of Faith, Mormons do not understand that it is explicit rejection of the entire concept of original sin (and its manifold ramifications). Thus, we have Mormons who, inexplicably, believe *both* "man's inherent evil" and the Second Article of Faith without seeing their radical contradiction.

Now to Ms. Saderup's criticism of my "Periphery" (Readers Forum 5:2 Reply in 5:4). I dare because: 1) the First Amendment gives me the right, 2) I believe it (my article) to be true, and 3) if Ms. Saderup would get her mind away from the 'humility' of her 'fallen condition' long enough to realize that both those concepts are falsely borrowed from Orthodox Christian theology and not truly part of Mormon theology at all, she might come to agree with me.

I have not "denied" Christ; after all, I did place Him at the "periphery." What I denied was the *centrality* of Christ in the salvation process. Christ is important (no more so than Adam), but He is not *central* for salvation.

Saderup's "fusion" theory is simply the "beatific vision" of Roman Catholic theology. "Merely" following Christ's teachings is the most difficult task given us here in mortality and requires all our energies.

In Volume 5:4 the "Sunday School Supplement" quotes were exceptionally well chosen. Note the contradiction between your Talmage quote (p. 7), "advancement from grade to grade within any kingdom, and from kingdom to kingdom," and Elder McConkie's heresy of "progression between kingdoms in the next world" (p. 10). Also Richard D. Poll neglects to mention that it is more likely that Iron Rods will excommunicate their Liahona brethren than vice-versa.

Sherlock's painful conclusion ("the historian cannot know") is true only for absolute certainty; historical veracity, however, is seldom based upon "absolute" certainty—hence the need

More on Blacks

Watch for "The Fading of the Pharaoh's Curse" by Armand Mauss in the January-February issue of SUNSTONE. Mauss traces the portents and preparations for the 1978 revelation on priesthood eligibility.

for faith. But Sherlock's exaltation of faith at the expense of "irrelevant" historical evidence is cutting off his nose to spite his face.

Just because one cannot know with absolute certainty, it does not follow that faith is superior to historical knowledge, that any interpretation of the facts is as good as any other interpretation. Some probabilities are superior to others, and are demonstrably verifiable as such.

As I see it the Mormon gospel (especially the Book of Mormon itself, which is Smith's best "historical" evidence for his prophetic calling) is committed to a "particular view of past events" as Sherlock calls it. And it is historical research which will ultimately verify the truth/falsity of Mormon claims. By that same historical criterion we can demonstrate the error of non-Mormon religious claims.

Personal integrity requires that we "place our faith in hock to the historian" as Sherlock laments. Otherwise there is but the fideism of subjectivity. Real faith is always subservient to historical fact. But faith is necessary—as Nibley never tires of warning us—until all the historical data are in and analyzed.

Where faith is superior to fact, dishonesty inevitably results. The facts keep us honest. Sherlock's problem is not the probabilities of historical evidence, which he appears to understand, but rather the "certainty" of faith. The resolution is simple. Those who bear testimony with "absolute certainty" are probably liars—or woefully ignorant of the complete historical evidence involved.

Testimonies are, after all, merely conclusion (inferences) based upon historical fact. They are valueless for evidentiary purposes. But the historical evidence upon which testimonies (conclusions) are based is crucially important. Conclusions devoid of factual foundation are not more than wishful thinking, pure emotion.

Therefore, Sherlock's policy of shifting the basis of our testimonies from verifiable (although not absolutely) historical fact to something different, i.e. faith promotion, is tantamount to abandoning the quest for truth in any objective sense.

Is it not the strenuous objective search for truth which enables us to value the object when finally discovered? If the "truth of scripture lies in its relationship to faith, not history," as Sherlock states, then Mohammed's "sacred grove" is as valuable as Smith's. Scripture may be historically defective in part, and

therefore misleading. To that extent it should be disbelieved.

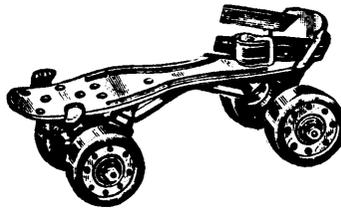
Gerry Ensley
Los Alamitos, California

River Running Backwards?

I enjoyed reading Edward L. Kimball's review in *Sunstone* of Eugene England's *Brother Brigham: The Man and the Prophet*, and noted that even the best of reviews overlook errors of history. Historians generally agree that it is difficult to place proper interpretations on events in history when so few facts are known. However, when the event is recent, it should be relatively easy to check the facts.

Writing about the 1976 Teton Dam flood on page 223, Eugene England states that "when floods from the collapse of a dam wiped out whole towns in Idaho's Teton Valley . . ."; the last line should read Idaho's Upper Snake River Valley. For the flood to have wiped out towns in Idaho's Teton Valley, the Teton River would have had to run backwards. Then again, stranger things have happened in history.

Jerry L. Glenn
Rexburg, Idaho



Verify Book of Mormon

I think the tendency of some Mormon scholars to assume the Book of Mormon can't be verified as a product of ancient America and the Old World is premature. In 5:3 Ashment doesn't seem to take Fell's translation of the Anthon Transcript seriously but since Fell renders it as the first verse of the Book of Mormon I don't find it improbable that scripts from North Africa in general could be termed "reformed Egyptian." In any event, California's Jet Propulsion Laboratory is analyzing the transcript by request of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies. FARMS is, I believe, the most important development in the history of Mormon scholarship. It plans numerous research projects that will give legitimacy to scripture. More information can be obtained by writing John Welch c/o the BYU Law School. Noel Reynolds at BYU also will be helping add to serious Book of Mormon scholarship with the editing of a book to which several eminent LDS

writers have contributed—to be published, hopefully, by the end of 1981 (it will contain significant support for the Book of Mormon).

In the Thomas article in the same issue is the statement that "no archaeologist has ever been able to locate a single Nephite text or city." Inasmuch as we cannot translate most ancient American languages it would be doubtful that we would even recognize a "Nephite text." However, important breakthroughs have been made in archaeology. John Sorenson has tentatively identified about two dozen cities by checking dating, archaeology, and geography. Kirk Vestal will be publishing his startling findings on the subject in a book with Dr. Arthur Wallace, *The Firm Foundation of Mormonism*. One thing Vestal points out is that the critics have been as uninformed as the apologists up to now—for example, the best critiques of Book of Mormon archaeology, by Fraser and the Tanners, are laughingstocks scientifically. Vestal also plans to publish an in-depth guide to Book of Mormon archaeology later.

Scott S. Smith
Thousand Oaks, California

Errata

Linda Wilcox, author of "The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven" (Volume 5:5), received her MA from Stanford in education (not history as indicated in the bio). She also received an MA in history from the University of Utah and presently lives in Salt Lake City, where she is a research historian.

Committed to History

Richard Sherlock (July/August *SUNSTONE*) claimed that the Book of Daniel "makes documentable errors which would be similar in magnitude to claiming that George McGovern won the 1972 presidential race." I am aware of a number of problems that remain, such as the name of the Persian Governor of Babylon. However, one past incident in the history of Daniel studies makes me hesitant to make snap judgments about documentable errors in the book. A number of nineteenth century biblical scholars felt that Daniel had erroneously made Belshazzar the last king of Babylon when all the king lists and so forth put Nabonidus last. Nabonidus had a son named Belshazzar, but there was no indication at that time that Belshazzar had ever ruled. Daniel was clearly wrong. The discovery of new texts in the twentieth century, however, demonstrated that it was the scholars who had been wrong. In the third full year of the reign of Nabonidus, his son

Belshazzar was invested with royal dignity and reigned in his father's stead while he was off in Arabia (cf. Montgomery, pp. 66-67). We who accuse Daniel of not knowing Babylonian culture and history well enough may only be demonstrating our own ignorance of that very culture. Thus, I am cautious in this area and would think that Sherlock would be too. Sherlock correctly argues that if an account has been proven wrong in some historical areas that we should question the historicity of the rest. I think, however, that we should take this one step further. If an author has been proven demonstrably wrong in verifiable historical areas, why should we trust the spiritual message of the work, the claim to revelation, which is most generally unverifiable? I think we should not. If every grove is a sacred grove and every person a Joseph Smith, then there is no true Sacred Grove and no need for a Joseph Smith. If such were the case, all that has been constructed is a high and holy myth. If all that Scripture is intended to do is provide psychological and spiritual insights into ourselves, why did its authors not write depth psychology instead of Scripture? In short, chaos ensues whenever we put a greater value on what Scripture does for us, than what it originally meant to portray. We cannot rest on our testimonies. The Scriptural writers always gave us the historical setting as a part of the record. If it was that important to the Scriptural writers we dare not ignore it. For better or worse, we are committed, then, to historical methodology and we must be satisfied enough to accept without hesitation the results. Anything less would be a cop out.

John E. Thompson
Lancaster, California

Liberals

I am enclosing my personal check to cover the issue of your magazine containing the interview with Wayne Owens, a great American.

It is refreshing to say the least that there remains at least one person who has the personal decency to speak the truth openly. I was once labeled a "liberal" in the church and my reply was that I was proud. As anyone who knows anything about the gospel of Jesus Christ would know that he is the greatest "Liberal" who ever lived.

Cecil A. Gilbert
Panama City, Florida

Universal Answers

My faith has been rewarded in reading your down-to-earth messages.

I received great encouragement from "What the Church Means to People Like Me" by Richard D. Poll.

"The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine—From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology"—by Thomas G. Alexander—is what I have wished to learn! How can the doctrines taught by the Prophet of the Restoration be deleted from the curriculum of church doctrine, and approval obtained from the First Presidency to canonize theories of progressive theology which refute his teachings, rather than accept Christian evidence of the truthfulness of his teachings?

I prefer the teachings of Jesus Christ to theories of evolution! It is vital to my faith to believe truth as it is revealed from God. The questions Joseph Smith asked are universal, and the answers he received to satisfy his soul are likewise universal to those in search of the truth.

I love the Lectures on Faith. They answer many vital questions and I cherish them as revelations of truth. So does Franklin D. Richards in his Compendium of the Gospel.

The effort to deny that Adam is the Patriarch and Father-God of the human family is futile! Joseph Smith revealed Adam to be the father of our spirit and body, and there is a throne for Eve as well as for Adam, as the Father and Mother of us all!

Ask any man who is a dedicated, loving father to his family, what his relationship is to his family after death, and he will answer that his love for them is stronger than the bonds of death, and the children feel the same toward their parents. Why is it so hard to give Adam and Eve this same privilege, appreciation and respect? Rather than accept the theories of evolution in any form?

Joseph Smith revealed Elohim to be God, the Holy Ghost, and he fills this mission in the Scriptures! I love this concept as much as I love the knowledge that I am a child of God through the Atonement of Jesus Christ!

Joseph A. Seiss, a Christian, speaks of Adam as coming out of the hands of his Creator indued with innate science, the first man endowed with all the philosophical and mathematical knowledge. "Adam was the greatest among mortals that ever the world possessed—and Eve was his equal in nobility and intelligence."

If some Mormon leaders cannot accept this kind of knowledge, I prefer Christians who can!

Thank you for a great reading experience.

Rhoda Thurston
Hyde Park, Utah

Response to Smith

Mr. Smith's review of my article concerning the translation process of the Book of Mormon is comprised of three sections: a two-page enumeration of his objections; a nine-page supporting document; and a 19-page appendix containing, inter alia, numerous quotations of statements about the translation process of the Book of Mormon, the urim and thummim/seer stone being a common feature among the majority. Only the first part of his review is published in *Sunstone*; but my response, though of necessity brief, must occasionally refer to the supporting arguments of the second segment of his tripartite review.

Mr. Smith accurately observes that Emma was only 74 when she was interviewed by her son. I had nothing to do with the illustrations or their captions.

In most respects, it seems that Mr. Smith misunderstands the intent of my article: the extent to which the Book of Mormon translation was "literal" or "formal" was the issue, not the use made of a seer stone/urim and thummim; and no attempt was made to impute senility to Emma, Harris, or Whitmer. In this regard the "numerous primary and secondary accounts" of the translation process which Mr. Smith includes in his appendix still are quite removed in one way or another from the event which they attempt to describe. He has overlooked an important historiographical principle: "Because reliability is, in general, inversely proportional to the *time-lapse* between event and recollection, the closer a document is to the event it narrates the better it is likely to be for historical purposes." (Gottschalk in *The Use of Personal Documents*, p. 16.)

An appeal to the synoptic gospels as a parallel phenomenon with the variations among translation accounts of the Book of Mormon is fraught with unresolvable difficulties.

Mr. Smith relies on an article by G. D. Mendenhall about an inscribed spindle whorl from Catal Huyuk in an effort to support his contention that the language of the Book of Mormon was "local" and "non-professional." (Cf. *Kadmos* 14, No. 1 [1975], 48ff.) But Mendenhall's arguments are not applicable, because the Book of Mormon did not originate from one of the "early stages in the history of writing" (Mendenhall, p. 51)

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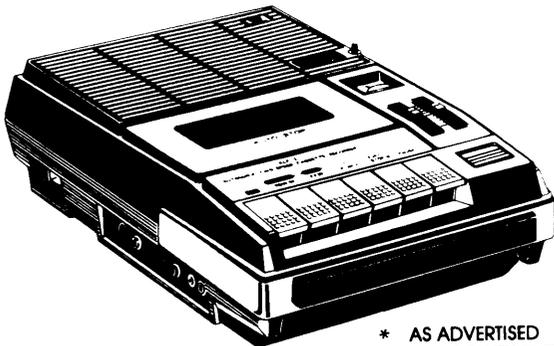
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in an economic or private matrix. (Mendenhall, p. 49.) The selections in the Book of Mormon from Isaiah and others quoted from the brass plates are virtually the same as the parallel passages in the King James Version. Thus, it would seem that the Book of Mormon language was at least as sophisticated as that which later emerged as Masoretic Hebrew, for the "Egyptian" which Lehi learned was that which enabled him to read the brass plates (Mos 1:4).

Mr. Smith's perspective about Hebrew and Egyptian grammar could be broadened by a thorough research of Hebrew syntax and by a critical analysis of the Book of Mormon text. Moreover, while he concedes a rigid syntax in earlier forms of Egyptian, he is apparently unaware of the

strictly-defined nature of the Demotic verbal system. (Cf. J. A. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, SAOC No. 38 [1976], 391f.)

The word-print analysis of the text of the Book of Mormon no more solves the problem of authorship than an earlier study in which Rencher was involved solves the authorship of the Isaiah text. (Cf. *BYU Studies* 15 [Autumn 1974], 95ff.) However exciting it may be, at best this study must be regarded as preliminary and as representing only one approach. The only conclusions that ultimately can be valid will result from holistic research.

Mr. Smith's claims about LCD and LED-display instruments must stand for themselves.

Edward H. Ashment
Salt Lake City, Utah

BYU Student Body President Jeffrey Duke and Vice President Thomas Peterson later issued a formal apology to Mrs. Matheson. "We were appalled that any Brigham Young University student should be so inconsiderate, and we express our deepest regret at the lack of respect shown by some to you personally and as the first lady of Utah," the letter said.

A statement issued by Governor Matheson's campaign headquarters stated that although BYU was not at fault, "It is too bad that the campaign has been permitted to reach such a low level."

Mr. Wright stated that he felt he was also owed an apology by BYU, "The speech I gave is the same speech that I have been giving for weeks in this campaign."

ERA Demonstrations Nationwide
Mormons for ERA has been staging pro-ERA demonstrations at LDS Church sites and meetings from coast to coast, including weekly picketing at the location of the new Mormon temple in Bellevue, Washington.

Recently, Southern California Mormons for ERA protested the installment of replicas of the Nauvoo women's statues on the Los Angeles LDS temple grounds. After carrying such signs as "Women don't belong on pedestals; they belong in the Constitution" and "A statue patronizes, ERA equalizes," the group held a candlelight vigil outside the temple gates while the statue dedication ceremony took place in a sunken garden in front of the temple's visitors center.

In Utah, about 75 picketers organized by the newly formed Ex-Mormons for the ERA marched on the sidewalk outside Temple Square during October conference. The group's organizer, a former missionary to England, Mary Jean Uebelgunne, said that it had been a "painful experience to have the church we've been born into and loved betray us." Although Church spokesperson Jerry Cahill declined to comment on the protest, he did say that the marchers "have a perfect right to do what they want to do. They haven't disturbed the conference."

Inside the tabernacle during the conference's second session the usual unanimous vote to sustain the leaders of the LDS Church was neither usual nor unanimous. When the time came to sustain President Kimball, three women—Sarah Campbell, Tucson, Arizona, Cheryl L. Dalton, California, and Marty LaBrosse, Kingston, Washington—voted no in protest of the Church's stance against passage of the

Update

Mormons in Power

The recent landslide victory for Ronald Reagan swept several Mormon Republicans into positions of prominence as well. Jake Garn won reelection to the Senate from Utah with over 70 percent of the vote. With Republican dominance in the Senate, he will become chair of the Banking committee.

Utah's other Senator, Orrin G. Hatch (see interview in SUNSTONE 5:5), will become chair of the Labor committee. *The Washington Post* noted ironically in its post-election analysis (November 6) that Hatch is the "man organized labor loves to hate." In fact, in an attempt to scare its members to the polls, the Public Employees Department of the AFL-CIO ran a fake headline that read: "Republicans Take Over Senate; Hatch Chairs Labor Committee."

A win for Mormon Paula Hawkins in Florida added one more Senate seat to the new Republican majority. During the campaign she sharply differed with her Democratic opponent William Gunter on social issues. She opposed the ERA and called for abolishing the president's Office of Consumer Protection and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. She supported constitutional amendments to allow prayers in the school and to halt abortions and called for more defense spending. Courting the important

Jewish vote (*Time*, November 17), she told members of a synagogue: "There are twelve tribes of Israel, and the Mormons happen to be one of them. That's my belief."

Governor's Wife Heckled at BYU

Norma Matheson, wife of Utah's Democratic Governor Scott Matheson, left BYU's "Speak Off" political forum lecture in tears October 22 after student outbursts interrupted her closing statement. Earlier in the forum gubernatorial challenger Bob Wright had sharply criticized Governor Matheson for his stands on such issues as the ERA and abortion, according to an article in the *BYU Daily Universe*.

"This was not supposed to be a debate," the First Lady responded after Wright's comments and then referred to a letter sent by the ASBYU Academics to each candidate prior to the meeting, requesting that each refrain from attacking the opponent's positions and instead articulate his or her own stands. Wright said that he had not seen the letter.

Mrs. Matheson, representing her husband who had previous commitments in northern Utah, held to the letter's rules, but requested and was granted time to rebut the GOP challenger. "I expected this to be a positive dialogue," she said as she left. "I'm sorry it's deteriorated."

ERA. The women, all members of Mormons for ERA in their respective states, later said they support President Kimball as their religious leader, but do not support him as their "political leader." Ms. Campbell reported, "The decision (to protest) was not lightly undertaken," and Ms. LaBrosse added that the trio had fasted and prayed two weeks prior to the conference. After the vote, Elder Bruce R. McConkie requested that the women meet with Elder Gordon B. Hinckley. The meeting, which took place in Elder Hinckley's office, was considered private and, according to Church spokesperson Don LeFevre, no Church statement would be made concerning the matter.

Utah Target for Civil Disobedience

"The time has come for civil disobedience, for people to demonstrate and riot, to take personal risk and sacrifice and even to die in the name of equality for all," Sonia Johnson, co-founder of Mormons for ERA, said while addressing an overflow crowd at Utah State University in early October. Soon thereafter, local and national feminist groups began planning a campaign of civil disobedience aimed at breaking Mormon resistance to the Equal Rights Amendment. Lee Anne Walker, president of the Equal Rights Coalition of Utah, said the campaign will focus on Utah and might include blocking the roads to ski resorts during the ski season and having women chain themselves to the entrances of public buildings. The strategy pinpointing Utah for civil disobedience was endorsed at the National Organization of Women's convention in San Antonio. NOW president Eleanor Smeal hoped the proposal would attract enough national publicity to bring significant pressure on the Mormon church, which she described as a "religious establishment, a political force, and a multibillion dollar empire that is systematically blocking ERA ratification in several states, including Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and Florida."

Caffeine-free Cola Drink

Skip Brooks, president of Brooks Industries of Salt Lake City, hopes people will spend billions of dollars guzzling his new caffeine-free cola drink, "Catch." Brooks, a BYU graduate, has been selling "Catch" at that university's athletic events and has apparently gained an enthusiastic following among members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who generally stay away from cola drinks because of their caffeine content.

Now ready to make the leap into mass local distribution, Brooks says bottlers and distributors throughout the Mountain West are being contacted.

Church Outbids Billionaire for Farm

The LDS church outbid Nelson Bunker Hunt, the Texas oil billionaire, for a 2,755-acre tobacco farm near Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Paying \$4,275,000, the Church topped Hunt's best offer by \$25,000.

According to Robert Fears, a Hopkinsville lawyer who represented the Church, the land will be used to raise wheat, soybeans, and corn since Mormons condemn the use of tobacco. The profits from the farm will go to the "Church treasury in Salt Lake City," said Fears.

Mormons and the New Right

The Mormon-New Right connection is continually surfacing in the national news media. According to a recent article in *Harper's* (October 1980) detailing evangelical New Right activities, Mormon support is being increasingly sought by conservative Christian leaders. The article stated that the "chosen instrument for bringing in the Mormons is Senator Frank Church"—not by enlisting the Idaho senator's support but rather by demonstrating mutual opposition to him.

In February 1979, a coalition of evangelical ministers called Christian Voice was formed, and Utah Senator Orrin Hatch served on its original congressional advisory committee. According to the article, the abortion issue was "an ideal way to hook the Mormons" into joining with the evangelical coalition. Hatch recorded an anti-abortion radio spot for the Stop the Baby Killers project of Americans for Life, whose honorary chairman is Congressman George Hansen of Idaho—another Mormon and a bitter enemy of Frank Church. "I personally believe Frank Church is a baby killer," commented Terry Dolan, head of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

In a McNeil/Lehrer Report on public television entitled "Politics and the Pulpit," Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority leader, also mentioned the Mormons in connection with the Right-to-Life movement. "I began preaching on my national television program about the atrocity of this (abortion) genocide," said Falwell. "The Mormons began to rally beside me. Roman Catholics. Right-to-Life people began to come. And

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I began to realize that there is a coalition in this country of moralists. . . . They are pro-life and pro-traditional family. Pro-moral, meaning anti-pornography, anti-drug scene. Pro-American, meaning strong, superior national defense, pro-Israel."

Following the Falwell interview, a spokesperson for Moral Majority told

one of SUNSTONE's associate editors that although many individual Mormons had joined their organization, the Moral Majority's only connection with any formal group of Mormons was through a Freeman Institute Constitutional Seminar held in Tulsa last September; Falwell was the featured speaker and guest of Cleon Skousen.

A Mormon Associations

THE QUESTION OF RLDS IDENTITY

By Bill Hartley

At the impressive RLDS meetinghouse of the Council Bluffs Central Congregation, the John Whitmer Historical Association, composed primarily of members of the RLDS church, gathered for its annual meeting to consider the theme: "The Question of RLDS Identity: A Sesquicentennial Assessment." The sessions (September 26-28) attracted between 60 and 100 attendees.

Friday night Dale Broadhurst's opening paper, based on his 800 hours of word study, argued that comparisons of the Spaulding Manuscript and the Book of Mormon showed some "surprising similarities" in words and themes and that the Spaulding Theory is not dead yet. Commentator Wayne Ham praised Dale's labor but faulted the methodology. Wayne, based on experience as an editor, said the books sound and feel very different: if Mark Twain felt the Book of Mormon is chloroform in print, Spaulding is cyanide; Spaulding makes the Book of Mormon "Chauceresque, Shakespearean" by comparison.

The Saturday morning audience, including local RLDS members and two LDS missionaries, first heard Norma Hiles quote extensively from Joseph Smith III's letters to his children, which gave insights into the "royal family." Then my paper, "The Historical Development of Priesthood Offices in the LDS and RLDS Churches: A Call for Comparative Studies," noted the need for and possible benefits from detailed LDS and RLDS studies of priesthood offices (deacon, high priest, etc.). RLDS commentator Ken Stobaugh supported

the call for more studies but reminded the audience of troublesome priesthood differences between the churches. The RLDS audience seemed most disturbed by two particular LDS priesthood changes: giving boys the Aaronic Priesthood instead of men as in Joseph Smith's day, and ordaining the First Council of the Seventy as high priests in 1961.

That afternoon we heard short papers on the 1846 Iowa trek by Bruce Graham; on Mormon camps along the Missouri River by Lewis Weigand; and on RLDS beginnings in the Omaha-Council Bluffs area by Jim Doty. We visited the Mormon historic site at Florence Cemetery. There, LDS missionary "Elder" Davis, in his sixties, greeted the group, told "trek west" stories about his family, and defended his family's polygamists. "Does he defend polygamy to everyone, or just RLDS?" one JWHA member asked me.

Clare Vlahos' presidential address, "Moderation as a Theological Principle in the Thought of Joseph Smith III," posited that President Smith, basically a legalist, moderated his beliefs in fixed principles in order to allow for pluralism and to avoid division among his diverse followers. His moderation was "restraint in the face of unorthodoxy."

A Sunday morning panel tackled the topic of "The Question of RLDS Identity." Tom Morain, on the topic of authority, explained that the RLDS church recently disclaimed being "the one true church" because supports for that position have eroded. What good is an authority claim back to Adam if you no longer believe in Adam? What good is

scriptural argument about authority when new concepts of scriptures demand historical relativism? Or what if the Book of Mormon is nothing more than a nineteenth century tract? Authority, he said, is existential, not concrete. Barbara Higdon, pushing Tom's thoughts further, proposed that the RLDS must now reassess the salvation role of ordinances and of priesthood. Hiroshi Yamada, a Seventy and the national RLDS minister for Japan, saw authority claims as abrasive and preventing the church from penetrating non-Christian cultures. Bill Russell, on revelation and scripture, said Joseph Smith was a biblical literalist, who framed his revelations and teachings accordingly, because he lacked the insights of modern biblical scholarship. Joseph's literalism, therefore, is no longer justified. The LDS scriptures need context studies, the panel agreed, to show them to be the *word* of God but not the *words* of God.

Panelist Patricia Roberts summarized how the RLDS concept of Zion has changed; once a "place," now Zion is "process." Barbara Higdon, on RLDS beginnings, questioned if the Reorganization began as a throwback to the pre-Nauvoo church or developed as a new alternative? More needs to be known, she said, regarding why RLDS founders rejected, ignored, or repudiated many Nauvoo practices.

The main concern of the panel, and of the entire conference, seemed to be what the RLDS Christian identity should be *in its own right*, instead of its traditional counter-LDS identity, and in spite of its early history and unusual modern scriptures.

At the meetings the JWHA announced publication of an annual journal, the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, starting in 1981. Members elected W. Grant McMurray as JWHA president for 1980-81, Paul M. Edwards as vice-president, and Betty Winholtz, Ruth Wildermuth, and James Elliott as board members. Officers announced that the 1981 JWHA meeting site (September) will be Lamoni. The 1980 JWHA awards went to Alma Blair (Best Article) for "Historical Models of the Restoration"; to Harold Schabeck (Best Lecture Paper) for "The Kirtland and Independence Temple Lot Suit"; and to the Liberty Hall Restoration Project (Special Merit Award) for restoration work. No book award was given this year.

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The literature on Mormon priesthood denial to blacks is extensive, ranging in perspective from militant defense to angry attack. Some of it is popular, some scholarly. But almost all of it is analytical or historical, giving us the view from the top, that is, only providing the vision of either the Church leaders or the scholars.¹ But what of the average Mormon, the "folk", if you will? How did people like you and me or the family across the street feel about their church's attitude towards blacks? And more important, how did they feel about blacks in general?

dark form, a dark cloud or mist, or an overpowering blackness. Frequently the evil spirit of the devil is clothed in black, and in some stories he is black himself.⁵ President John Taylor once said that the black race was preserved through the flood "because it was necessary that the devil should have a representation upon the earth as well as God. . . ."⁶ Given statements like these, it is not surprising to find in Mormon folklore stories like the following:

I had a friend in the Army who had fallen away from the church and was doing things he shouldn't have. One

The Curse of Cain and other Stories: BLACKS IN MORMON FOLKLORE

William A. Wilson
Richard C. Poulsen

Mormon anti-black sentiments are revealed through legends and jokes we tell.

Folklore, that body of legends and anecdotes which people tell about things most important to them, can give us "a people's own unselfconscious picture of themselves."² The problem with using Mormon folklore, however, is that it has been collected with care only during the last few decades. It surely existed in earlier times but unless it made its way into diaries or popular literature, it was mostly lost. Therefore, we will mainly be concerned with Mormon attitudes reflected in folklore in the last twenty years. We shall look principally at two kinds of lore: legends, those stories which the teller generally regards to be true, and jokes, stories not considered true but deriving nevertheless from deeply felt needs.

Legends are important, anthropologists tell us, not just because they reflect a society's dominant concerns and values, but also because they serve as a charter, or warrant, or justification for belief and as a historical precedent for action. From them we learn what we should believe and how we should behave.

For example, many Mormons believe that a black skin is the result of a curse placed on Cain and his descendants. Black is thus associated with evil, an association strengthened by our legends. One of the stories current among nineteenth-century Mormons was that when people apostasized from the Church their skin color darkened.³ Inversely, today some tales tell us that when blacks join the Church their skin lightens.⁴ The many stories circulating in the Church about experiences with evil spirits or the devil further strengthen the association of black with evil. These stories speak of a dark power, a

night while he was in the barracks (he slept on the bottom bunk) he felt the presence of something evil. Inside the barracks was pitch black, blacker than inside a cave, real black. This sensation of his was great and he opened his eyes. Right there in the midst of blackness he could see plainer than day an even blacker form in the image of a man nearing his bunk. He began to pray and when he opened his eyes again from prayer the thing was gone.

There was a missionary who wanted a manifestation of . . . Christ, to strengthen his testimony. He thought the easiest way to get this would be through the Devil—because if there is a Devil then there has to be a Christ. He prayed for several hours to the Devil for a sign. His companion who was down the hall heard his screams, and when he went to see what was the matter he found his companion dead on the floor—white as a ghost obviously dead from shock. He ran to the window to see what had caused this and saw a black figure riding off on a black horse and laughing hysterically.

Some stories tell not of the devil, but of Cain, who also appears as a black man. As early as 1835, Apostle David Patten claimed to have encountered Cain while on a mission in Tennessee.⁷ Today Cain stories still circulate. In a typical example, missionaries tracting a white section of a town in Georgia were surprised when "a huge black Negro came to the door and hurled obscenities at them. His mein was hideous, and the missionaries left, much frightened." Their mission president later told them that the man had been Cain, that the town was very wicked, and that they should no longer labor there.

We are not arguing that Mormons have considered all

blacks to be evil, but we are suggesting that one who hears and believes stories like these cannot help having his attitude toward blacks shaped by them—just as a child who, innocently enough, goes “nigger fishing,” leaps in the swimming pool crying, “Last one in is a nigger baby,” hears his father say, “There’s a nigger in the woodpile,” and with his friends chants, “Eenie, meenie,

Did you hear about the kids who were on their way to California and got jumped by some blacks as they stopped for something to eat? I think it was in Nevada somewhere. Anyway, they were going alone—two guys and two girls—and decided to get something to eat. They stopped and were jumped by some blacks who happened to see their BYU sticker on their car. They messed up the car and drove it off the road and then beat up the guys and

Mormons became convinced that racial warfare was imminent.

The stories clearly link blacks with Lucifer and Cain and have consequently helped justify the priesthood denial.

minie, moe; catch a nigger by the toe” cannot help developing negative mental images about blacks. The stories clearly link blacks with the fallen angel, Lucifer, and the brother-murderer, Cain, and have consequently helped justify the priesthood denial.

Other legends have justified other kinds of attitudes and actions. Consider the following story:

During the Watts riots of 1965, there was a report that the Negroes were going to attempt to break into the temple. The Mission President called in all the Elders from the surrounding area and met with them in the mission home, which is right behind the temple in Los Angeles.

When the missionaries arrived, the mission president called them to order and asked: “How many of you are willing to give your lives to protect the temple from the Negroes?”

The Negroes did not come, so of course the Elders disbanded, but it was a time of great soul searching anyway.

This narrative, collected in 1966, was a forerunner of the kind of story that would run rampant as civil rights actions directed against the Church intensified in the late sixties.⁸ The Apocryphal Horse Shoe Prophecy attributed to John Taylor was revived and spread rapidly through the Mormon West. According to the prophecy, President Taylor supposedly saw a day of great trouble when warfare would strike the Saints and blood would run like water through the gutters of Salt Lake. As versions of the prophecy multiplied, a new detail was added: blood would run in the gutters as a result of racial warfare.⁹ At the same time pressure brought to bear on the Church by the NAACP, by protesting black athletes at BYU ball games, and by a variety of civil rights and counter-culture groups increased. As a result, many Mormons became convinced that racial warfare was imminent.

Narratives that justified this belief spread like wildfire. A spate of stories circulated telling of bus loads of Black Panthers making their way to the state with guns, of plans by blacks to disrupt the coming April Conference, blow up Mountain Dell Reservoir, set off explosions on Temple Square, assassinate Church leaders, and poison the water supply. Other stories told that blacks had invaded a sacrament meeting and stopped the passing of sacrament, that assassination squads had been formed to go from neighborhood to neighborhood on the East Bench, eliminating the elite, and that black children would sell candy bars filled with broken glass.

One story, in particular, gained prominence:

did who knows what to the girls.

Other versions of this story told that it was not just cars with BYU stickers that were in danger but any cars driving out of state with Utah license plates or other markers identifying the occupants as Mormons.

This story is interesting because it parallels closely an account told widely outside Mormondom. In this non-Mormon story a young boy is attacked by thugs from a minority group, hauled into a restroom, and castrated. Known throughout the United States, the story varies only in the makeup of the offending minority group—Blacks, Jews, Indians, Mexicans, and sometimes Hippies.

What we seem to be dealing with here is what psychologists call “inversed projections,” which means that when we have feelings of hostility toward others, we project onto our antagonists emotions we really feel ourselves.¹⁰ For example, a boy who hates his father cannot say, “I hate my father,” because that would not be socially acceptable. So he says, “My father hates me.” This supposed hate of father for his son then justifies the son’s ill will toward him. During the height of the civil rights movement, it would not have been socially acceptable for Mormons to say, “We dislike blacks.” But it was perfectly all right to say, “Blacks do not like us,” and to add, “Indeed, they want to do us violence, to beat up our men and molest our women.” We could thus find cause for feelings of hostility toward them. And some could find in these supposed acts of blacks (really in our own projections) ample justification for continuing to deny them the priesthood. Speaking of this kind of story in general, Barre Toelken says, “It provides a succinct and usable traditional experience for any majority group that wants to rationalize and vivify its symbolic fears of the minority group.”¹¹

Whether or not this interpretation seems valid, the kinds of stories we have been discussing produced unfortunate results. For example, in the tense racial climate of the early 1970s an employee of Seminaries and Institutes stated

that it was common knowledge among teachers in the Church educational system that a confrontation with Black Panthers was going to take place . . . [and] that Blacks and hippies were arming themselves in the canyons east of the city.

Another individual stated:

John Taylor is supposed to have said that the Negroes

will . . . tear down the gates of the temple, ravage the women therein, and destroy and desecrate the temple. Then the Mormon boys will pick up their deer rifles and destroy the Negroes, and that's when the blood will run down the street.¹²

At this same time N.E.T.s, Neighborhood Emergency Teams, were set up in Salt Lake City by private action

mannered (he's the kind of guy that wanted to stay home and visit all the time instead of going out to do something) and he got up to give a spiritual Christmas thought at our branch's Christmas party up at Timp Lodge.

Really seriously he started off telling that when he was in the army he was an army intelligence officer. He said that now this particular event has been declassified and he can tell about it. When they launched Mariner 4, he

Jokes allow their narrators to express fears, desires, and hostilities they would never dare verbalize directly.

It wasn't socially acceptable for Mormons to say, "We dislike blacks." But it was all right to say, "Blacks don't like us."

groups to help meet the coming crisis and were disbanded only after Governor Rampton and the First Presidency took a strong stand against them and against vigilante action in general.¹³

The legends Mormons have told in the past about blacks, then, have both reflected and justified the attitudes of at least some Mormons toward them. The jokes Mormons tell, and have told, may not justify anything but, perhaps even better than legends, they express and help shape the attitudes of the tellers. Supposedly not to be taken seriously—what's the matter, can't you take a joke?—jokes allow their narrators to express fears, desires, and hostilities they would never dare verbalize directly. As a result, scholars from Freud to the present have found that one of the best ways to get at people's attitudes is to look at the jokes they tell.

Jokes told among Mormons in the years preceding the priesthood revelation display, at least on the part of the joke-teller, an attitude of bigotry and hostility towards blacks.¹⁴ During the previous century Mormons in general, leaders and members alike, had shared the racist views of their countrymen, believing in particular that blacks were innately inferior and, in the words of Brigham Young, they lacked the "wisdom to do things as white man does" and were destined to be servants to their "superiors." Blacks, said Young, were "uncouth, uncomely, disagreeable in their habits, wild, and seemingly deprived of nearly all the blessings of the intelligence that is bestowed upon mankind."¹⁵ But over the years the official Church stand had mellowed until by the late 1960s Church leaders were arguing for "full civil equality for all of God's children."¹⁶ Unfortunately, many of us, as the anti-black jokes circulating at that time make clear, had failed to keep pace with our leaders and held instead to the intolerance of the past.

The worst of the jokes made fun of what the tellers assumed to be black character traits, that is, laziness, dirtiness, low intelligence, dishonesty, sexual promiscuity, and perversion. Originally, we had planned to give examples of these but many of them are so offensive we have elected not to. Most people will have heard them from time to time anyway. Some of the jokes do not play on the above characteristics but nonetheless show a callous disregard for the feelings and sensitivities of other human beings. To demonstrate this point at least one example is necessary. The following story was collected from a BYU branch president:

Frank, who was my second counselor and is really mild

was there watching in the control room and was close enough to hear what was going on. There was a general in charge and some lieutenant was at the launch button. Steve said that this was a rather special launch because for the first time one of the astronauts was black. Anyway, finally it got down to the last seconds before the launch and the final countdown began . . . 5, 4, 3, 2, 1—The lieutenant at the bottom got so excited he yelled, "Coon to the moon!" The general yelled, "Stop, stop! Hold everything!" and he glared at the lieutenant and the lieutenant said, "Sorry, sir." So the final countdown was begun again and it got down to the final second again when the lieutenant yelled out again, "Trigger the nigger!" The general yelled, "Wait! wait . . . hold everything!—Now Lieutenant, you've got to control yourself. Now let's try it again." So once again the countdown was started . . . 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 and the lieutenant said something again and the general said, "Stop!" but the lieutenant said, "It's too late, the jig's up."

More interesting than the telling of this joke itself was the response of the branch members. According to the branch president from whom it was collected, the first time the counselor "got to one of the punchlines, there was shocked silence with a few chuckles. The second time everybody burst out laughing, and by the time he finished with the story, everybody was just rolling on the floor."

In spite of unhappy occasions like this, one wonders just how widespread the telling of anti-black jokes has been among Church members in general. And though the presence of a few bigoted souls does not necessarily make a bigoted society—our feeling is that most Mormons have probably never told black jokes—we cannot overlook the fact that these jokes, or at least the attitudes they express, have been much more prevalent than we, in these post-priesthood revelation days, would like to admit or remember. This conclusion, we confess, is based in part on our own experiences growing up in thoroughly-Mormon southern Idaho and central Utah where we seldom heard blacks called anything but niggers, where blacks were often referred to in mocking and derisive tones, and where one of us (Wilson) and his teenage friend blackened their faces with cold cream and stove soot and, for the delight and edification of local Church members at ward socials, gave skits called "Blackouts," whose principal humor lay in the depiction of blacks as grinning witless fools.

In addition, significant support for this view comes from evidence accumulated in our universities' folklore

archives. Over the years Mormon students in our folklore classes, with no special prompting, have turned in a steady stream of anti-black jokes learned in Mormon social settings and we can safely presume there were many more in circulation. Folklorists know that items of folklore do not exist in isolation. For every item actually collected, dozens more are in oral circulation. Because

It then became: Knock, knock.
Who's there?
Isa.
Isa who?
Isa yo new home teacher.

The old riddle, "Why are crows black? Because they wouldn't eat crickets," became "Crows can now eat cric-

To be no *more* guilty of racist sentiments than others is little cause for rejoicing.

From legends we learn what we should believe and how we should behave.

folklore is kept alive by the spoken rather than the written word, it will not persist unless a reasonably large group of people keep passing it along.

But all of this is now past history and somewhat academic. The 1978 revelation changed everything. According to Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, the announcement of the priesthood revelation "was received, almost universally, with elation."¹⁷ We hope they are correct. Certainly their statement holds true for many of us. We think a careful sampling of Mormon folklore can help to gauge the degree of that elation. A new cycle of jokes which developed immediately following the announcement suggests that we should accept the Arrington/Bitton statement with some caution. These recent jokes seemed almost ubiquitous, at least along the Wasatch Front. Practically everywhere we turned we heard someone telling one. Even Latter-day Saints who do not normally engage in joke-telling seemed captivated by these jokes and shared them willingly.

Some of the jokes were simply reworkings of earlier forms. For example, a few years ago a popular question was:

Q: How do you know when the millennium is here?

A: When you open your door and hear, "Hi! Wees you new home teachers."



"... HOWEVER, DEEP DOWN INSIDE OF ME, I ALWAYS FELT THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS NOT A COMMUNIST."

kets." But most of the items were new inventions. A few examples:

They've taken down the statue of Moroni from the temple.

Yeah, they're replacing it with one of Louis Armstrong.

Do you know why President Kimball received his revelation?

He was doing his genealogy and found an ancestor named Kunta Kinte Kimball.

Did you hear that Sidney Poitier is making a new movie, "Guess Who's Coming to Priesthood?"

They're putting a new song in the hymnbook: "Come, Come Ye Saints, Do-da, Do-da."

"Eeni, meeni, minie, moe, catch an 'elder' by the toe."

Jokes like these may have been relatively harmless, but there were others which had a much sharper bite. Some expressed bitterness:

Do you know how Kimball received his revelation?

In the form of a subpoena.

Many played to the old stereotypes mentioned above, ridiculing supposed black characteristics and showed once again the same old insensitivities to the feelings of other human beings. Here are some examples:

Have you heard of the new office in the Aaronic Priesthood?

There will be priests, teachers, deacons, and de coons.

Do you know what LDS stands for?

Love Dem Spooks.

Do you know why they let blacks into the priesthood?

Who else are we going to get to carry our bags to Missouri?

Did you know that since blacks have been given the priesthood, baptismal fonts have been filled with Clorox?

Did you hear they've raised tithing to 12 percent?

To pay for busing.

How many priest darkies does it take to bless the sacrament?

One to hum, and four to move his mouth up and down.

Have you heard they're digging up the rose bushes at the temple grounds?

They're replanting the area with watermelons.

Have you heard that they are changing the sacrament?

They're going to start using bread and watermelon.

Did you hear that the St. George temple is being remodeled again?

They're adding chicken coops.

Did you hear the state bird is being changed?
From a seagull to a chicken.

And on and on they go. They do not seem, in our judgment, to express the elation Arrington and Bitton mention. On the other hand, we're not quite sure what they *do* (or *did*) express. Possibly they were a means of giving voice to the anxiety that always accompanies a change

who surveyed Mormon attitudes in 1966 and discovered that, in spite of the priesthood doctrine, Mormons were no *more* prejudiced than their fellow Americans.¹⁹ We find little comfort in this conclusion. To be no *more* guilty of racist sentiments than other Americans is little cause for rejoicing. Instead of asking if their priesthood doctrine had made them any worse than their fellowmen,

During the nineteenth century
Mormons, leaders and members alike,
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A person willing to accept blacks into full
fellowship simply would not tell this
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from familiar to unfamiliar ground. Perhaps for those who were not much cheered by the thought of bringing into the fold people they had always regarded as inferior, the stories provided a means of expressing their anger and confusion. For such people the jokes were a sort of last hurrah for the old order. For us they suggest that many Mormons were still gripped by the bigotry of the past and were still having trouble keeping pace with their leaders. A person willing to accept blacks into full fellowship simply would not tell this kind of joke.

The best thing we can say about these jokes is that they evidently no longer exist. We have heard almost none of them in well over a year. The point we have tried to make in this paper is that the record of Mormon racial attitudes, at least as those attitudes are revealed in folklore, is not a very distinguished one. Before 1978, the proportion of anti-black jokes turned in by Mormon students in our folklore classes was similar to those submitted by non-Mormon students at other universities.¹⁸ This fact supports the findings of sociologist Armand Mauss,

Mauss might have asked if their commitment to a gospel preaching the *literal* brotherhood of man had made them any better. What of the prophet, Nephi's words: "and he inviteth them all to come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female"?²⁰

But perhaps the disappearance of these jokes indicates a change in old attitudes, a change made easier because it is based on revelation. Today there is a new cycle of legends testifying to the validity and supernatural nature of the revelation, e.g. the rush of air in the room as the apostles sat pondering President Kimball's words. Also there have been numerous stories telling of the witness of the Spirit to individuals concerning the revelation. Just as earlier legends justified priesthood denial to blacks, the new legends substantiate granting it to them. Perhaps as this conviction grows stronger our folklore, our "own unselfconscious picture" of ourselves, will one day show that we have come finally to realize what the Apostle Peter learned so long ago: that God really is no respecter of persons.

Notes

1. Representing the spectrum, there is, on the one hand, the apologetic point of view of John J. Stewart's *Mormonism and the Negro* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1978), and, on the other hand, the anti-Mormon diatribe of Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormons and Negroes* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1970). In his excellent survey article, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (1973):11-68) Lester E. Bush does talk about Mormon attitudes but almost exclusively attitudes of Church leaders not the common folk. We come closest to these in an article by Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism and Secular Attitudes toward Negroes," *Pacific Sociological Review* 9 (1966):91-99. See also Mauss's "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (1967):19-39. The trouble with Mauss's articles is that his charts and diagrams convey little of the emotional intensity of the feelings they attempt to survey.

2. Alan Dundes, *Analytic Essays in Folklore* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), p. xi.

3. Bush, p. 28.

4. Unless otherwise noted, all items of folklore discussed in this paper, as well as comments of informants, are located in the Brigham Young University Folklore Archives and Utah State University Folklore Archives.

5. This belief has "ancient antecedents" not, of course, limited to Mormon attitudes. The Puritans, for example, virtually always spoke of the devil as black. See Cotton Mather's apology in *Wonders of the Invisible World* (London: John Russell Smith, 1862), p. 126: "... They [spectators who watched the evil machinations of George Burroughs, the only Puritan minister to be convicted of witchcraft] supposed, The Black Man, (as the Witches called the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an Indian) might give him [Burroughs] that assistance." Here blackness is associated with the Indians since the savages were the embodiment of evil to the Puritans.

6. *Journal of Discourses*, 22:304.

7. See Bush, n. 28, pp. 51-52.

8. First Presidency Statement of 15 December 1969, in "Church Section, *Deseret News*, 10 January 1970.

9. For a fuller treatment of the Horseshoe Prophecy, see William A. Wilson, "The Paradox of

Mormon Folklore," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (1976):44-45.

10. See Gardner Lindzey, *Projective Techniques and Cross Cultural Research* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), p. 29. For a discussion of the "castrated boy" story, see Barre Toelken, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), pp. 176-179, 272-273.

11. Toelken, p. 178.

12. Two interesting studies of folklore and the racial conflicts during this time are Wayne Turley's "Mormon Folklore" (1970) and Reynold E. Bowman's "The Invasion of 1970: The Mormon Conspiratorial Mind" (1972), Brigham Young University Folklore Archives.

13. See "Support Police, Shun Vigilantes, Church Advises," *Deseret News*, 3 March 1970, and "Utah 'Can Cope' with Disorder," *Deseret News*, 6 March 1970.

14. In an interesting essay, "The Mormon Cross," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (1973):76-78, Eugene England rejected the standard, though not official, explanations of Mormon Negro policy—the curse of Cain and unvaliant action in the pre-existence—and argued eloquently that God had not granted blacks the priesthood because Church members in general were not yet capable of living a higher law. This view put the burden for denial of the priesthood not on the shoulders of blacks, not on their descending from Cain nor on their supposed mediocre performance in the pre-existence, but rather on us, on our racism and our lack of love.

15. *Journal of Discourses*, 7:290-291.

16. Hugh B. Brown, General Conference Address, 6 October 1963, in *Conference Report* (October 1963), p. 91.

17. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 324.

18. This statement is based in part on Wilson's experiences teaching folklore at Indiana University, University of California at Los Angeles, Brigham Young University, and Utah State University.

19. Mauss, "Mormonism and Secular Attitudes toward Negroes."

20. Nephi 26:33.

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WOMAN

Joseph

Little-known sermon given in 1895 on the importance

Editor's Note

Emmeline B. Wells reported the following talk to the Woman's Exponent (Volume 24, 15 August 1895, pp. 44-46). The talk was given by Joseph F. Smith to the evening session of the General Conference of the Relief Society held 4 April 1895 in the Salt Lake Assembly Hall. The original spellings are preserved.

Referring to the subject of woman's rights Joseph F. Smith said in substance: he thought many women were extremely careless and indifferent to their rights. This was caused to some extent by ignorance, and thoughtlessness, and to some extent by tradition. We inherit much from the fathers, and some of the relics of the dark ages, not to say of barbarism are still cherished by some people to their hurt. Accustomed to things as they were and are, they rest content and seek no changes, however much for the better a change might be. But he could get along with this class better than with such as would not only make no exertion themselves to progress, but would and did exert themselves to prevent the progression of others. He regarded such as enemies to society. Not intentionally perhaps, but actually so whatever might be the cause of their conduct.

For his part, he wanted women to enjoy every blessing, privilege, right, or liberty which he himself enjoyed in the legitimate pursuit of happiness in this world or in the world to come. The only differences or distinctions that should be regarded or recognized are those of nature

or of sex. We should guard with sacredness the distinction which God himself has created, they are inevitable, and we could not if we would deface or change them, but God never did design that a woman should receive less for the product of her labor, whether of hand or brain, skilled or menial than a man should receive for the same labor no better executed than hers. Nor did he design that women should be required to bear equal burdens with men without sharing equally the benefit thereof.

He would not attempt to make a comparison of the difference between man's and woman's physical and mental capabilities for they were questions foreign to the one now affecting the public mind. The question is, shall women be as free as men or not, shall the male citizen have a voice in civil government because he is a male, and a female citizen be denied the same privilege simply because she is a female? Shall a man indignantly resent "taxation without representation," and a woman not do likewise, or tamely submit to that which must be as great a wrong to her as it can be to him, simply because she is a woman and he a man? Man and woman are begotten of the same father, are born of the same mother, possess the same life, breathe the same air, feel the same cold or heat, hunger or thirst, pleasure or pain; eat the same food, wear the same fabrics wrought only in different forms and fashions; exist by the same means, both bear the divine image and possess the same divine nature. They are born, live, and die, and live again for the one great and glorious purpose. They are indispensable to each other,

WOMAN



Smith

of guaranteeing equal rights for women.

each is the complement of the other, both for this world and the world to come, for time and for all eternity. Then why shall one enjoy civil rights and the other be denied them? Why shall one be admitted to all the avenues of mental and physical progress and prosperity and the other be prohibited, and prescribed within certain narrow limits, to her material abridgment and detriment? Do not women eat bread as well as men? Shall men be favored as bread-winners, and women be handicapped in their effort to win bread? Shall a man be paid higher wages than is paid to a woman for doing no better than she does the very same work? Shall the avenues for employment be multiplied to men and diminished to women by the mere dictum or selfishness of men? If man can perform labor for which woman is physically disqualified, let him enjoy the monopoly of it; let the same be said of woman. By what process of reasoning can it be shown that a woman standing at the head of a family, with all the responsibility resting upon her to provide for them, should be deprived of the avenues and ways or means that a man in like circumstance may enjoy to provide for them? Yet many of these unwholesome conditions do exist, and that too vastly to the detriment of women, notwithstanding which strange to say, women may be found who seem to glory in their enthralled condition, and who caress and fondle the very chains and manacles which fetter and enslave them! Let those who love this helpless dependent condition and prefer to remain in it and enjoy it; but for conscience and for mercy's

sake let them not stand in the way of those of their sisters who would be, and of right ought to be *free*. Let them who will not enter into the door of equal rights and impartial suffrage step aside, and leave the passage clear to those who desire to enter. It is said if the women have equal rights they must bear equal burdens with the men. They do this already except that their burdens are made unequal in that they are deprived of the enjoyment of equal rights. Yes but, says the objector, they must sit on juries, they must serve as policemen, sherriffs, marshals, soldiers, etc. Well, let them do so if they want to, and can get such office. But what nonsense this is, it is all right for them to be qualified for any and all positions, and to possess the right or privilege to fill them, but that they *must* as so does not follow. There are many men in every community who never sat on a jury, never having been called to do so, nor to be a soldier, or to do any duty, nor to be sherriff, policemen, marshals, nor even governors or judges, and yet they have possessed all the qualifications to fill any of these positions. Therefore why shall the women be *compelled* to do things because she has the franchise that men are not compelled to do! Many women are afraid of woman's suffrage because office loving, office seeking, office monopolizing men have tried to frighten them from seeking their right thereby, possibly, lessening the chances for those same office-loving men to get and hold the offices of state.

Let no woman be deterred for a moment from her whole duty, by such contemptible twaddle.

CHRISTMAS

IN PIONEER

UTAH



Emmeline B. Wells

Young Woman's Journal, 12 (1901): 539-42.

Concerning Christmas in 1847 in the "Old Fort", there was no departure from the regular routine except the mere Xmas greetings, wishing each other "A merry Christmas," etc. This was the extent of their celebrating the day; the people were living on rations, and would not dare indulge in any extra cooking. However, I imagine there might have been in some homes, a little merriment, anecdotes, songs, and simple games, if not dancing.

The next Christmas, 1848, Heber C. Kimball gave a dinner to a few of the brethren and sisters, and Brigham Young with some of his family, and Willard Richards and others of the Apostles were present. It is quite impossible, at this late date, to tell what was served at table on that happy occasion, but this I do recall, that the conversation was cheerful, and as Sister Vilate Kimball was the hostess (and was a prime favorite with all the guests), it must have been a very pleasant affair; as for myself, I was too much occupied with my baby to take much notice of the amusements, except that I know Hans Hansen played the violin, and Brother Smithies the big bass, and Horace K. Whitney the flute, and of course there was singing, though I would not like to be obliged to recall the "Old Songs;" however, let me add, there were very good singers in those days, if the instrumental music was not of the finest order. I know Horace and some of the rest of us used to sing, "Shades of evening close not o'er us," and "Bonnie Doon," and "Maid of Athens," and I might go on repeating numerous titles of the songs we used to sing in the days now gone forever. But I don't believe we had presents for the children; I don't know what we could have given them, they were not the days of plenty, and we have scarcely become accustomed to our new surroundings. . . . No doubt Heber C. Kimball told some of his funny anec-

dots, for he never failed to make merry in that way on all festive occasions. . . .

Christmas later on was a jolly time though all the fare was simple and the stockings hung in the chimney corner were filled with home-made gifts; nevertheless the love was as genuine, and the morning kisses as sweet, as those of these days of lavish expenditure. The stockings filled with beet molasses candy made in all kinds of fanciful shapes, and pulled until quite light and brittle, and gingerbread cut into fantastic figures, as well as doughnuts cut and fried beautifully brown; and for the girls rag dolls which they enjoyed singing to sleep with the old-fashioned lullabies, and great care was taken to dress them nicely from the odd bits of various materials, these when tastefully put together were as welcome to the dear little girls as the expensive dolls are to our children nowadays. . . .

When the Social Hall was built, Christmas was sometimes celebrated there with dancing parties, and the enjoyment was such that those who had the opportunity of attending them remember to this day those good old times. Children's parties, too, were given there occasionally, and our girls and boys will perhaps never forget while they live, the first Christmas tree in the Social Hall, where there was a present for every child of several large families, and all numbered and arranged in perfect order of name and age. . . . President Young, Daniel H. Wells and others of their fellow citizens were there, but Brigham was foremost in making the affair a grand

success. It was an event in the lives of our children they ought never to forget, and I doubt if they ever will. . . .

Hon. John W. Young, then only a boy, handed the presents down from the tree, and I recollect Brother Brigham standing and pointing with his cane, and telling John just which to take down, and so on; the children were wild with delight and some of the mothers were quite as much elated, though not as demonstrative. After the Santa Claus tree was stripped of its gifts, the floor was cleared and the dancing commenced, and there was good music, too, and President Young led the dance, and cut a pigeon wing, to the great delight of the little folks. In fact, I think the evening was almost entirely given up to the children's festivities, and the older ones, the fathers and mothers and more especially President Young, made them supremely happy for that one Christmas eve. . . .

Then we had to tell them stories to make up for the things we lacked; now there is so much to occupy the time, that mothers have no moment to spare, evidently to tell them stories at all; they depend on the Primary and the Kindergarten teachers to do all this for them, while they, the dear blessed mothers, lose all the sweetest hours life can bring. . . .

Children do not have too much love not even on Christmas, . . . but they very often have too many toys and sweetmeats; how many children there are in the world who long more earnestly for real love than they do for aught else; there is no comfort or luxury that will supply its place even in the heart of a little child. There is more happiness because of love than from any other gift. The Savior taught many lessons of love and enjoined upon the Saints to love one another. It is natural to seek the happiness of those we love, to spare no pains, to grudge no self-denial on our part; and this we should teach to the children.

Above all else mothers tell the little ones a story on Christmas, and let it be a true one, that will always be remembered. . . .

December 25, 1851. A delightful day ushered in not by the ringing of bells for our city does not possess any, but by the firing of cannon. At daybreak the Nauvoo Brass Band had assembled and serenaded the city for 2 hours. At 10 A M the carpenter's shop was thrown open for an entertainment for the men employed on the public works, who with their families numbered 600 to 700. The building was comfortably fitted up with seats, tables, and conveniences for making tea. The Governor with several members of the Legislature were present with their ladies. When the floor was cleared for dancing (a good band having been engaged) the employers took for their partners the wives and daughters of the workmen and the workmen in turn took the wives and daughters of their employers. The company separated at 10 p.m.

Diary of Jean Rio Baker

December 25, 1873. At Ten o'clock on Christmas morning the children and teachers of the 15th Ward Sunday School, numbering about 300, assembled in the school house, to receive presents which had been placed upon a large Christmas tree in the center of the hall. The tree, besides being filled with a variety of things, was also illuminated with numerous wax candles, the room having been darkened to give better effect to the scene, which presented a very imposing appearance.

In addition to the presents from the tree, a number of prizes were distributed. A plain gold ring was awarded to Effie W. Morris, daughter of Elias Morris, for the best essay on "the birth and mission of Jesus Christ." Prizes were also awarded to the best singers, Miss Annie Jones and Arthur Davis being the successful competitors. At intervals the Sunday School Choir discoursed sweet music under the direction of their leader, D.A. Swan, to whom great praise is due for the pains he has taken to render the choir so efficient.

Before the presents were distributed James Moyle, on behalf of the committee and the school, presented an ivory handled walking cane to the superintendent, who received the same with grateful acknowledgments.

Supt. J.K. Hall took from the tree a box of emblematic figures representing the birth of Christ, and, on behalf of the teachers and scholars of the school, presented it to Sister Sarah M. Kimball as a token of the esteem in which that lady is held by them. After receiving the present

and making a few remarks, Sister Kimball proceeded to arrange the figures, at the same time explaining them in a pleasing manner to the children.

Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter was present and addressed the children and teachers, expressing himself highly delighted with the morning's proceedings.

Journal History

Kirtland, Ohio, Christmas, 1836. Sunday went up to the house of God to worship and heard a discours from Brother Samuel Smith. Brother Hiram Smith broak bread which closed the meeting. Elder Smoot was quite sick and healed by the laying on of hands.

Wilford Woodruff, Diary

Great Salt Lake City, 1848. Christmas. I staid at home and read newspapers which Prest. Y[oung] sent me, he having call'd last eve[ning].

Eliza R. Snow, Diary

Great Salt Lake City, 1849. Christmas Eve was all alive by the people in all directions firing guns, pistols, revolvers and the cannon fired several times. A dance at Martin H. Pecks, and the band playing at Aaron Farr's house.

Thomas Bullock, Diary

Iron County, Utah, 1850. Very severe frost. Thermometer at 1/2 past 6 a.m., 12° below zero. Commenced working the banks of the river, water about 2 feet deep. The ford was a good one, the comeing-out bank was over a very steep bluff which was difficult to ascend, being very slippery. It was very injurious to our cattle not being shod. Our Train all crossed over with the exception of 2 waggons. Capt. Bringhurst with eleven waggons came up, who had been in the rear since we left Peteetneet, and camped on the other side of the river.

George A. Smith, Journal

Vejle, Denmark, 1857. It is the first day of Christmas. I stayed here and observed a fast day. There was a meeting here in Brother C.P. Stiep's house, but few came because there was a heavy rain and storm.

Peter Nielsen, Reminiscences and Journal

London, England, 1840. Christmas Day in London. The Church Bells throughout the city commenced chanting for meeting at half past ten. We met with the Saints . . . at 11 o'clock and we taught the Saints some plain principles, which had a good effect. We took our Christmas dinner with Br. Morgan. He had his family



The stockings filled with beet molasses candy and gingerbread cut into fantastic figures, as well as doughnuts cut and fried beautifully brown.

at home with him. The Dinner consisted of Baked Mutton, Goose, Rabbit Pies, Minced Pies, and Plum Pudding, and bread and cheese, Porter and water. We spent the evening at Mr. Albums in conversing about the things of God . . . May the Lord preserve my life, my wife and child in peace I pray, and enable all the Saints to be established in righteousness.

Wilford Woodruff, Diary

Wednesday, 25 December 1850. Christmas day lovely. The band, twenty-six in number, have promenaded the city and played before the houses of the Presidency. Twelve, and others, while riding on horseback. President Young went up to his mill, where there was a dance in the upper room.

Church Historian's office, Diary

Thursday, 25 December 1856. Accompanied by Bishop Edwin D. Woolley and Frederick Kesler, Brigham Young rode in a sleigh to the ice dam. After the president returned to the office he gave counsel and instruction to various persons.

Church Historian's office, Diary

Buenos Aires, Friday, 25 December 1925. Christmas morning. Went early this morning to Parque 3 de Febrero, and in a beautiful secluded spot Elder Melvin J. Ballard dedicated South America to preaching the gospel. Wonderful spirit present. Visited German Saints in the afternoon.

Diary of Rey L. Pratt

Laupahoeho, Hawaii, Sunday, 25 December 1853. In the afternoon we got the privilege to preach in a Calvinist Meeting House to quite a large congregation of natives. I don't find it any different with the natives than any other class of people. They manifest the same spirits: . . . some believe, and some fight and oppose it, and others obey it, the same as it is among all people. We baptized three this afternoon.

Thomas Karren, Journal

East Germany, 1945. Wolfsgruen. A Mormon refugee home. The prospects for Christmas 1945 seemed very gloomy. We succeeded in baking rye-buns. . . . My wife made her usual trip to Meerane to purchase provisions. Her sister who was a clerk in a grocery store, and who has helped us previously, had saved 60 pounds of chopped wheat. The wheat was no longer considered edible and was to be sold for cattle-food. With this wheat my wife baked a good Christmas cake. The baking eliminated the smell of moldiness and this added



I recollect Brother Brigham standing and pointing with his cane. He led the dance, and cut a pigeon wing, to the great delight of the little folks.

materially to our Christmas dinner.

Arnold Schmidt, Reminiscence

25 December 1835. At home all this day and enjoyed myself with my family, it being Christmas day—the only time I have had this privilege so satisfactorily for a long time.

Joseph Smith, Diary

One day just before Christmas, I left the old home with feelings I cannot describe. . . . I wanted something to please my chicks and to mark the Christmas day from all days—but not a cent to do it with! I walked up and down Main Street, looking into the shop windows—into Amussen's jewelry store, into every store—everywhere—and then slunk out of sight of humanity and sat down and wept like a child, until my poured-out

grief relieved my aching heart; and after a while returned home, as empty as when I left, and played with the children, grateful and happy only for them. . . .

Joseph F. Smith to his son, 29 December 1914, Improvement Era 22:266.

25 December 1940. It was a real treat to see how happy the children were with their gifts. . . . I played with them, helped them enjoy their toys, read to them some faith-promoting stories and we shed tears together as we had brought to our attention the sacrifices that were made by some of our loved ones when they settled this country. . . .

George Albert Smith, Diary

Diary excerpts from Christmas cards designed by the LDS Historical Department, History Division, 1972-1977.

A Religion of Clerks or I've Got Those Stuffing, Stapling Blues

August 21, 1980

Member and Statistical Records Department
Seventeenth Floor
50 East North Temple Street
Salt Lake City, UT 84150

Attention: Records Processing Division

Brothers and Sisters:

Inside you will find a bunch of membership records with addresses in the Bronx, New York. A whole bunch. Now, this shouldn't be. I've told you about it before. Go to the Bronx. There you will find Yankee Stadium. You will find the New York Botanical Garden. You will find Van Cortlandt Golf Course, Pelham Bay Park, and the Bronx Zoo. But you will not find the Manhattan First Ward. You will not find any Manhattan Ward at all. The Bronx Ward and the Manhattan First Ward are different units; different universes, practically. Do you hear me? The Bronx is uptown and to the right.

I know what's causing your confusion. The Bronx Ward *used* to be part of our ward. But it isn't anymore. Please believe me. If you could see my face, you would see that it is an honest face, one that could not lie. It is also, though, a tired face. I have seen much in my day, and most of it has been membership records from the Bronx. Week after week they roll in, like apples into the cellar bin at harvest; and week after week I roll them back to you, but always a couple fewer go out than came in, with the result that I am slowly smothering here in New York. Everywhere I turn there is someone from the Bronx. Beaumont, Bayshore, Bradford Park and Boscobel; Delafield, Dryser, Duncan, Debs: the rhythm of this list of streets has taken possession of my mind like a mantra, and they're all in the Bronx, every last one of them.

But the Bronx is not in Manhattan. It's not in our ward. We've sent you maps. We've sent you notices. We've sent you pleas and threats. It's the third or fourth time I've written. What more do you want? What more can we give? I'm a young man. I should be out tonight, on the town. I should be at a Broadway play tonight with a beautiful girl on my arm, the shriek of the city in my ears, and the double beat of summer love in my heart. That is why I came to Babylon: to live the shining and perishable dream itself. And what am I doing? I am stuffing envelopes. I am stapling. I am writing an inane letter. It's getting to me, you see.

Please, please. Send the Bronx membership records to the Bronx. A radical idea, perhaps; requiring no doubt a major reorganization of the Presiding Bishopric's Office, but is it so much to ask? We have all we can handle in the mail we're supposed to get, without people in Salt Lake sweeping everything off their desks into envelopes addressed to the Manhattan First Ward. I know I'm just one clerk in a whole religion of clerks, but your prompt attention to this matter would settle my mind and simplify my life.

Editors' Note

A friend in New York City read the following letter in a Manhattan bishop's office and, chuckling all the way to the mail box, sent it off to SUNSTONE. Equally delighted, we called the epistle's author, Randal K. Quarles, a philosophy major at Columbia and membership clerk in the Manhattan First Ward, and asked permission to print it. He modestly agreed, hastening to add that the problem described has been graciously handled by the Presiding Bishopric's Office. And so the letter, dedicated to Quarles' fellow membership clerks "in a religion of clerks."

Sincerely your brother,

Randal K. Quarles

Randal K. Quarles
Membership Clerk



Rudolf Wobbe, Helmuth Hubener, Carl-Heinz Schnibbe

Ground-breaking research into the courageous life of the seventeen-year-old Mormon boy who dared to expose Hitler's lies and atrocities and was beheaded

THE FUHRER'S NEW CLOTHES : Helmuth Hübener and the Mormons in the Third Reich^{*} *for it.*

^{*}This essay is part of a book on the same subject which the authors are writing. Material has been drawn from a variety of sources: 1) The Helmuth Hubener file compiled by the Gestapo and made available to us by the American Document Center—Berlin (Citations are from our own pagination of the file. A film copy of these documents is in the BYU Library.); 2) Extensive interviews over several years with Helmuth's co-conspirators Rudolf Wobbe, Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, and Gerhard Duwer. We are especially grateful for their interest and information. 3) Extensive interviews in October 1974 with Otto Berndt, acting District President in Hamburg at the time; 4) Interviews with Helmuth's brothers Hans and Gerhard Kunkel, his friend "Aunt" Maria Sommerfeldt and nearly a dozen other German Saints in Germany and in the U.S. who knew about and were affected by the case; 5) Interviews with missionaries—some of whom wish to remain anonymous—whose diaries give valuable insight into the policies pursued by West German Mission leaders. Copies of obscure documents and transcripts of taped interviews are available from the authors upon request.

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Alan F. Keele and Douglas F. Tobler

I

In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus drew the division between secular and religious life with a single sentence: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." But the precise location of that boundary has proved to be a continuing problem for members of the Mormon church. Whereas earlier Latter-day Saints often faced the challenge of anarchic violence unchecked by civil authorities, in our own time Saints have more often faced the opposite dilemma: how should they respond to a totalitarian government's demands for total, exclusive allegiance? Nowhere has this problem been posed with greater clarity than in Nazi Germany, where a young man named Helmuth Hübener was one of many Saints who struggled to sort out their conflicting loyalties. His decisions as a devout Latter-day Saint ultimately led to his execution for high treason against the German state.

Helmuth Hübener was born in Hamburg on January 8, 1925, the illegitimate son of Anna Emma Guddat Kun-

geography, and that he showed an early interest in politics.² But Hübener's appetite for knowledge extended to many other areas. He spoke fluent English, loved music, and even took extracurricular courses in stenography and typing—"women's work" in pre-war Germany. When he left school to begin an apprenticeship with the Civil Service he continued to read voraciously, relishing access to the administrative archives of his new office. These archives held material that Helmuth could have seen nowhere else, including forbidden books about Russia, the United States, and other topics, books that the Nazis had banned.

Although Hübener apparently got along well with most people he met, his two closest friends were two young Latter-day Saints, Rudolf Gustav Wobbe and Karl-Heinz Schnibbe. The three had grown up together, taking the same Sunday School classes, the same Primary classes before Primary was banned, and joining the same Scout troop before Scouting, too, was banned in

The precise boundary between "things that are Caesar's" and the "things that are God's" has proved a continuing problem for Mormons.

kel and a man named Vater, her co-worker at the Hamburg Mint. Hübener's mother had two sons, Hans and Gerhard, from a previous marriage to Johann Kunkel. Hübener also bore the Kunkel surname during his early life, although a few members of the Church in Hamburg preferred to call him Helmuth Guddat, from his mother's maiden name. In 1940 Emma married a non-Mormon construction worker named Hugo Hübener. Hugo Hübener legally adopted Helmuth, thus giving him the name by which he is remembered today.¹

But Hübener did not live with his new stepfather for long. Gerhard, the younger of the two Kunkel boys, was strongly opposed to Nazism and detested his new stepfather, a Party member and a *Rottenführer* (file leader) in the local Storm Trooper battalion. This friction, and the fact that his mother worked long hours away from home, led Gerhard to move in with his maternal grandmother at 137 Louisenweg, a few blocks from the Hübener apartment at 42 Sachsenstrasse. When Gerhard left Hamburg early in 1941 to join the para-military *Reichsarbeitsdienst* (National Work Corps), Helmuth moved to his grandmother's house shortly thereafter and settled into Gerhard's old room there.

All sources agree that Hübener was a gifted, intelligent student, who was promoted to the most accelerated course of studies soon after he entered school. His teachers reported that he especially loved history and

1934.³ It was through his activities with Rudi and Karl in the St. Georg Branch that Hübener first began to notice the dark side of German life under Hitler. Like many Germans, Hübener initially welcomed the Nazis' rise to power as a sign that Germany had recovered a sense of national purpose after the political chaos and economic collapse of the Weimar years. But this early enthusiasm faded as Hübener and his friends began to see the racism and brutality of National Socialism. All three of them, for instance, were disturbed when in 1938 a sign went up on the door of their branch meeting-house reading "JUDEN IST DER EINTRITT VERBOTEN!" (Jews not allowed to enter.) The boys realized that the sign had been put up by Branch President Arnold Zollner, known by members to be sympathetic to Nazism. Zollner apparently wanted to discourage visits by a Jewish convert, Salomon Schwartz, a member of the Barmbeck Branch, to the combined monthly priesthood meetings held at St. Georg. Hübener also had heard that Zollner had warned Schwartz—who eventually died in the Theresienstadt concentration camp—and his half-sister Marie to stay away from his branch.⁴

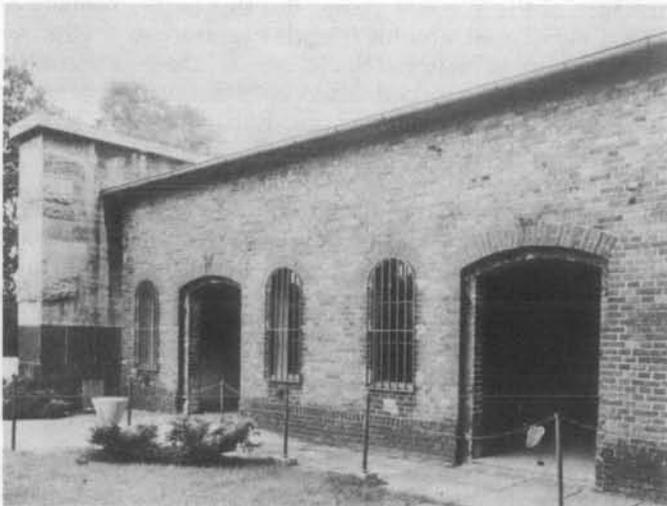
Later Rudi Wobbe saw Zollner reprimand another member of the branch for reading a propaganda leaflet dropped from a British plane. Sister Emma Hase had found the leaflet on her way to church, and she was showing it to some other members of the branch when

*fictitious name

Zollner came up to her. Tearing the leaflet from her hand, he allegedly said, "If you ever bring anything like that in here again, I'll personally see to it that you're sent to a concentration camp." Too, there was the case of Heinrich Worbs, another branch member, who had been denounced for making disparaging remarks about a new statue in honor of "another Nazi butcher." Worbs was sent to a concentration camp where he suffered various tortures. At one point Worbs was placed in the camp's outdoor stocks while freezing water dripped onto his hands. When his hands were encased in ice, a guard pounded the ice away with a length of rubber hose, cheerfully explaining that this was done "to keep your hands warm." Worbs returned to Hamburg emotionally and physically ruined; he died a few months later. He described his ordeal to a few branch members⁵ and the rest heard about his story through whispered rumors. Hübener heard these rumors as well, and he began to form his own opinion of Germany's Nazi renaissance.

There were other irritations. It was reported that Zollner brought his radio to church whenever Hitler or Goebbels were scheduled to speak. Some recall that during these broadcasts the chapel doors were locked so that no one could leave. On occasion a swastika was displayed outside the building, but the suggestion that branch members use the "Hitler greeting" among themselves had been rejected by a majority vote. Whatever the precise annoyances, it was not long before Hübener and his two friends found themselves united in their growing dissatisfaction with Nazism. Of the three boys it was Karl-Heinz, the oldest and the most brash, who first made his dissatisfaction public. After he saw a Jewish family arrested with particular brutality, Karl-Heinz got himself expelled from the Hitler Youth for "insubordination." Wobbe also began to skip his Hitler Youth meetings. One day he even knocked over one of the group's leaders with his bicycle when he was asked to stop and join in a demonstration, but he was never disciplined for the action and thereafter the Hitler Youth left him alone. Hübener too, began to act; but even Karl and Rudi could not guess the final depth of his resolve.

In March or April of 1941, Hübener's half-brother



Plötzensee Prison (site of Hübener's execution), now a memorial dedicated to victims of the Hitler dictatorship, 1933-1945

Gerhard returned from his assignment with the *Reichsarbeitsdienst* in occupied France. He brought back a multi-band superheterodyne radio manufactured in France. Unlike the ubiquitous but purposely primitive German *Volksempfänger*, this instrument could easily pick up the illegal broadcasts of the BBC in both English and German. Gerhard was about to be inducted into the Army, so he locked the radio and a few other personal belongings into a cabinet at his grandmother's house. Shortly after Gerhard left, Helmuth opened the cabinet, removed the radio, and listened to his first BBC broadcast.

By the summer of 1941, shortly after Hitler launched his Russian offensive, Hübener was convinced of the wrongness of the Nazi program, and he decided that he must actively oppose it. He invited Karl and Rudi up to his room, where they listened at low volume to one of the BBC broadcasts. After it was over, Hübener presented his plan: he would use his typing and shorthand skills to take notes on the broadcasts and work the material into handbills. After he had typed duplicates with carbon paper, the boys would undertake together the dangerous job of distribution: dropping the leaflets into mail boxes, posting them on public bulletin boards (some were to be disguised as official Party announcements by using a fake letterhead bearing a swastika), leaving them in phone booths, and so on.

Hübener produced a wide variety of leaflets during the months that followed. Through the diligence of the Gestapo twenty-nine different pamphlets⁶ have been preserved, including those the police labelled "leaflet p" and "leaflet w". These two leaflets indicate the tone of the rest. In the first, after discussing sarcastically the Party's Wool Collection Program, Hübener composed seven verses of doggerel (given here as closely as possible in the original meter and with similarly forced rhymes) that satirize the propaganda of Josef Goebbels. "Leaflet p" goes on to address "the working soldier on the home front" as well as the military forces in the field, assuring them that the Allies are as serious as the ancient Swiss in their struggle against the aggressor. Next Hübener quotes six lines from the end of Act II, Scene 2 of Schiller's *William Tell* which make up the historic oath sworn by the Swiss Confederates at Rutli. The pamphlet concludes by denying that the attack on Pearl Harbor has removed America's ability to interfere in the European Theater and predicts that Allied deeds on the battlefield will soon give the lie to Axis propaganda (see sidebar).⁷

Hübener's own title for "Leaflet w" was "The Voice of the Homeland." The Gestapo regarded this pamphlet as an "attempt to involve theological issues in behalf of the enemy's seditious efforts." The pamphlet does indeed seem to show that Hübener saw his opposition to Nazism as a necessary consequence of his religious beliefs (see sidebar).⁸

Hübener drew the inspiration for his pamphlet campaign from his own perception of the meaning of Mormonism, combined with a precocious interest in politics and a child-like faith in the eventual triumph of good over evil. All the evidence indicates that the boys were acting entirely on their own, with no guidance or assistance from any adult.

But if Hübener's naive confidence in the basic goodness and educability of mankind was a major factor in

motivating him to begin his pamphlet campaign, it was also the fatal flaw that led to his arrest and subsequent beheading. Early in 1942, after the three boys had been distributing leaflets for eight or nine months, Hübener decided they should expand their operations. He approached a few other young Mormons—which was logical, if he did indeed believe that some of his own insights were based in Mormon doctrines. Although a few came to his room and listened to the BBC broadcasts, none were willing to take the risk of actually distributing the leaflets. From there he turned to his circle of friends in the Civil Service, with whom he had often discussed the war and other current events, although he never revealed to them the source of his “inside information.” (Still, some of them must have guessed that he was involved in illegal activities, for they called him “the man with connections.”)⁹ One apprentice, 18-year-old Gerhard Düwer, agreed to take a few pamphlets home and show them to some friends. Helmuth also approached another apprentice, Werner Kranz, and asked him to translate one of the pamphlets into French, ostensibly so that he could show it to French prisoners of war working in Hamburg. But Kranz wanted nothing to do with the idea. A few days later Hübener tried to press a piece of paper into Kranz’ hand. When Kranz refused to accept the paper and both Hübener and Düwer left the room, supervisor Heinrich Mohns questioned Kranz about the mysterious episode. Next he called in Düwer; when Düwer was finally persuaded to produce a leaflet, the whole case was turned over to the Gestapo.

On Thursday, February 5, 1942, Gestapo Commissioner Wangemann and Officer Müssener arrived at the Civil Service office to question the two boys. Afterwards they searched their homes. Düwer’s home naturally yielded nothing, but Hübener had had no warning. They found the radio, a pile of assorted leaflets, and some notebooks with manuscripts for handbills written out in longhand and shorthand. The typewriter—loaned to Hübener by Branch President Zollner for the purpose of typing letters to LDS servicemen at the front—held seven half-finished carbon copies of Leaflet I, “Who’s Inciting Whom?”¹⁰ At five o’clock that afternoon Düwer and

fellow conspirators. But at their own interrogations several weeks later, both boys admitted enough to be arrested. On March 25th the Attorney-General of the High Court of the State of Hamburg turned the files on the four boys over to the Attorney-General of the Reich at the feared “Blood-Court,” the *Volksgerichtshof* in Berlin. Such a procedure was required for serious crimes. On May 28th they were formally charged with conspiracy to commit high treason; the trial was set for Tuesday, August 11, 1942. For ten weeks the boys sat waiting in their cells.

Back in Hamburg Hübener’s arrest set off another chain of events. On the Sunday after the arrest, Karl, Rudi, Hübener’s mother, and grandmother all attended the St. Georg branch, where they heard Brother Friedrich Jakobi say: “I’m glad they caught him. If I’d known what he was doing, I’d have shot him myself.”¹³ The next Sunday, February 15th, President Zollner wrote “Excommunicated” on Hübener’s membership record. He did this with the apparent consent of Interim West German Mission President, Anton Huck, although there is no evidence that a Church court was convened.¹⁴ Nor is it clear that external threats to the survival of the Church necessitated the excommunication.¹⁵ (At least one other branch president felt that Hübener’s actions created no immediate danger to the Church’s well-being.)¹⁶

These events, however, can only be understood in the context of a tense, suspicion-filled situation. Gestapomen had been attending branch meetings, contributing to the long-standing fears of some members for the continued existence of the Church as well as for their very lives. Additionally, there were no American Church authorities available to whom the local German leaders could turn for counsel in this time of near-panic. Having had little previous experience in Church government, some now tended to see Hübener’s actions, not as the religious and patriotic idealism he claimed, but as an almost criminal disregard for Mormon doctrine.

Even District President Otto Berndt, considered by most to be a liberal and therefore under close scrutiny by the Gestapo, did not wish to compromise himself by openly opposing or even overturning this

Nor is it clear that external threat to the survival of the Church necessitated the excommunication.

Hübener were formally arrested. The same day three more pamphlets were turned in to Cell-leader Herr Weltien by a Frau Bertha Flögel, a Herr Schwedlick, and a Herr Frehse. All three leaflets were found within one block of Helmuth’s grandmother’s house in the Louisenweg.¹¹

After two days of torture Hübener signed the first of several confessions.¹² He only mentioned Rudi and Karl in passing, describing them more as curious friends than

“excommunication”—though he did refuse to actively support Zollner’s decision by co-signing the excommunication statement. It wasn’t until well after the war when, on 11 November 1946, he and the new mission president, Max Zimmer, wrote “excommunication done by mistake” on Hübener’s membership record. Later, Zimmer’s successor, Jean Wunderlich, notified the Salt Lake leadership of the affair, and on 24 January, 1948, the First Presidency ordered a similar notation placed on the

membership record. (Neither Schnibbe nor Wobbe suffered similar excommunications, although Schnibbe assumed during his more than six years of Nazi and then Russian imprisonment that he too had been cut off when he heard of Hübener's fate.)

Throughout their investigation of the case, the Gestapo strongly suspected that Hübener had been acting as a "front" for some mysterious agent. Hugo Hübener, the Storm Trooper who had always distrusted the Mormons, told the police that he suspected "that liberal" Otto Berndt of corrupting his stepson. Berndt was picked up for questioning and held for four days at Gestapo headquarters.¹⁷ As president of the Hamburg District, Berndt knew that the Gestapo's judgment of him could affect every Church member in Germany. He prayed earnestly for guidance and, as he reports, the Lord supplied the right words throughout his four days of detention. Finally, at the end of that time, the Gestapo apparently satisfied, he was released. Although Berndt remembers nothing he said or did during those four days, he does vividly recall his release, when a Gestapo officer accompanied him from his cell to the exit. "Make no mistake about it, Berndt," the man told him. "When we have this war behind us, when we have the time to devote to it and after we have eliminated the Jews, you Mormons are next!"¹⁸ The statement brought home to Berndt an idea often forgotten or misunderstood: the jealously religious nature of National Socialism, and its ultimate intentions



Helmuth Hübener, taken from a Plotzensee Memorial brochure commemorating Nazi persecution and resistance in Berlin

LEAFLET P

"I've calculated for everything"

It's been a month now since both radio and the press in Germany grandly announced the results of the wool collection program. Over 70 million articles, Goebbels proclaimed, over 70 million! But where are these 70 million articles? The soldiers on the Eastern Front, the soldiers in the Far North, in any case, haven't received them. They do not write about them, only that they are freezing, freezing, and freezing some more, and vainly waiting for warm winter clothing.

Where then are the 70 million articles—furs, sweaters, gloves, underwear and skis? Maybe that which an unnamed neutral journalist wrote in his paper was right? Is he correct in writing about increasing shortages of raw materials in Germany, when he mentions that woolen articles are to be issued only in the most pressing cases and only on ration cards? Time will tell whether or not the government cheated the people out of their woolens and furs only to graciously allow them to buy them back later on ration cards. Time will tell!!

Poor "Josef" stands at the microphone,
Entirely unable to bring forth a tone.

"How am I going to convince the *Volk*
that Hitler's figures aren't just a joke?
How could he have said—so embarrassing—
That he's calculated for everything?"

What Josef says sounds pretty slack;
Oh woe is us, alas, alack:

"It's winter now and bitter cold."
(Even chillier when you sit in a hole,
'cause shooters always seem to freeze.
Didn't Hitler calculate for these?)

"We're engaged in a struggle with hands and feet,
It won't last much longer 'til the enemy's beat.

They've been running along on their last breath
—So Goebbels says—soon comes their death.
(For the fact that Stalin has won of late
I suppose the Führer could also calculate!?)

"We're engaged in a battle, at the turning place
So everyone step up the wool-collection pace!
That's what Goebbels begged for, and he also believed
That you'd follow his orders and be deceived.
That everything you own you would quietly give,
and keep nothing at all on which to live.

The results were poor, oh how that forebodes!
So we'll say that they donated many trainloads.
Whether half-full, full or completely hollow,
The *Volk* is too dumb to really follow.
'Cause the radio and Fritsche, they speak with clout:
"The Führer has calculated everything out!"

Yes, Hitler's the reason the people must share
From their meager belongings whatever they'll bear!
For Hitler's mistakes the *Volk* must now pay,
What good now is Russia, it's lost anyway.
And that Stalin now marches the victor in the war,
The Führer neglected to calculate for.

But in '41 the big break will come,
That's how the Führer's speech last year did run.
The soldiers now know of his tendency to err,
While Hitler keeps promising, "This is the year."
When the Allies all get moving there *will* be a rout
But then Mr. Hitler will be "calculated out".

toward competing religious systems. Thereafter, when Church members hoped for victory in the war, Berndt would reply: "You be grateful to God that we will not win it."¹⁹

National Socialism was not a simple political, economic, or social phenomenon. It was an entirely new world-view based on an eclectic conglomeration of astrological, gnostic, millennialist, Christian, and Teutonic cults and myths. The Nazi inner circles were steeped in

be called forth to usher in the millennial *Reich*. As Hitler and his party watched, the Untersberg was bathed in a brilliant red light, which Speer later decided was a rare and remarkably vivid southern display of the Aurora Borealis. The light shone on the assembled faces like a divine show of approval for the historic events of that day. Speer reports that Hitler was deeply moved. Watching the light, he said: "It looks like this time much blood will be shed."²⁰

When we have this war behind us, after
we have eliminated the Jews, you
Mormons are next.

this collage of mystical lore. Albert Speer, for example, writes in *Inside the Third Reich* that Hitler and a few colleagues were celebrating his greatest diplomatic coup—the signing of the non-aggression pact with Russia—on the scenic mountain peak of the Obersalzberg, when they looked across to the Untersberg, a place associated with many Germanic legends. There, say the legends, the Emperor Charlemagne sleeps in a cave until he shall

During the months of confinement and torture before his trial, Hübener and his friends were forced to think about the implications of their actions. The boys' responses varied considerably. Düwer flatly denied any involvement with the others, while Schnibbe tried to portray the whole episode as a childish prank. But Hübener became steadily more convinced that he had chosen the right course. His first suspicions of the brutality that hid

Soldiers on the home front! Soldiers on all fronts! The Führer has promised you that 1942 will be decisive and this time he will stop at nothing to keep his promise. He will send you by the thousands into the fires in order to finish the crime he started. By the thousands your wives and children will become widows and orphans. And for nothing! The European Front stands fast and the Rütli-oath is unanimous, unanimous the promise—the promise of all Allied peoples:

We want to be united now as brothers,
Not separate in danger or in need!
We wish to live in freedom like our fathers
Preferring death to living servitude!
We place our highest trust in God Almighty
And fear no kind of wicked human power.

The European Awakening has begun: in reply to the laughably audacious contention of the Axis propagandists that in a month or so the U.S. has already been badly damaged by the Japanese attack and that "Roosevelt's dream of having a say on the continent of Europe is nothing more than a dream", American air, land and sea forces have now taken up positions in the north of Ireland. Berlin, Rome and Tokyo may try to veil the dimensions of this landing and may gloss over it with sneering gestures, but time will tell who spoke the truth. And then, when the Allied and American forces set foot on the continent, when American and British squadrons bring death and destruction over the Reich, when the Allied and U.S. fleet enters the battle of the Atlantic with fresh reserves; then deeds will speak a more eloquent language; then with Hamlet, our only reply to the illusionary soap bubble-blowers in the Wilhelmstrasse will be:

"Words, words, words!"⁷

LEAFLET W

"The Voice of the Homeland"

"The Bible not God's word. Merely a scheme of the Jewish world to enslave mankind. The product of an overactive fantasy!"

This is the red thread which is found in each of the "free-spiritual" or "neo-heathenistic" filth-pamphlets. "The Bible not God's word." That is the title of one of the filthiest and most intemperate brochures of the great Anti-Christ, General Ludendorff.

Why all this campaign against the Bible, holy writ? The answer to this question should not be too difficult if one knows the contents of the Bible, especially the many prophecies which pertain mostly to the latter days, to the days when heathenism and idolatry will take the upper hand, when the great Anti-Christ will arise in the midst of a peaceful period and will conquer with power or with cunning one country, one kingdom after another.

This time has now come, the Anti-Christ has established his "Reich." Ludendorff knows this just as Hitler does, and they are attempting to take the Bible away from the German *Volk*, so that it will not be able to see through the insidious plans of Hitler and his followers in advance.

Christians, arise, open the Bible, read what it says in the Book of the Prophet Daniel, 11:20:

And in his place shall
Stand up a vile person, to
Whom they did not intend to
Give the honor of the kingdom,
But he shall come in the midst of peace,
And obtain the kingdom by flatteries.

To whom does that apply better than to the *Führer*: by means of bold phrase-mongering and grandiose promises he and his comrades succeeded in winning the majority in the Reichstag.⁸

behind the Nazi mask of order had been partially supported by events he had seen in his community. But his experiences in prison confirmed Hübener's worst fears about the true nature of the Nazi state. The constant degradation of prison life did not make him want to recant; it merely confirmed his beliefs and strengthened his resolve to oppose the system to the very end. During his interrogations, the boy told his questioners that he "had no choice"; he "had to listen to the broadcasts," and when he learned the truth, he "had to disseminate it."²¹

All the available documents seem to show that Hübener understood the significance of his confrontation with Nazism; his appreciation of the moral and theological context of his case appears to have outweighed any desire to delay the end by cooperating with his jailors. Interestingly, in their own way the Nazis apparently shared Hübener's estimate of the broader importance of his case, and they held him up as an example before the country. After his death, thousands of red posters announced his execution.

At first sight, Hübener looks like an odd choice for a Nazi scapegoat. He belonged to a family officially adjudged "Aryan" by the party; his stepfather was a leading Storm Trooper; and his family members conducted themselves "perfectly." The leadership of the Hitler Youth even appealed to the Führer on his behalf. In many ways, Helmuth Hübener would seem perfectly suited for success under the Nazi regime. Ironically, the Nazis perceived Hübener as a danger precisely because of his many positive qualities. Hübener was a thoroughly in-

I am very thankful to my Heavenly Father that this agonizing life is coming to an end this evening. I could not stand it any longer anyway! My Father in heaven knows that I have done nothing wrong. I know that God lives and He will be the proper judge of this matter. Until our happy reunion in that better world, I remain,
your friend and brother in the Gospel,
Helmuth²³

Helmuth Hübener was beheaded at 8:15 that evening. He was seventeen.

II

Since the war, Hübener's career has assumed larger-than-life significance among those Germans who have been interested in analyzing the causes of dictatorship, particularly the "engaged" writers of the German "Group of 47" such as Günter Grass, Paul Schallück, Nobel laureate Heinrich Böll, and others. The character of Helmuth Hübener has found esteem among these writers greatly out of proportion to his actual historical importance and his lack of subsequent recognition among Latter-day Saints.²⁴ For these writers, Hübener's importance lies in the fact that he was neither an adult intellectual nor a member of some anti-Nazi authoritarian group like the Communists. He was an individual, a naive young man whose response to an immoral regime was not enthusiasm, apathy, or violent re-

The Führer himself seemed to embody many of the most basic LDS virtues.

doctrinated schoolboy who had little to fear and much to gain by conforming to the system. Instead, he freely chose to search out the lies beneath the facade of Nazism, and to show others the truth. If Nazism could not hold a Helmuth Hübener, it could hold no one. And so it was necessary that Helmuth Hübener be tried, convicted, deprived of his citizenship, and condemned to death.

At the boys' trial in August, after they had been sentenced and given the customary opportunity to have the last word, Hübener was the only one who spoke. He stood before the judges, who sat on their high bench in their famous blood-red robes, and told them, "Wait. Your turn will come."²²

On October 27, 1942, a few hours before his execution, Hübener was allowed to write three letters. He wrote one to his mother, one to his grandmother, and one to Sister Maria Sommerfeldt, who had always treated him like a son. Sister Sommerfeldt's letter was the only one to survive the Allied bombing raids of the following year. In that letter he continued to express certainty that he had chosen the proper course:

volt; instead, he made a sincere attempt to change things by educating his fellow citizens. And precisely because these principles of nonviolent, democratic, individual political initiative and a sense of personal moral responsibility failed before 1945, these writers believe they must succeed now. If Hübener's are common in postwar German literature, it is precisely because there were so few in real life before.

Hübener's significance for Latter-day Saints has been more ambiguous. Many German Saints who would have given their lives for the gospel believed that Hübener was a heretic, for he had violated the Twelfth Article of Faith: "We believe in being subject to Kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, and in obeying, honoring, and upholding the law." These people found support for their attitude in the admonitions of the New Testament. Jesus himself had counseled: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Peter exhorted his friends to "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." Finally, Paul admonished the Romans: "Let every soul be

subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God."

But the German Saints had other reasons for viewing Hübener as a traitor. For decades they had been stigmatized as members of an "American sect," the implication being that someone who did not belong to the established churches was not a real German. This ostracism on the part of the major churches persisted through the Weimar period. Indeed, when the Nazis came to power it may not be going too far to say that some Saints enjoyed a certain amount of thoughtless *Schadenfreude* (malicious enjoyment of others' misfortune) at the treatment they meted out to the established churches. Now the Protestants and Catholics were receiving the same treatment they had given the "sects."

Hitler enjoyed at least as much popularity among German Saints as he did among the population in general. His apparent dynamism and self-confidence seemed to show a way out of the chaos and weakness of the Weimar years. Moreover, as "good Germans," the Mormons were acutely aware that Hitler had risen to power through legal channels. The Nazi Party had won a plurality—although by no means a majority—in the last general election, and Hitler had been appointed Chancellor by the ancient and venerated President Paul von Hindenberg. And although the Weimar Reichstag had voted Hitler extraordinary powers on both February 28 and March 23, 1933, Hitler never formally abrogated the Weimar Constitution. In the years before the death-camps, the terrible food shortages, and the massive casualties of late World War II, many Germans saw the Nazis as a major force for good in German society.

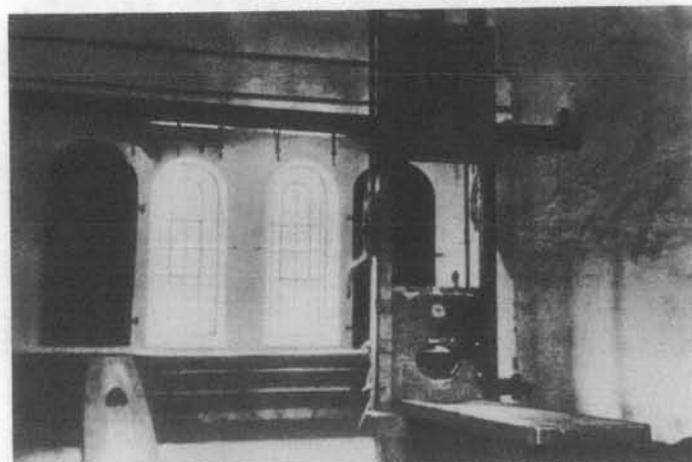
So, for that matter, did many Americans. The unfairness of the Versailles Treaty was generally recognized, and in isolationist America of the thirties few Americans were concerned as Hitler overturned one provision of the treaty after another. If anything, they felt a degree of sympathy for some of the Nazis' goals.

This sympathy was apparently shared by some members of the Church leadership. The Church's German magazine, *Der Stern*, reminded its readers in 1935 that Senator Reed Smoot had long been a friend of Germany,²⁵ and this attitude seemed to receive official sanction during President Grant's 1937 visit. The message to the German Saints was clear: Stay here. Keep the Commandments. Try to get along the best you can, even under some limitations. We want to keep the Church intact and the missionaries working.

The German Saints were not eager for a confrontation with their national government, and they were happy to follow President Grant's advice. By and large, the Mormons and the Nazis coexisted comfortably. Some Church members even saw Hitler as God's instrument, preparing the world for the millennium. Superficial parallels were drawn between the Church and the Nazi Party, with its emphasis on active involvement by every member. The women's auxiliary of the Party and the Hitler Youth were regarded by some as secular equivalents to the Church's Relief Society, MIA, and Scouting programs. The vital importance of "Aryan" ancestry gave new significance to genealogical research. And the Fuhrer himself, the non-smoking, non-drinking vegetarian who yielded to no one in his desire for absolute law

and order, seemed to embody many of the most basic LDS virtues.²⁶

In their eagerness to coexist with the government, American officials of the German Church resorted to public relations efforts which suggested all of the above. Probably the clearest example of this tendency is an article by West German Mission President Alfred C. Rees entitled "In the Land of the Mormons." The article appeared in a special issue of the Nazi Party organ *Der Völkische Beobachter* dated April 14, 1939.²⁷ In the Editor's Preface to the article, President Rees is called "the representative of the Church in Germany," who "paints for our readers a portrait of Mormonism today, a church which views the New Germany with sympathy and friendship." Whether President Rees originally wrote the article in German or not, the language of the piece abounds in such loaded terms as *Volk* and *Rasse* (race); and a picture of Brigham Young bears the caption, "Führer der historischen Mormonenpioniere." But the significance of these linguistic gaffes is magnified by hindsight. More disturbing is the way President Rees blatantly parallels Mormonism with Nazism. As Rees warms to his topic, Mormonism begins to sound like a fulfillment of Nazi teachings, providing "the practical realization of the German ideal: 'the common good takes



Execution room at Plotensee Prison showing the guillotine and infamous strangulation hooks

precedence over the individual good.' " Rees concluded by assuring his readers that "Mormons are people who put this healthy doctrine into action." Reading articles such as this, it would have been easy for a German Saint to mistakenly conclude that the seal of official Church approval had been placed on the Nazi regime.

This policy of appeasing the Nazis worked well until the war broke out. Despite the classification of Mormonism as a sect "dangerous to the state . . ."²⁸ according to Gestapo reports, the Church was not summarily dissolved as many others were.²⁹ The missionaries remained; the Church continued. Even during the war, Mormon life was disrupted more by bombing raids, supply shortages, and travel restrictions than by official harassment.³⁰ By and large, the German Saints lived through the Thousand-Year Reich much like the rest of their countrymen.³¹

But among those Germans who recognized the true nature of Nazism were a few Latter-day Saints. Many

were simply tired of the war (Germany's second in twenty-five years); others, like Hübener, began to see through the pervasive Nazi propaganda. Rosa Böhringer, Johannes Kindt, Walter Krause, and President Willy Deters of Bremen were among the Saints who either overtly opposed the regime or else dragged their feet while praying for German defeat in the war and the regime's early demise,³² basing their position in part on Mormon scripture. In Section 98 of the Doctrine and

principles. That *every man* may act . . . according to the moral agency which I have given unto him, that every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment. Therefore, it is not right that *any man* should be in bondage to another. And for *this purpose* have I established the Constitution of this land; by the hands of wise men whom I raised up for this very purpose.

After emphasizing "every" and "all" as key words, he offers a statement by the Prophet Joseph Smith:

My Father in Heaven knows that I have done nothing wrong. He will be the proper judge of this matter.

Covenants, for example, it reads:

And now, verily I say unto you, concerning the laws of the land, it is my will that my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them. And the law of the land which is constitutional, supporting the principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges, belongs to all mankind, and is justifiable before me. Therefore, I, the Lord, justify you, and your brethren of my church, in befriending that law which is the constitutional law of the land; and as pertaining to law of man, whatsoever is more or less than this, cometh of evil. I, the Lord God, make you free, therefore ye are free indeed: and the law also maketh you free. Nevertheless, when the wicked rule, the people mourn. Wherefore, honest men and wise men should be sought for diligently, and good men and wise men ye should observe to uphold; otherwise whatsoever is less than these cometh of evil.

And in Section 34 one reads:

We believe that governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man; and that he holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them, both in making laws and administering them, for the good and safety of society. We believe that no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life.

These verses clearly state the duty of Latter-day Saints to diligently seek out good and wise leaders and outline their moral responsibility in the governing process.

Hugh Nibley, commenting on the universal character of the rights of man guaranteed by the American Constitution, observed:

The Founding Fathers were convinced that their liberal teachings were for the benefit of *all men*, not only for their own times, but for endless generations to come, ensuring the blessings of liberty not only to themselves but especially to their posterity, and not only in this land but eventually to the whole world.

He then continues: "Note the sweeping language of D&C 101:77ff:

The laws and constitution of this people . . . I have suffered to be established, and should be maintained for the rights and protection of *all flesh* according to just and holy

We deem it a just principle, and it is one the force of which we believe ought to be considered by *every individual*, that *all men* are created equal, and that *all men* have the privilege of thinking for themselves upon all matters relative to conscience. Consequently, then, we are not disposed, had we the power, to deprive *anyone* of exercising that free independence of mind which heaven has so graciously bestowed upon the *human family* as one of its choicest gifts. (TJS-49)

Finally, Nibley offers one more observation from the Prophet: " 'It is a love of liberty which inspires my soul—civil and religious liberty to the *whole human race*. I will lift them up, and in their own way, too, if I cannot persuade them that my way is better; and I will not compel any man to believe as I do.' " (TJS 113. All italics are Nibley's.)³³

It would be difficult for anyone who lives under a free system that owes its continued existence to these principles to condemn Helmuth Hübener for his dedication to them. But Latter-day Saints may question whether Hübener might not have done better—from a strictly tactical viewpoint—to have recognized the hopelessness of the German situation and waited a few years for external forces to bring about the collapse of the Nazi regime. Some similar consideration no doubt lay behind President Harold B. Lee's remarks to the East German Saints at the Munich Area Conference in 1973, when he told them to return quietly to their country and to refrain from agitating against Communism.³⁴ It does seem possible that from time to time, Mormons in various countries might face situations where the survival of individuals or of the Church as an institution would seem to dictate a policy of close-mouthed neutrality.

But no one should conclude from this that Mormons have abandoned their commitment to "seek for and uphold good, honest and wise men." Members have been consistently counseled to guard with particular care those principles of freedom they hold dear.

So it seems clear that if Helmuth Hübener's legacy is to have any meaning, it *must* inspire others to follow his courageous lead in this and other free countries of the world *before* and *lest* the wicked rule, making such acts illegal, hopeless, and suicidal.



Helmut Hubener. Courtesy of the LDS Church Archives

Notes

1. See Ulrich Sander, "Helmut Hubener Gruppe" in *Streiflichter aus dem Hamburger Widerstand 1933-1945*, ed. Ursel Hochmuth and Gerhard Meyer (Frankfurt: Roderberg Verlag, 1969), pp. 325-341; Annedore Leber, Willy Brandt, and Karl Dietrich Bracher, eds., *Das Gewissen steht auf*, translated into English as *Revolt of Conscience* (Berlin: Mosaik Verlag, 1954); Stephen Hermlin, *Die erste Reihe* (East Berlin, 1951); Franz Ahrens, *Helmut Hubener: Vorbild, Opfer, Verpflichtung* (Hamburg: Richard Herman Verlag, 1945); Terrence Pritt, *Germans Against Hitler* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964); Joseph M. Dixon, "Mormons in the Third Reich, 1933-1945," *Dialogue* 7 (1972), 70-78; Gilbert Scharif, *Mormonism in Germany*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970); Jay M. Todd, "The Church Among the German-Speaking Peoples," *Improvement Era* (March 1969), 4-0.
2. Teacher August Meins. Sander, 326. See comments before the Gestapo by Hubener and his mother. *Hübener File*, p. 34. Interview with Mary Panitsch in Hamburg, April 1974.
3. See *Der Stern* 66 (1934): 47, 142-143.
4. Such signs were not common on Mormon meeting places. There were few Jewish members and even fewer investigators. Views of the local Church authorities and pressures on the Church by local Nazi party officials varied. A wide spectrum of political opinion existed in the St. Georg branch. Paul Hase, counselor in the branch presidency, was a member of the SA (Storm Troopers) and came to meetings in uniform. Some members favored the Social Democratic party. Some members believed the branch was "punished" during the war for the way it had treated its Jewish members. Hans Gurtler, *Hamburger Gemeinde Geschichte*, p. 33.
5. Interviews with Otto Berndt, October 1-15, 1974.
6. The Gestapo file lists twenty-nine different compositions; there may have been over sixty. Ahrens, p. 10.
7. Leaflet p, *Hübener File*, p. 292-293.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 287.
9. *Hübener File*, p. 34.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.
12. *Hübener File*, pp. 33-42, 61-62, 322. According to Schnibbe and Wobbe, a letter of "recantation" to Helmut's parents calling his work "a foolish mistake" was primarily a means of communicating with his family and was extorted through torture.
13. Interviews with Wobbe, Schnibbe, Berndt, and Hans Kunkel.
14. Manuscript History of the West German Mission, LDS Historical Archives, Salt Lake City.
15. Some witnesses believe President Anton Huck was a party-member, others that he was sympathetic to National Socialism but had not officially joined. In 1943 the Gestapo conducted a thorough investigation of the West German mission home in Frankfurt/Main and found nothing incriminating. Douglas Alder, "German-Speaking Immigration to Utah 1850-1950," MA thesis, University of Utah, 1959, p. 18.
16. According to Mrs. Rudolf Wobbe, whose father Alfred Schmidt was president of the Barmbeck Branch.
17. Interview with Otto Berndt. Also Otto Berndt's letter to *Improvement Era* (May 1969): 100-101.
18. Hitler's professed attachment to his German Catholic heritage and the Nazi party platform promise to support "positive Christianity" reassured many. But Hitler made his real intentions clear on many occasions:

As far as Churches go, they're all the same. They have no future. Not among the Germans, at any rate. Italian fascism can go ahead and make its peace with the church. I'll do it too. Why not? That won't prevent me from exterminating Christianity in Germany, with all its roots and branches, lock, stock, and barrel. See Hermann Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler* (New York: Europa, 1940), p. 50.
19. Interviews with Otto Berndt.
20. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 103, 194.
21. *Hübener File*, 41.
22. Wobbe received ten years, Schnibbe five, and Düwer four. *Ibid.* 191, 192, 201, 202.
When asked why by the government prosecutors, Helmut replied, "I wanted others to know the truth." The prosecution then taunted, "Are you suggesting we are lying." Helmut answered, "Jawohl, ihr lugt" (using the somewhat contemptuous form of the familiar "you"). Interviews with Wobbe and Schnibbe.
23. *Hübener File*, p. 337.
24. Helmut plays significant roles in Günter Grass's novel, *örtlich betäubt* (*Local Anesthetic*), his play *Davor* (*Up Tight*), and Paul Schallück's radio play, *Helmut Hübener* (both plays have been widely performed). Hübener-types also occur in works by Böll, Rolf Hochhuth, and others. Visitors to Berlin's Plötzensee prison, where Hubener was beheaded, are given a booklet which contains a picture of him and a short sketch of his life.
25. An article entitled "A Friend of Germany" chronicles Smoot's "unremitting and energetic [work] for the freeing of Germany from the unjust and unfulfillable demands of the Versailles Treaty." According to Smoot, "France was acting like the Jew, Shylock, in demanding the last pound of flesh . . . of Germany." *Der Stern* 67 (1935): 338-342. Just after Hitler had come to power, *Der Stern* had editorialized against the "slandorous news reports" from the American press and reassured the German-Mormons in America that the majority of the people supported the regime and traditional German "law and order." *Der Stern* 65 (1933): 109.
26. In addition, many Mormons believed that Hitler had read the Book of Mormon and that the Nazi party local organizations derived from the Mormon block-teaching programs. There is no evidence to support such claims. Dr. Max Haenle from Tübingen, a non-Mormon, visited Utah in the late twenties and became a friend of Anthony W. Ivins. In 1936 he traveled throughout Germany speaking to District Conferences on "Utah, Land of the Mormons." *Der Stern* reported that in Dresden on 16 May 1936 Haenle made "comparisons . . . throughout the whole lecture between the Mormon state founded 86 years ago by Brigham Young in Utah and Adolf Hitler's Third Reich . . . In its political productivity, its organization forms, and its unswerving successes in the various areas of governmental, social, and communal life," he proclaimed, "Utah bears a really striking similarity to our Germany of today. Here as well as there, the unshakable faith in and willingness to die for their Führer [respective leaders] is the foundation and prerequisite for all further development." *Der Stern* 68 (1 September 1936): 172-172.
The *Millennial Star* also commented on Josef Goebbels' plan announced in September 1933 that the German population "fast" monthly for the poor:

It is indeed singular that a comparison of the details of the two systems of organized fasting shows them to be so nearly identical. Perhaps that part of the message of the Restored Gospel may have been either directly or indirectly the inspiration and the model for the new scheme adopted by the German Government—perhaps not. But evident, at least, is the fact that consciously or unconsciously, the people of the world are discovering the Lord's way is best. The leaven of the Gospel is spreading. "All Germany Will Fast", *Millennial Star*, vol. 95, (Sept. 28, 1933): 638-39.

The wife of mission-president Roy A. Welker had a close association with Gertrud Scholz-Klink, The *Reichsfrauenführerin* of the National Socialist Women's League and a personal friend of Adolf Hitler, with whom Sister Welker rode in Hitler's car on several occasions. Richard Jensen, *Oral Interview with Roy A. Welker on February 2, 3, 1973*, LDS Church Historian's Office.
27. Alfred C. Rees, "Im Lande der Mormonen," *Völkischer Beobachter* (April 14, 1939): 1-7. President Rees, who had achieved some prominence in the United States as head of the Small Business Administration, undoubtedly believed he had a special "calling" to work with the Nazi government on behalf of the Church.
President Heber J. Grant had visited Germany in 1937. German Saints were calmed by his assurances. He discouraged emigration and between 1933 and 1939 only 91 members from the German-speaking missions did so. In the decade prior to 1933, 2683 left Europe for America, and after 1945 many more did. Alder, p. 76.
28. *Sonderbericht über die Lage in den Protestantischen Kirchen und in den Verschiedenen Sekten und deren staatsfeindliche Wirkung*. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
29. *Ibid.*
30. In 1941 the Nazis tried to eliminate other groups such as the Christian Scientists and the Salvation Army.
31. The Mormon record decrying the slaughter of the Jews is, unfortunately, as disappointing as that of the Protestants and Catholics. John Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968), p. 265. Gunter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 268ff.
32. Letter from Rosa Bohringer to Albert R. Bowen, 19 June 1948; Max Zimmer File, LDS Historical Archives; Interviews with Johannes Kindt and Walter Krause.
33. Hugh Nibley, "The Uses and Abuses of Patriotism." Unpublished manuscript, quoted by permission.
34. Report of First Area General Conference held in Munich, Germany, August 24, 25, 26, 1973 (Salt Lake City, 1974), p. 111.

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IN SEARCH OF THE REAL JOSEPH SMITH

Lorie Winder

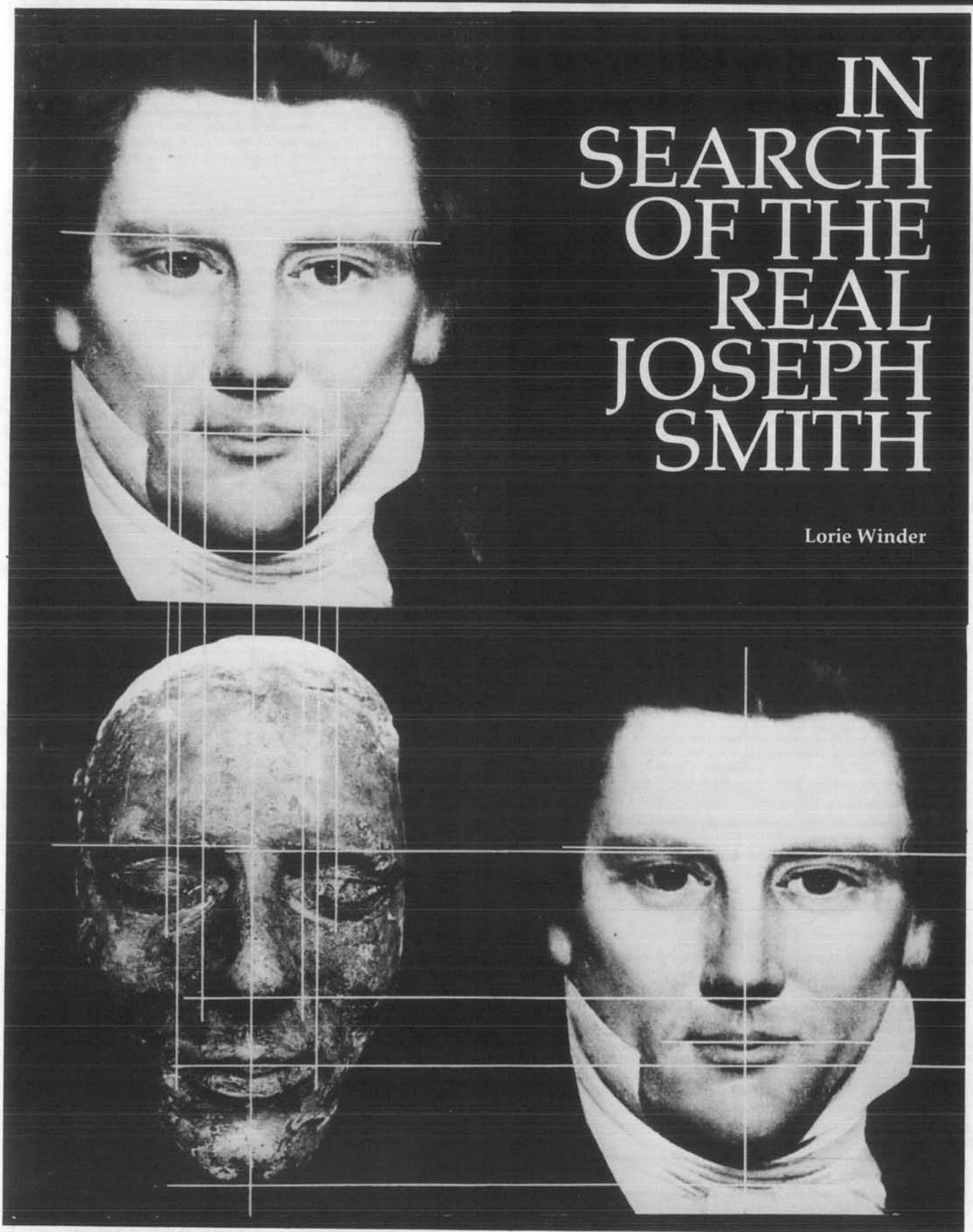


Fig. 3, Comparison of the RLDs portrait of Joseph Smith with the death mask.

What did the prophet Joseph Smith look like? People have been arguing this question since his death 136 years ago. Even the oldest portraits by Joseph's contemporaries provide strikingly dissimilar views. Over the past two decades a handful of articles and at least two theses have devoted some attention to the problem.¹ However, no extensive study of the prophet's physical appearance has been published.

About six years ago, Ephraim Hatch, prompted by his interest in photography and Church history, produced a number of photographic reproductions of Joseph Smith portraits. Intrigued by the diverse images and prodded by the religion faculty at BYU, he began to collect photocopies of all known attempts to portray the prophet. He researched the portraits themselves, assembled verbal descriptions of Joseph by his contemporaries, and examined closely the prophet's death mask and skull outlines. In the process Hatch believes he has come very close to identifying those images which most accurately represent the prophet Joseph Smith. The following material is based on Hatch's proposed book on the subject.

Descriptions of the Prophet

The verbal descriptions of Joseph Smith are almost as disparate as the visual images. Although many contain similarities in such traits as height and color of hair and eyes, the overall characterization in each account often varies according to the attitude of the observer toward the prophet. Some, like those of Josiah Quincy and John D. Lee, are physical descriptions with few, if any, comments on his character. "He was a hearty, athletic fellow, with blue eyes standing prominently out upon his light complexion, a long nose, and a retreat-



Fig. 1, Joseph Smith's Death Mask, 3/4 view. LDS Church Historical Department.



Fig. 2, Joseph Smith, oil on canvas, artist and date unknown. RLDS Church.

ing forehead," wrote Josiah Quincy, son of a Harvard president and one-time mayor of Boston, who visited Joseph in Nauvoo during May of 1844.² According to John D. Lee,

He was rather large in stature, some six feet two inches in height, well built, though a little stoop shouldered, prominent and well developed features, a roman nose, light chestnut hair, upper lip full and rather protruding, chin broad and square, and eagle eyed, and there was something in his manner and appearance that was bewitching and winning . . .³

Newspaper reporter Matthew L. Davis laced his account of Joseph with his impressions of Joseph's character:

He is not an educated man; but he is a plain, sensible, strong minded man. Everything he says, is said in a manner to leave an impression that he is sincere. There is no levity, no fanaticism, no want of dignity in his deportment. He is apparently from forty to forty-five

years of age, rather above the middle stature, and what you ladies would call a very good looking man. In his garb there are no peculiarities; his dress being that of a plain, unpretending citizen. He is by profession a farmer, but is evidently well read.⁴

Charlotte Haven described the man who led the religion her sister had joined:

Joseph Smith is a large, stout man, youthful in his appearance, with light complexion and hair, and blue eyes set far back in the head, and expressing great shrewdness, or I should say cunning. He has a large head and phrenologists would unhesitatingly pronounce it a bad one, for the organs in the back part are decidedly most prominent. He is also very round shouldered.⁵

Finally, in June, 1844, a reporter from the *St. Louis Weekly Gazette* interviewed Joseph Smith and wrote this detailed description of the prophet:



Portrait drawing of Joseph Smith done for Ephraim Hatch by Theodore Gorka, Corte Crayon, 1980.



Clay portrait bust by William Whittaker, 1979.



Although John D. Lee thought Joseph had "a Roman nose," this unknown artist's toga-clad plaster bust goes one step further

General Smith is in stature and proportion a very large man; and his figure would probably be called a fine one, although by no means distinguished for symmetry or grace.

His chest and shoulders are broad and muscular, although his arms and hands seem never to have been developed by physical toil, and the latter are quite small for his proportions. His foot, however, is massive enough, and extensive enough, in all conscience, to make up for any deficiency in his hand.

The shape of his head is a very oblong oval—the coronal region high, denoting a resolved will—the basilar and occipital full, indicating powerful impulses and the frontal retreating, although the region devoted by phrenologists to the organization of the perceptive powers is unusually prominent.

His forehead is white, without a furrow, and notwithstanding the small facial angle, somewhat symmetrical. His hair is quite light and fine—complexion pale—cheeks full—temperament evidently sanguine—lips thin rather than thick, and by no means indicative of boldness or decision of character.

But the Prophet's most remarkable feature is his eye; not that it is very large, or very bright—very thoughtful or very restless—even very deep in its expression or location; for it is usually neither of these. The hue is light hazel, and is shaded, and, at times, almost veiled, by the longest, thickest light lashes you ever saw belonging to a man, whatever the facts respecting the "dear ladies."

The brows are, also, light and thick—indeed, precisely of that description called beetle-brow. The expression of the Prophet's eyes when half closed and shaded by their long lashes was quite as crafty as I ever beheld.

His voice is low and soft, and his smile, which is frequent, is agreeable.⁶

From these and other accounts, Hatch concluded that Joseph was a good-



Bronze portrait bust of Joseph by Mahonri Young, 1908. Modelled after the death mask, this work is now at Temple Square

LUMBER.

THE subscriber has just received 150000 feet of pine lumber from Wisconsin which he will sell on reasonable terms for cash.

N. B. Pine lumber of all kinds suitable for the market will be kept on hand during the season.

JOHN BLEAZARD.
April 24th 1844.

MAP OF NAUVOO.

Just received from New York, the long looked for Maps of the City of Nauvoo—They can be had at my house, on the corner of Kimball and Granger Streets.

—Price, mounted and varnished, \$1.25
—not mounted, 50 cents.

April 30th 1844 B. Young.

Fig. 4, Map of Nauvoo advertisement, *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 1 May 1844.

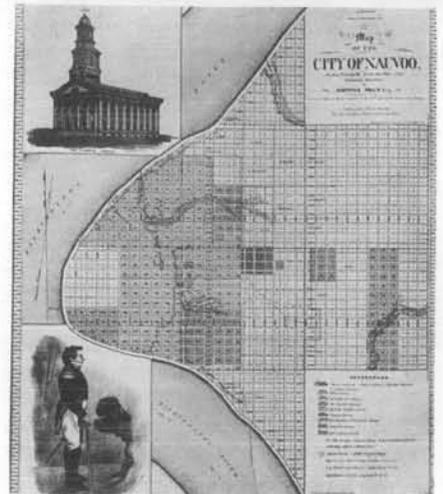


Fig. 5, Map of the City of Nauvoo, engraving, portrait from a drawing of Joseph Smith by S. Maudsley, 1842. Map published 1 May 1844.

looking man with a youthful appearance. His chest and shoulders were broad and muscular, although in later years his shoulders were slightly rounded. His hands were small, his feet large, and his legs long. Joseph's head was large and oblong in shape, and his hair was fine, rather straight, and light brown in color, changing to auburn in later years. His eyes were blue or light hazel, deepset, far apart, and shaded by long, thick lashes and bushy eyebrows. His nose was long and prominent. He had an unconscious smile and a full, rather protruding upper lip. His chin was broad and square with very little beard. His forehead was unfurrowed and retreating. His complexion was light, some called it pale. He was usually well-dressed, generally reverend-like in black with a white necktie.

The Death Mask

There has been some controversy surrounding the alleged death mask of

Joseph Smith, now in possession of the LDS Church Historical Department (Fig. 1). Is it truly Joseph's death mask or a sculptured imitation? Furthermore, if it is the actual death mask, does it accurately represent the prophet or was it made so long after his death that the features are distorted?

Hatch believes that the death mask is authentic and that it accurately represents Joseph Smith for several reasons. First, in spite of the fact that there is no mention of the mask in Roberts' *History of the Church* or Jensen's *The Historical Record*, there are some accounts which document the existence of death masks of both Joseph and Hyrum. *The Cannon Family Historical Treasury* states that "when the bodies of the martyrs were brought to Nauvoo, George Cannon was one of those who assisted in preparing the remains for burial. He made the coffins, and as he was one of the few in the city who had a knowledge of the process, he took plaster casts of the faces and



Well-known oil portrait by Edward Grigware, 1950. Located at the Los Angeles LDS Temple.



A natural rock outcrop located west of Delta, Utah, looks amazingly like a Joseph Smith profile.



Fig. 6, Detail from Map of the City of Nauvoo showing Lieut. Gen. Joseph Smith in profile.



Fig. 7, Profile of "Maudsley" portrait. Profile of death mask.

heads of the dead leaders as they lay in state waiting interment."⁷ These masks were apparently taken to England by John Taylor who had a sculptor there make busts of Joseph and Hyrum. He advertised them in the *Latter-day Saint's Millennial Star*, November 1, 1850: "I procured casts taken from their faces immediately after their death. I had also the various drawings with me, which had been made while they were living."

Secondly, after closely examining the events which occurred between Joseph's death and burial, Hatch concluded that the masks were made approximately twenty-four hours after the martyrdom, when Joseph's features would still have been relatively undistorted. Apparently several morticians and an orthodontist confirmed Hatch's opinion. In an interview conducted by Hatch on 1 June 1979, Dr. Reed A. Holdaway, past president of the American Board of Orthodontics, stated: "The prophet definitely had what we call a convex profile. It is a certain

type or pattern where the forehead slopes. It usually has a very prominent nose with a certain amount of hook. . . . I think this death mask is much more accurate than the artists' drawings. . . . It appears to me that Joseph's upper lip was quite prominent. His lips are not thin, not thick, but average. There is no strain of these lips. If the jaw had dropped the lips would very likely be parted. His mouth could have a natural smile. . . . Everything seems to fit that I've seen so far, that this was a death mask. People that want to visualize him as having a more prominent chin want to feel that in death his jaw dropped back—I don't think so."

The RLDS Portrait

Convinced the death mask was authentic, Hatch began comparing various early portraits of the prophet to the mask in order to evaluate accuracy of representation. One of the oldest, most familiar portraits belongs to the RLDS Church

(Fig. 2). Although the artist and date of the painting are unknown, there is evidence that Emma Smith had it and a companion portrait of herself in her home as early as 1853.⁸ William Whitaker, a portrait painter who has also recently researched the images of Joseph Smith, made the following observation about the RLDS portraits: "The artist who painted the front view oils of Joseph and Emma would have had them as live models in order to achieve the quality of these paintings. . . . They are examples of a very proficient primitive artist. Details are drawn well but, the overall face may not be correct."⁹

In order to determine the portrait's fidelity to Joseph's actual appearance, Hatch compared it with the death mask. He enlarged a photograph of the mask taken at the same angle as the oil portrait and one of the portrait, carefully matching the dimension from the eyebrow to the bottom of the nose and aligning them vertically and horizontally (Fig. 3). In doing so, he discovered the following inaccuracies: the mouth is too high and too narrow, the nose is too thin at the base, and the eyes are too close together.

Ironically, Hatch is convinced that the extant early photographic images of Smith were taken of this somewhat inaccurate portrait rather than of the prophet himself. Are there, then, any close-to-life representational images of Joseph Smith? Hatch believes there are.

Sutcliffe Maudsley and the Nauvoo Map

On May 1, 1844, Brigham Young placed the following advertisement in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* (Fig 4): "Just received from New York, the long looked for Maps of the City of Nauvoo. They can be had at my house, on the corner of Kimball and Granger Streets. Price, mounted and varnished, \$1.25—not



Wax seal on a letter to Joseph from James Arlington Bennett dated 24 October 1843. Artist/engraver Thomas Brown, New York.



According to Louisa West, this sketch was made by her father, Benjamin, of Joseph Smith in a courtroom during one of his trials.



Detail, "Maudsley" watercolor.



Fig. 8, Portrait of Joseph Smith, watercolor, attributed to Sutcliffe Maudsley, date unknown. Courtesy of Buddy Youngreen.



Mary E. Lightner, one of Joseph's plural wives, painted this watercolor of her husband sometime before 1844.

mounted, 30 cents. April 30th 1844 B. Young." Included on the map in the lower left hand corner is a profile of Lieut. Gen. Joseph Smith (Fig. 5). That he posed for this portrait is evidenced in his journal entry dated Saturday, June 25, 1842: "Sat for a drawing of my profile to be placed on a lithograph of the map of the city of Nauvoo."

What he understood would be a lithograph turned out two years later to be a zinc engraving measuring 27 inches by 22 inches. An enlarged photograph of the rather stilted engraving reveals the

artist's name, S. Maudsley, and the year he made the portrait, 1842 (Fig. 6). The map image was actually made by an engraver who was employed by the firm of J. Childs Lithographers of New York and worked from Maudsley's drawing. In spite of the fact that the engraver probably never saw Joseph Smith, Hatch believes that the engraving deserves more serious consideration since it is the only signed portrait with conclusive documentation that the Prophet sat for the artist while the drawing was made.

Furthermore, upon comparing this



One of the most widely-recognized oils of Joseph by Alvin Gittens, 1959. Courtesy of LDS Church.



Supposed pastel portrait of Joseph done in the early 1840s by an unknown artist and recently discovered by Edward A. Johnson.

Smith profile and others by Maudsley with the profile of the death mask, Hatch was amazed by their striking similarity. In fact, an unsigned water color portrait of Joseph Smith, until recently in possession of a member of the Smith family, displays many characteristics of Maudsley's work and matches the death mask perfectly (Figs. 7 and 8). According to Hatch, this previously unpublished portrait is one of the most complete and detailed portraits of Joseph in uniform and is quite possibly the drawing which was used by the Nauvoo map engraver. It is Maudsley, Hatch feels, who has left us the only accurate image extant of the prophet, made while he was still living.

Notes

1. See Evelyn Horrocks Meiners, "Model for a Proposed Statue of Joseph Smith Suitable for Placement Near the Entrance of the Joseph Smith Building Brigham Young University Provo, Utah," MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954; William B. McCarl, "The Visual Image of Joseph Smith," MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962; Doyle L. Green, "Are These Portraits of the Prophet Joseph Smith?" *The Improvement Era* (December 1966).
2. Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past* (1901), pp. 380-381.
3. John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled or the Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop* (St. Louis: Sun Publishing Co., 1882), p. 76.
4. Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith, The First Mormon* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1977), pp. 272-273.
5. I. Woodruff Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1902), pp. 5-6.
6. Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith, The Man and the Seer* (SLC: Deseret Book, 1976), p. 12.
7. Beatrice Cannon Evans and Janath Russell Cannon, eds., *Cannon Family Historical Treasury* (George Cannon Family Association, 1967), p. 63.
8. John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith, An American Prophet* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946), frontispiece.
9. Interview conducted by Ephraim Hatch with William Whitaker, Provo, Utah, portrait artist, on July 7, 1979.



EPHRAIM HATCH has been employed in the Campus Planning and Architectural Division of the Brigham Young University for the past twenty-three years. His work in the early planning of major building projects has involved the use of photography. He is the husband of Verena Ursenbach, father of six children and grandfather of fifteen—soon to be sixteen. He is presently stake clerk.

An LDS graduate of Harvard Divinity School compares Old Testament theology with Mormon reinterpretations of Israelite beliefs.

The Mormon Christianizing of the Old Testament

Melodie Moench Charles

Editors' Note

This paper and response were delivered at SUNSTONE's 1980 Mormon Theological Symposium.

We each have a tendency to assume that others, regardless of when or where or how they live, share a similar, if not identical, view of the world with us. Thus, Christians often expect Christian ideas and Christian behavior from the people of the Old Testament. Certainly, some of the passages in the New Testament encourage this approach. For example, Jesus in the book of John claimed that the Old Testament scriptures bore witness of him¹ and that Abraham "rejoiced to see my day and was glad."² Peter equated Jesus with the prophet of whom Moses prophesied in Deuteronomy 18 and implied that Moses and all the prophets from Samuel on understood that Jesus would be the fulfillment of their prophecies.³

Mormons are particularly prone to "christianize" the Old Testament and people it with believers like themselves who hold the same priesthood, believe in the same God, anticipate the same salvation, and practice the same religious rites. Wilford Woodruff was certain that "all the teachings of the Patriarchs and Prophets have shown us but one gospel."⁴ John Taylor rhetorically asked himself, "What! do you mean to say then, that all these [Old Testament] men had the gospel? I most assuredly do, for without that they could not have had a knowledge of life and immortality."⁵ The *Messenger and Advocate* claimed that "from reflection, we have been forced into the conclusion that the gospel was as well known among the ancients as among any other people."⁶ Moreover, because Mormon scriptures and the temple ceremony describe an Old Testament people with Christian and Mormon ideas, many Church members might assume that the Old Testament itself describes such practices and beliefs.

What is the basis for this view, and how extensively does Mormonism reinterpret the Old Testament as a document about Christian people?

While John 1 in the New Testament claims that "In the

beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God . . . all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made," it does not claim that any Israelites in Old Testament times knew that Jesus Christ created the world. LDS scripture as well as the New Testament identifies the Word as Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of the Father,⁷ but LDS sources go further. There we are told that Moses was taught that God and his Son together created the world⁸ and that Adam also helped in the creation.⁹

We see hints that Adam and Eve were not deceived or tricked by a serpent into committing a tragic sin but instead knew that that Fall was a part of the plan from the first. With a good understanding of the consequences of their actions, they consciously made the right choice to disobey one commandment in order to obey another.¹⁰ This was the origin of sin in the world, and all people acquired a "carnal, sensual, and devilish" nature through this act.¹¹ After Adam and Eve were cast out of the garden, they were counseled to offer sacrifices which they understood as symbols of the future sacrifice of Christ¹² and were baptized for the remission of the sins resulting from their transgression.¹³ Adam then preached the Atonement and baptism to his descendants.¹⁴ He (and later others)¹⁵ also received the same priesthood we find in the Church today.¹⁶

Mormon sources also claim that others besides Adam were aware of Jesus Christ. The Bible presents a sketchy but tantalizing view of Enoch, who "walked with God and he was not, for God took him."¹⁷ Mormonism fills in details, saying among other things that he preached a gospel of baptism and repentance and belief in Jesus Christ's atonement for "original guilt."¹⁸

It follows logically that when Noah learned of the impending flood, he warned his contemporaries to repent or be destroyed. While the Bible gives no support for this view, Mormon scripture tells us that prior to the flood Noah, who had a full understanding of the gospel and had been given the priesthood,¹⁹ also preached baptism

in the name of Jesus Christ. If baptized, the people would receive the Holy Ghost as had their ancestors and would not perish.²⁰

Abraham, too, held the priesthood.²¹ The biblical promise that his descendants would be as numerous as the sands of the sea²² becomes, in the Book of Abraham, a priesthood blessing with a figurative cast: those who accept the gospel will also be called the descendants of Abraham.²³ John in the New Testament and Helaman in the Book of Abraham agree that Abraham rejoiced in knowing that Jesus Christ would come.²⁴

Abraham was shown that mortal beings are eternal and existed in a pre-mortal state where the great ones were assigned special earthly roles.²⁵ Two different pre-mortal spirits offered to help mankind get through the probationary period of mortality.²⁶ Abraham also saw that creation was not the work of one god but rather the work of a committee of gods thinking and acting in unison.²⁷

Moses in visions saw all that ever was on earth or ever would be as well as much of what was in heaven.²⁸ His account of the council in heaven identifies the two principal characters as Satan and Jesus and explains why Jesus' proposed role in the salvation of mankind was more acceptable than Satan's.²⁹ The tempter of Eve, just a serpent in the Bible, was really Satan, who also prompted Cain's violent action against his brother Abel and continues to entice people to evil.³⁰

Moses clearly understood and preached about Jesus Christ, God's Only Begotten Son, who not only assisted in the creation of the world but also would come to earth as a mortal to save mankind from the effects of the Fall of Adam.³¹ Moses knew that the serpent he lifted up in the wilderness symbolized Christ.³² He also anticipated a resurrection from death and a judgment to determine the state of post-mortal existence.³³

Prophecies which supposedly were available to the Israelites but are found only in the Book of Mormon testified boldly of the Messiah in very explicit detail. For

Some Book of Mormon writers claimed that *all* the prophets of the Old Testament preached about this messiah.

example, Zeno prophesied that he would be lifted up; Neum said that he would be crucified; Zenos claimed that he would be buried in a sepulcher and that three days of darkness would follow, during which time rocks would rend and the earth would groan.³⁴ (If the Jews of Jesus' time had knowledge of such explicit prophecy, it is hard to imagine them being too blind or stubborn to see that these matched the life of Jesus.)

Not only did these prophets preach about a messiah but the Book of Mormon teaches that the Old Testament prophets generally did also.³⁵ For example, "the prophets" said that the Messiah would be named Jesus Christ and would come to earth 600 years after Lehi left Jerusalem.³⁶ Some Book of Mormon writers claimed that *all* the prophets preached about this messiah.³⁷ Mormon commentators have insisted that "the spirit of prophecy is indeed the testimony of Christ, and every prophet down from Adam has made Christ's mission on earth the sum and substance to which all else points."³⁸

Another subject which Mormon sources address is the Law of Moses, meaning all of God's laws from Exodus to Deuteronomy. Because many Mormons think that the Mormon version of its origin is found in the Old Testament itself, let us contrast the accounts in the Old Testament and in the Inspired Version of the Bible: In the book of Exodus, Moses delivered at least a part of God's law to the Israelites. He went to the mountain to talk to God and returned to find his people had begun worshipping idols. In his anger, he shattered the tables on which the Law was written.

The Lord said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments. (Exodus 34.)

Compare this to the same passage in the Inspired Version:

And the Lord said unto Moses, Hew thee two other tables of stone like unto the first, and I will write upon them also, the words of the law, according as they were written at the first on the tables which thou brakest; but it shall not be according to the first, for I will take away the priesthood out of their midst; therefore my holy order, and the ordinances thereof, shall not go before them; for my presence shall not go up in their midst, lest I destroy them. (2) But I will give unto them the law as at the first, but it shall be after the law of a carnal commandment . . .

Doctrine and Covenants 84 buttresses this account. Moses tried to persuade his people to accept the Melchizedek Priesthood, which "administereth the gospel and holdeth the key of the mysteries of the kingdom, even the key of the knowledge of God." The people "hardeneth their hearts" and would not accept it, so the Lord in his wrath "took Moses out of their midst, and the Holy Priesthood also." So from Mormon scripture, and not from the Bible, comes the notion that the second law was terribly inferior to the first which contained the gospel and the priesthood. The Law of Moses was not given as a blessing or an aid in righteous living, but rather as a burden, an oppressive punishment imposed by an angry god because of their wickedness and weakness. It was a law of "performances and ordinances"³⁹ or "carnal commandments"⁴⁰ given because "they were a stiffnecked people, quick to do iniquity and slow to remember the Lord their God."⁴¹

Though the higher law was taken from the Israelites, some gospel teachings, baptism for the remission of sins, and the lesser or Aaronic Priesthood remained.⁴² Paul told the Galatians that the purpose of the Law of Moses for Jews of that time was to point them to Christ.⁴³ Mormonism asserts that this was the purpose of the Law for both the Israelites and the Nephites.⁴⁴ Not only were the sacrifices in the Law "types and similitudes" of the sacrifice of Christ for sin, but "all things which have been given of God from the beginning of the world unto man, are the typifying of him [Christ]."⁴⁵ The *Evening and Morning Star* commented that "whenever the Lord revealed himself to man in ancient days, and commanded them to offer sacrifice to him, that it was done that they might look forward in faith to the time of his coming and rely on the power of that atonement for a remission of their sins."⁴⁶ According to the Book of Mormon, the Israelites should have understood this.⁴⁷ They should also

have known that the Law by itself never had saving power; obedience to the Law had to be coupled with faith in Jesus Christ.⁴⁸

Another significant Mormon assertion is that Jesus Christ is Jehovah, God of the Old Testament. God, Elohim, created this universe through his son, Jehovah, who is also a god.⁴⁹ Jehovah came to earth as Jesus Christ, taking on a mortal body.⁵⁰ Jesus, appearing to the Nephites, said that he was the one who gave the Israelites their law and made the covenants with them.⁵¹ The Jews were condemned that in crucifying Jesus, they crucified their god.⁵² The Book of Mormon tells us that the Nephites as well as their Israelite ancestors knew that Jehovah was the Son of God. Mormon writers have assumed that the Israelites who wrote the Old Testament intended Jehovah to refer to one god and Elohim to another.⁵³

Why doesn't Mormon scripture and commentary match the contents of the Old Testament? Moses was told in the Pearl of Great Price that people would remove things from the scriptures he would write.⁵⁴ The Doctrine and Covenants explains that there are scriptural records that have been kept back because of the people's wickedness.⁵⁵ The "conspiracy theory" of 1 Nephi 13 tells us that designing and wicked people, in a very systematic way, removed parts of the scriptures which were "plain and most precious" and that originally these scriptures contained "the plainness of the gospel of the Lord." Jacob (4:14-15) adds that because the Jews preferred the esoteric to the plain, "God delivered to them many things which they cannot understand because they desired it." Thus, the apparent absence of Christ in the Old Testament is explained by deletions or obscuring.

But the differences between Old Testament thought and Mormon reinterpretations of it are too fundamental to be so simply explained away. Much of the core of Old Testament belief is destroyed when Mormon/Christian ideas are imposed upon it. (Admittedly, there are exceptions to this core of beliefs, for the Israelite religion was not static—it evolved.) The following normative and distinguishing features of Old Testament theology are irreconcilable with the Mormon commentary on the Old Testament.

Mormon scripture says that all of us are in a fallen state because of Adam's fall. But in the Old Testament the Fall is never referred to after its first telling.⁵⁶ Adam's fall is *not* an explanation for man's sinful state because Old Testament man is not inherently sinful. The Israelites were not aware that they had inherited an evil nature; in fact, the Old Testament assessment of man's basic nature tends to be positive. Furthermore, the Law provided those people with a way to make atonement for the sins they committed, for example, through sacrifices.⁵⁷ If they were obedient, they were in God's favor. What need

Christians often expect Christian ideas and Christian behavior from the people of the Old Testament.

then, had this people, for an atoner to take away the effects of Adam's sin, or their own?

What sort of a messiah does the Old Testament say they should have expected? Old Testament messianic prophecies talk of a king born from David's lineage,⁵⁸ who would establish peace and prosperity like that enjoyed in David's United Monarchy. This king would rule wisely and justly.⁵⁹ There would be a return to the conditions of paradise, where plants produced abundantly without man's labor and neither men nor beasts did vio-

The differences between Old Testament thought and Mormon reinterpretations of it are too fundamental to be so simply explained away.

lence to any creature. This ruler would liberate his people from political oppression and would establish an ideal, peaceful, morally governed kingdom.⁶⁰

This messiah was *never* described as the creator of the world. He was *not* the god to whom they prayed, nor the god who saved them at the Red Sea. He was a righteous mortal who was an instrument of God, not a deity at all.⁶¹ No Jew expected his messiah to atone for anyone's sins or to be crucified and resurrected. "A Messiah who suffers and dies as a substitute for all men in the New Testament was unknown in Judaism."⁶² The Israelites were told explicitly that human sacrifice was neither necessary nor acceptable to their god⁶³ and therefore a messiah who dies in this fashion was unthinkable.

The idea of a messiah was not very prominent in the Old Testament, appearing only in the later books. The prophecies about him are very vague, and had Haggai and Zechariah known, as Book of Mormon people did, that he was to come 600 years after 600 B.C., they would not have assigned the role of messiah prematurely to Zerubbabel and Joshua, both living before 500 B.C.⁶⁴



Courtesy: God's Images

Even Jesus' apostles only gradually understood that He was the Messiah they had been expecting.⁶⁵

The Mormon view of the Law is also distinctly different from the Israelite view. The Law was not an inferior replacement for a gospel they were unworthy to live, a punishment for Israel's stubbornness, but was instead a feature of God's covenant with them. He offered them the exalted position as his special people if they would obey his law.⁶⁶ To the Israelites, the Law was not merely a set of rituals to be mechanically obeyed but also the ethical requirements which formed the moral basis of their society. The Law was a gift and a blessing. If obeyed, it would make them separate, distinct, and holier than any other people.⁶⁷ Obedience to the Law was the means by which the Israelites became acceptable to God and achieved a right relationship with him. There is no indication that any kind of baptism was ever a part of the Law or that its sacrifices prefigured Christ.

We run into another problem when we look at the Old Testament view of an afterlife. Christian salvation is chiefly something which applies in the post-mortal realm: a resurrection, a judgment, and the righteous dwelling eternally in a heavenly bliss with God and Christ. Christ's sacrifice made all this possible. This is the theology of the afterlife held by the Christian Israelites in the Book of Mormon, and Mormon scripture asserts that at least some Old Testament people also believed in this Christian heaven.

The theology presented in the Old Testament itself is very unlike this. (The handful of exceptions are all quite

late.)⁶⁸ The afterlife is not a state to be joyfully anticipated. All people experience the same sterile and monotonous existence there, sometimes described as a state of sleep:

"The sleep of death" (Ps. 13:3) is more than a phrase: it expresses exactly what most ancients regarded as the situation of the shades in Sheol, which is the land of silence (Ps. 94:17; 115:17), forgetfulness (88:12), darkness (Job 10:21-22) and destruction (26:6; Prov 15:11). The

The Law was not an inferior replacement for a gospel they were unworthy to live, but rather a feature of God's covenant with them.

shades know nothing of what befalls their sons on earth (Job 14:21), and they can never come up to the land of the living (7:9): "Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep" (14:12; cf. Jer 51:39, 57). The dead know nothing (Ecc. 9:5); "there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave..." (9:10).⁶⁹

The inhabitants of Sheol were thought to be outside the interest and care of the Lord.⁷⁰ Because the afterlife was a dismal half-existence, the Israelite expected to be rewarded for his righteousness or punished for his wickedness here and now. The idea of a redeemer who would facilitate salvation in the post-mortal realms is alien to this view.

Perhaps the view of the conception of God is the most



Much of the core of Old Testament belief is destroyed when Mormon/Christian ideas are imposed upon it.

significant difference between Old Testament thought and the Mormon reinterpretation of it. The Israelite deity was single, not multiple.⁷¹ The God of Israel demanded that the Israelites acknowledge no other god.⁷² Eventually their theology displayed complete monotheism.⁷³ How, then, could the righteous Israelite accept the creation account in the Book of Abraham, where "the gods" rather than "God" created their world?

The one God was responsible for everything, both good and evil. As Amos said, "Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it?" (3:6; see also Job 2:10). There is no room here for the Christian view of Satan as the prince of this earth, the father of lies, the tempter and seducer of men—the being responsible for evil in the world.⁷⁴ Satan appears only four times in the Old Testament,⁷⁵ each time as one of God's servants whose function it is to question and test the genuineness of human virtue.⁷⁶ In no case is he the semi-deity of the New Testament who has a kingdom and great power which he exercises independently of God's wishes. He is not a rival deity who wants or gets worship from wicked mortals.⁷⁷

More important, the Israelite God could hardly have a son who exercised power along with him, who was co-creator and governor of the world. Israel's one God was called Elohim (or God), Yahweh (or the Lord), Yahweh Elohim (or the Lord God), or countless other descriptive and interchangeable titles. There is no support in the Old Testament for the idea that the titles referred to different beings. If their god were to come to earth as a mortal being,⁷⁸ he would not be in the heavens directing world affairs as well. The true god was beyond destruction or death, certainly not subject to an agonizing death on the cross.⁷⁹ Normative Old Testament theology simply does not allow multiple deities, neither a devil in charge of evil nor a son of God who is also a god. Yet Mormonism insists that all of these ideas were understood and taught

The unique message of the Old Testament is lost when we read it for what it might have or should have said.

by Old Testament people.

Typically Mormons reconcile these views by overlaying the commentary from Mormon scripture and General Authorities on the Old Testament. When the two are in conflict the deletion, conspiracy, or obscurity theory is invoked and the Old Testament is declared inadequate, inaccurate, or incomprehensible. In such contests the Old Testament will almost always be supplanted by the Mormon revision of it. In gospel study, this is understandable. But the place to explore the Mormon understanding of the Old Testament beliefs is in studying the Book of Mormon, the Book of Abraham, the Book of Moses, and the teachings of Latter-day prophets.

There is value in this approach but it is not Old Testament study. If we want to learn about the Old Testament, it should be allowed to stand by itself. Its unique message is lost when we read it for what it might have or should have said to be in accord with the gospel of Jesus Christ. We cannot learn from a people whom we disdain for being too weak to be the good Christians Mormon theol-

ogy says they should have been. Only if we grant that Old Testament people didn't act like Christians because they weren't Christians can we begin to understand the Old Testament's tremendous contribution to the shape of Western society.

NOTES

1. John 5:39.
2. John 8:56.
3. Acts 3:20-24.
4. *Journal of Discourses* 16:263-64 (hereafter, *JD*).
5. *JD* 14:363-64.
6. *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (June 1835), p. 131.
7. *D&C* 76:23-24; 93:8-10.
8. Moses 1:32, 33; 2:1, 5, 26.
9. Brigham Young in *JD* 1:51; Temple ceremony.
10. 2 Nephi 2:22-25; Orson Pratt in *JD* 2:284-85; Temple ceremony.
11. Mosiah 16:3-5; Alma 34:9; 42:10; Moses 6:49.
12. Moses 5:5-8.
13. Moses 6:52-53, 64-65.
14. Moses 7:1.
15. Moses 6:67; *D&C* 84:16.
16. *D&C* 84:17-18; Moses 6:7; Abraham 1:3; Harold B. Lee, *Address to Seminary and Institute Faculty, "Priesthood,"* July 17, 1958, pp. 4-5.
17. Genesis 5:24.
18. Moses 6:54-62; 7:12.
19. Moses 8:19; *D&C* 84:14-15.
20. Moses 8:16-24.
21. Abraham 1:2, 18; 2:10-11; *D&C* 84:14.
22. Genesis 12:2-3; 17:2; 22:17-18.
23. Abraham 2:10-11.
24. John 8:56; Helaman 8:17-18.
25. Abraham 3:18-23.
26. Abraham 3:24-28.
27. Abraham 4.
28. Moses 1:8, 27-28, 35.
29. Moses 4:1-4.
30. Moses 4:5-6; 5:13, 28, 29, 38; 6:49.
31. Mosiah 13:33; Moses 1:6, 6:52; 7:11.
32. Helaman 8:13-15.
33. Moses 1:39; 4:1; 6:52, 62; 7:62.
34. 1 Nephi 19:10.
35. 1 Nephi 10:5; 2 Nephi 25:28; 13:13.
36. 2 Nephi 25:19.
37. Mosiah 15:13; Jacob 7:11; Helaman 8:16.
38. George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (SLC: Deseret Press, 1955), vol. 5, p. 267.
39. Mosiah 13:30.
40. *D&C* 84:27.
41. Mosiah 13:29.
42. *D&C* 84:26-27.
43. Galatians 3:24.
44. 2 Nephi 25:25; Jarom 11; Mosiah 16:14; Alma 34:13.
45. Mosiah 3:15; 13:31; 16:14; Alma 25:15; Moses 5:7.
46. *Evening and Morning Star* (11 Mar. 1834), p. 143.
47. Mosiah 13:30-32; Alma 33:19-20.
48. 2 Nephi 2:5; Mosiah 3:15; 13:27-28; Alma 25:16.
49. Moses 1:33; 2:1, 5, 26; Mosiah 3:18; 3 Nephi 9:15.
50. 2 Nephi 9:19-22; Mosiah 13:34-35.
51. 3 Nephi 15:4-9.
52. 2 Nephi 10:3-5.
53. George Reynolds, *Contributor* vol. 3, #1 (Oct. 1881), pp. 16-17.
54. Moses 1:41.
55. *D&C* 6:26.
56. Possible exceptions are these allusions: Isaiah 43:27; Ezekiel 28:1-19; Job 31:33.
57. Leviticus.
58. Psalms 89:29; 132:11; Isaiah 11:1-10.
59. Isaiah 9:6-7; Jeremiah 23:5-8; Ezekiel 37:24-28.
60. Isaiah 11:1-10; Ezekiel 34:22-32; 37:24-28; Amos 9:11-15.
61. E. Jenni "Messiah" in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (N.Y.: Abingdon Press, 1962), vol. 3, p. 365.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 365.
63. Leviticus 18:21; 20:2-5; Jeremiah 7:31; 23:25; Psalms 106:37-38.
64. Haggai 2:21-23; Zechariah 6:12-15.
65. Mark 8:27-33; 9:9, 31-32; Matthew 16:21-28.
66. Exodus 19:5-8.
67. Leviticus 19.
68. Ezekiel 32:21-27 and Isaiah 14 speak of a separation of the righteous and the wicked in Sheol. Isaiah 26:19, Daniel 12:2, and Ezekiel 37 all speak of a resurrection from the dead. These are all exilic or later.
69. Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament*, ed. Charles Conrad Forman (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961), p. 107.
70. S. G. F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead* (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), p. 58. See also Isaiah 38:18-19, Psalms 6:5, 30:9, and 88:4-5.
71. Possible exceptions are found in Genesis 1:26; 11:7, and Deuteronomy 32:7-9.
72. Exodus 20:1-6; Deuteronomy 5:6-10.
73. Isaiah 40-55.
74. John 12:31; 14:30; 8:44; Matthew 4:1; 1 Timothy 5:15.
75. 1 Chronicles 21:1; Job 1-2; Psalms 109:6; Zechariah 3:1-2.
76. John L. McKenzie, "Satan," *Dictionary of the Bible* (N.Y.: MacMillan Co., 1965), p. 774.
77. Moses 1:12; 6:49.
78. Moses 13:34.
79. 2 Nephi 10:3.
80. Moses 1-2; Abraham 4; Temple Ceremony; Joseph Smith in "King Follett Discourse," HC 6:308.

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The Mormon Christianizing of the Old Testament

A RESPONSE

Lowell L. Bennion

I think it's very natural that the early Christian religion would try to establish itself by "Christianizing" the Old Testament. After all Jesus, Paul, and Peter were talking to Jews, and they had to tie the new thing, the New Testament, in with the Old, with tradition. I think it's also very understandable that Latter-day Saints would want to Christianize the Old Testament. I think that Melodie has done a superb job of showing that we have tried to do that. And the early Christians did. I also agree with her statements to the effect that the basic Jewish concepts are quite foreign to the Gospel emphasis. Let me just remind you of a few of those very briefly.

Man is not sinful by nature.

Man could atone for his own sins by sacrifice or scapegoat. That was very clear.

The Christian concept of messiah doesn't fit the Jewish concept and that's one reason why Jews rejected him.

The reverence for the Law of Moses in the Old Testament and throughout Jewish history is very clear. I can't find any reference to Christian rituals like baptism any-

The Christian concept of messiah doesn't fit the Jewish concept and that's one reason why Jews rejected him.

where in the Old Testament. Some people seem to be able to do that.

I don't find immortality in the Old Testament except in the vague, sheol-fashion that was mentioned. For instance, in the Book of Job you'll find that oft-quoted passage, "In my flesh, I shall see God." Read the total book of Job. It's very clear that the author did not believe in any personal immortality of that nature. Scholars question the accuracy of that translation.

Monotheism is certainly the final outcome of the Old Testament. Now let me illustrate Mormon theology overlaid on the Old Testament. I heard a Latter-day Saint teacher say that eternal marriage was taught in the Old Testament. I haven't been able to find it in there but he said that God performed the marriage of Adam and Eve, so it must have been for eternity because God did it. Well, to me that's reading into it something that is not there. I don't mind something new in the latter dispensation, eternal marriage, temple work, and whatever else we have that is new and original.

Another thing that troubles me about Christianizing the Old Testament is the concept of deity that our author mentioned. Our people are taught that Christ is the God of the Old Testament. I don't think that that is an accurate statement. He is *a* god of the Old Testament from a Mormon perspective but why call him *the* God of the Old Testament? When Christ was on the earth he taught his disciples to worship the Father. It doesn't seem logical to me that Christ would ask in the Old Testament to be worshipped, and not have the Father worshipped as in other scriptures, in other dispensations. So I am personally inclined to believe that Jews and their Old Testament ancestors considered Elohim and Jehovah to be two names for God which both refer to a single deity in monotheism. Now I am not saying that Christ did not play a role in Old Testament times from a Mormon perspective. I think he was a revelator like he was in all other dispensations. He played a very important role. But to call him *the* God of the Old Testament is, I think, unfair to the Old Testament. I think that it's unfair to Mormon doctrine.

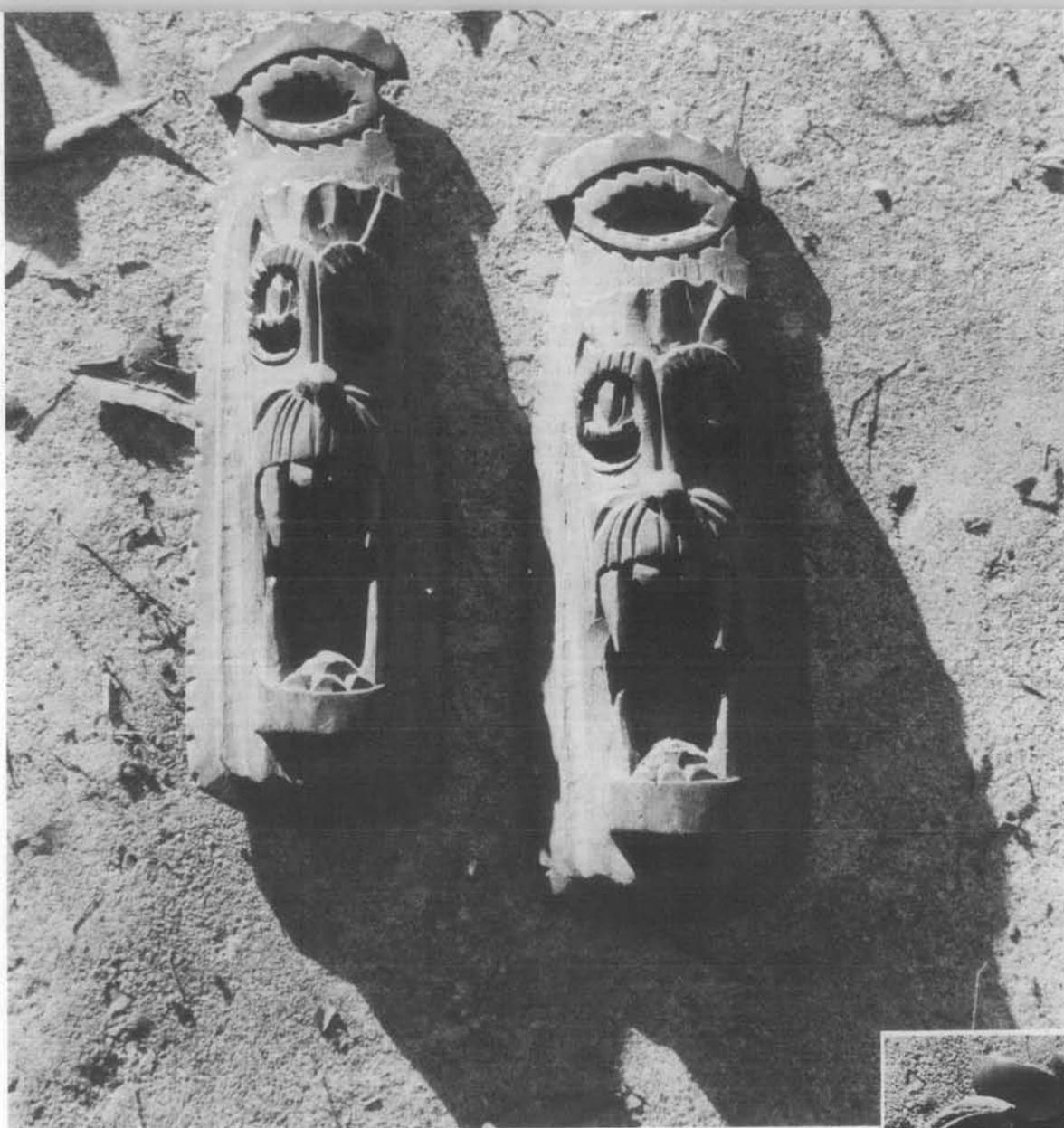
One other point. I think when we Christianize the Old Testament, we detract from the great and unique teachings of the book. It's kind of diversionary. Just to mention two or three of the great concepts of the Old Testament which we don't hear taught among the Latter-day Saints nearly enough. One is ethical monotheism or the great emphasis on the ethical character of God, and what he requires of us who would serve him in mercy.

Another great emphasis is social morality, on justice and mercy not in private life but in public life. In the marketplace, in the professions. In human relations generally. In society. In communities. To me that is one of the greatest teachings of the prophets of Israel. And our people are not very much aware of them.

I think we can learn much from the Psalms in terms of a worshipful, devotional attitude. This is terribly needed in our hurried, harried, secularized age. I go back and get a sense of worship from the Psalms.

I think another great theme has to do with suffering and the explanation of suffering. The book of Job, the 73rd Psalm, the realism that you find in Ecclesiastes. These are ideas and messages that were never taught to me in the context of the Christianized Old Testament interpretation.

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A Mormon musicologist who spent a year in Nigeria describes the cultural blinders which American Mormons often bring to unfamiliar societies.

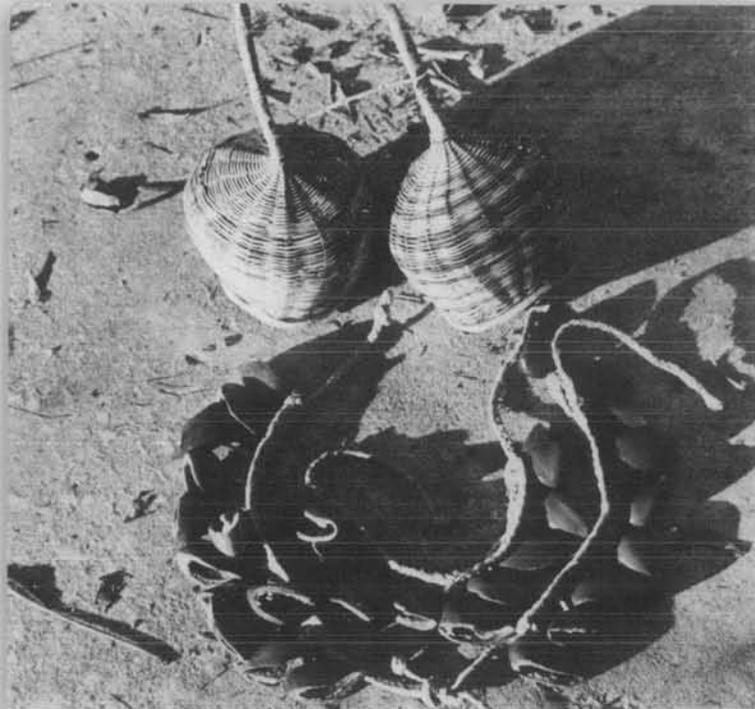
Murray Boren

Worship Through Music Nigerian Style



A missionary attending his first worship service in Nigeria is confronted with unfamiliar sights and sounds. He sees "dancing," he hears rhythmic accompaniment to a repetitive responsorial song, and he witnesses an almost tumultuous participation by the congregation. He feels uncomfortable. His first impulse is to replace the unfamiliar with music which seems more appropriate, more "reverent," more Mormon, more American.

Music is not, after all, a universal language. The concept of musical expression may well be global. But just as



the concept of verbal communication encompasses literally thousands of languages, so the concept of musical communication embraces numerous modes of sonic expression: musics, if you will. Just as no single language is understood by all people, no one musical mode exists to which all beings can equally relate. We hear what our culture has conditioned us to hear.

Mormons from the beginning have talked about carrying the gospel message to each nation in its native language. We have yet to make that commitment to musical languages. There is nothing sinister about this failure; but it is a bit foolish to think that an African will respond any more favorably to a Beesley hymn than to spoken English. Both are unknown modes of communication and only meaningless noise in his world.

But too often we play our favorite piece of music for the African and expect the spiritual feelings we experience to be shared by him. We insist on cultural as well as spiritual conversion. Confusing the gospel and the cultural setting of its restoration, we elevate our American heritage to some sanctified new sphere where the sounds of our Western music somehow seem sacred.

Such cultural single-mindedness cannot help but cause friction when American missionaries interact with new members from a differing background. Misunderstandings which have developed between missionaries and new members in Cross River State, Nigeria, over the music for worship services provide a graphic illustration of cultural misconceptions in application.

Underlying tensions began to build when some of the American missionaries sent to Nigeria for the Church mistakenly believed that the rhythmic and participatory services of the recent native converts were somehow Pentacostal (an erroneous conception caused by insisting everything be explained within the framework of their own Western culture). These missionaries set out to eradicate the false practices. Drums were banned from the worship service, clapping was banned, "dancing a jig" was banned, boisterousness was banned, responsorial singing was banned, and the missionaries were left with a "proper" service which made them feel comforta-

ble. Unfortunately the native members were decidedly uncomfortable and even baffled.

For without the drum there can be no Nigerian music. The music of Cross River State is not drum-based or drum-dominated or drum-performed. The music *is* the drum, in a sense so literal it seems to defy Western comprehension. All of the instruments have drum functions; they are used percussively as rhythm instruments. Pitched instruments like the "thumb piano" and the xylophone are not exceptions. There is no instrument with a melodic function in African music. Each instrument has a specific rhythm which *is* that instrument and should not (cannot) be transferred to another instrument. The rhythm and its instrument are conceptually inseparable.

The concepts of meter and pulse as we know them are also non-existent in Nigerian tradition. There is "pulse" but no way it can be explained satisfactorily within our Western framework. To begin appreciating this difference we must first eliminate all our culturally-biased expectations generated by beat or meter. Such freedom from recurring accents may be quite unsettling to the Western ear but is fundamental to African music.

Nigerian music by definition includes body movement. The music *is* the movement, just as music *is* the instrument. If you make the sounds without the movements you no longer have music, just noise.

There is no separation of performer and audience in Cross River State, nor could there be. Each participant is both performer and audience. "Listening" to music, as we use that term, is an alien idea. It is simply impossible to perform music *for* someone.

Certain concepts about music which seem self-evident to an American Mormon, are likewise puzzling to Nigerians. Our concern with dynamic levels confuses Nigerians. Loud and soft, and the movement from one to the other, is unknown in their music. They do not associate emotions with decibel levels. We think of reverence in terms of "soft": remember of the almost synonymous words in the Primary song, "Reverently, Quietly." Nigerians cannot begin to understand this concern about "too loud" being wrong for church. When asked to lower the dynamic level of their music, the polite Nigerians concede, but the "why" escapes them. They do not feel any closer to deity because of the imposed loss of volume. In fact, they feel God is displeased because of the timid nature of their worship.

It is also impossible for a Nigerian to understand our highly refined prejudices about certain styles of music. Such prejudices are fostered by our almost casual accep-

tance of the notion that content and mode of expression are inextricably linked. Medium is in a sense the dictator of content. Admittedly certain modes are more likely to create spiritual responses in the majority of American members. If you tell an Ibibio tribesman that instrumental music "A" is OK for church while instrumental "B" is not, you will surely be confronted with the innocent question "why?" Does the sound itself have inherent qualities of good and evil?

One Mormon missionary in Nigeria seemed to answer affirmatively when he recently explained that the hymn book music is "scripture" and cannot be altered any more than the Book of Mormon. Perhaps this missionary was abnormally forthright in his bald assertion, but we, as a people, sometimes act as if we concurred. How else is a Nigerian tribesman to interpret the banning of his native instruments from the church service?

It may be correct to assume that drums in a church service do not inspire reverence in the average Utah Mormon. I do not expect a Mormon outside the Nigerian tradition to truly hear the spirituality in African drum music. But there is no reason to blame the drum itself or to assume that a Nigerian shares even a glimmer of that same prejudice. In fact, the Nigerian is more likely to associate the piano with the secular world (a bar, for example). It is social conditioning which fosters prejudicial categories of good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate music.

I do not wish to ridicule or question the music currently used in the Utah church. But we must face the implications of imposing that music on others and must ultimately accept the possibility that effective spiritual communication may be expressed by an infinite variety of sonic vehicles.

The failure to do this—our insistence on particular musical forms which make us feel comfortable—has led to what is in effect an underground Mormon church network in Cross River State, Nigeria. There are a series of meetings for the missionaries and a clandestine series of meetings where the native Saints worship in a spiritual

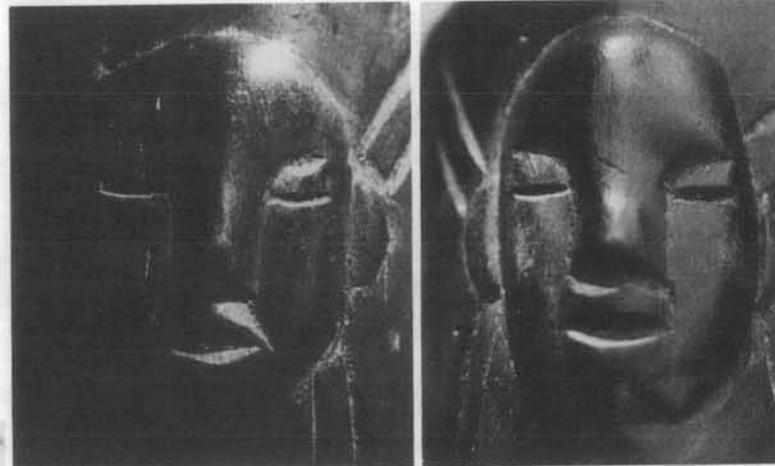
atmosphere that they can understand—with their own music.

It is not the sharing of traditions which causes this type of problem; it is the elimination of one tradition and the imposition of an alien one in its place. This is "cultural colonialism" in its most blatant form, a stumbling block we ourselves place in the gospel's path.

Our insistence upon only those vehicles of expression with which we are familiar and at ease may be understandable, but it can no longer be tolerated. As we cross cultural lines, we must be careful to concern ourselves with content as perceived and transmitted in each culture. Our concern should be with what they are experiencing, not with *how* those feelings are elicited within that culture. We should not demand that our own cultural conditioning be satisfied. We should, in fact, expect to feel out of place; we are, culturally.

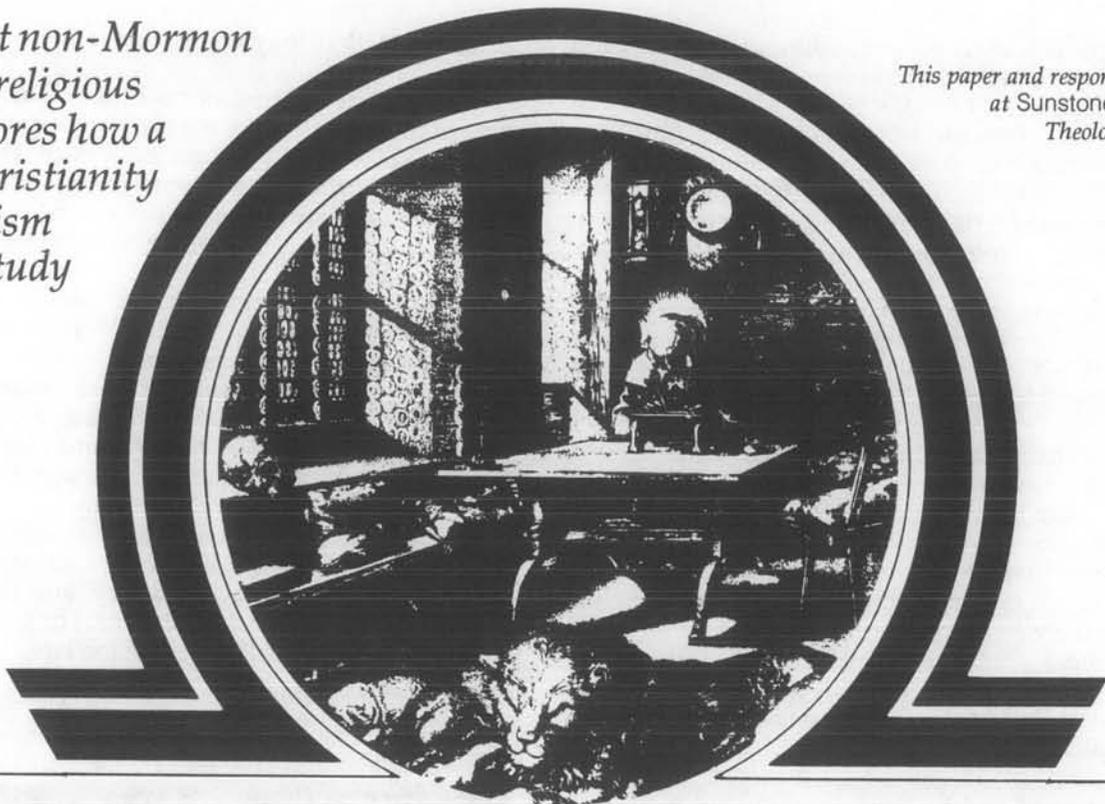
The gospel *is* universal truth; its attendant cultural manifestations are not. We are just beginning to realize the implications of that distinction and the educational responsibilities it places on all of us. I hope the realization and the education will not come too late.

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A prominent non-Mormon professor of religious studies explores how a person's Christianity or Mormonism affects his study of history.

Editors' Note
This paper and response were delivered at Sunstone's 1980 Mormon Theological Symposium.



History and Theology: The Mormon Connection

Edwin S. Gaustad

British historian, F.M. Powicke, has observed that "the Christian religion is a daily invitation to the study of history."¹ I believe that the same can be said, in italics, for the Mormon religion. Thus I encourage us together to reflect briefly on some of the relationships between religious and historical understandings, first with respect to Christianity generally, then with respect to Mormonism more particularly.

Considering history and theology initially in the context of the Christian religion has some legitimacy. First, Christianity is in the Western world a familiar item. Second, that faith option has a long and reasonably well documented history. And third, it is relevant to our most specific subject which is, after all, the Church of *Jesus Christ* of Latter-Day Saints, not the Church of Joseph Smith of LDS.

To return to Powicke's comment, the Christian religion is indeed enmeshed in history. Christianity may often have been described as a religion "of the book," but it is also unmistakably a religion of history. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." While this is primarily a statement about theology, it is surely a statement about history as well. And so one has not only Christian philosophies of history, but also Christian practitioners of history. Any embarrassment about the modifier "Christian" is unnecessary, for most historians these

days carry an adjective of some sort around with them: intellectual, social, radical, statistical, political, economic, military, or what-have-you. But does being a Christian historian create special difficulties? I think the answer has to be "yes," special difficulties and perhaps special opportunities.

One of the difficulties is concealed in my glib use of the word "Christian." Though the Protestant Reformation (or Revolt) is nearly half a millennium behind us, we have only recently ceased to ask of a biography of Luther or an account of the Inquisition: Is the author Protestant or Catholic? To respond simply "Christian" would be to indulge in the most intolerable evasion and irrelevance. And in surveying the whole history of the Christian church, it made much difference whether the writing was by Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, German Lutheran, Scotch Presbyterian, or British Unitarian. As one Christian historian, E. Harris Harbison, remarked, "Sectarian prejudice has long been a notorious obstacle in the path of historical understanding."² Strident polemicism and narrow parochialism are familiar faults. Even more serious criticism was leveled against "Christian history" by the fierce *philosophes* of the Enlightenment era. Christian historians, they averred, ignored those civilizations not dominated by the Church, quarreled over petty party differences, found a miracle for every difficulty of causa-

tion, and relied on revelation for every declaration of purpose. For example, one ninth-century bishop and biographer in Ravenna could write:

Where I have not found any history of any of these bishops and have not been able by conversation with aged men, or inspection of the monuments, or from any other authentic source, to obtain information concerning them,—in such a case, in order that there might not be a break in the series, I have composed the life myself, with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren.³

Such a technique mars Christian history, but fortunately this technique was more typical of an earlier time.

So admittedly Christian history is vulnerable to criticism. It also, however, has powerful potential. First, as Augustine noted, the history of the City of God is one of meaning and direction. Rejecting the notions of history as repetitive cycle on the one hand or whirling chaos on the other, the bishop of Hippo found in history a dynamism and purpose, even a consummation. Indeed Christian theology emerges from history—from the history of God's dealings with humankind. Herbert Butterfield (in his *Christianity and History*) writes:

... the Christian must find that religious thought is inextricably involved in historical thought. The historical Jesus on the one hand brings to a climax [the develop-

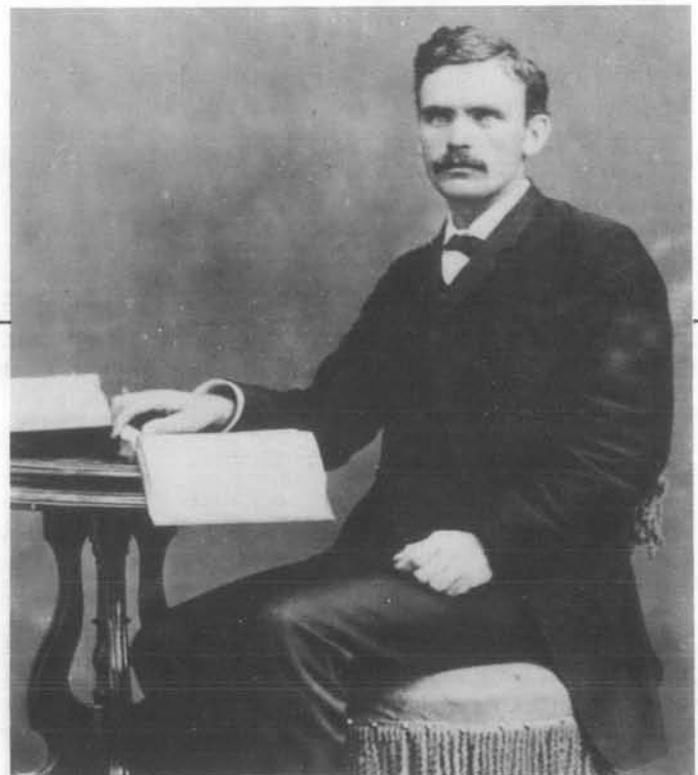
however, total and impersonal objectivity is seen more as delusion and snare. The historian does not and cannot stand apart from the stream which he attempts to describe. He is not in the balcony watching life played upon a stage, for he too is one of the players. The Enlightenment thinkers believed themselves totally objective, shorn of all prejudice and presupposition. But as Carl Becker demonstrated long ago (in his *Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers*), they too were captives of a prevailing climate of opinion, they too burned down one heavenly city only to erect another. The Roman Catholic historian, Eric Cochrane, believes that the committed Christian historian has at least two advantages over his secular counterpart. One, he is likely to take religious issues and religious ideas and religious motivations seriously; he may even know a little theology! And two, such a historian follows his scholarly pursuit as a holy vocation. Catholic historians, he writes, "must regard the work of historical inquiry not as a way of gaining social prestige, of building academic empires, or of making payments on suburban swimming pools." Rather, he sees the enterprise, the calling, as a process of sanctification—both for the historian herself/himself and for those she/he reaches through her/his work. Cochrane acknowledges that "talent rains on the just and unjust

An accurate concept of Mormon history must not only lengthen its timeline to include the most ancient of times, but also broaden and widen it to include all people and cultures.

ments of ancient history], gathering up the whole story and fulfilling the things to which the Old Testament had so often pointed. In this respect, His life, His teaching and His personality are the subject of an historical narrative which knits itself into the story of the Roman Empire. Over and above all this, however, Christianity is an historical religion in a particularly technical sense that the term possesses—it presents us with religious doctrines which are at the same time historical events or historical interpretations. In particular it confronts us with the questions of the Incarnation, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, questions which may transcend all the apparatus of the scientific historian—as indeed many other things do—but which imply that Christianity... has rooted its most characteristic and daring assertions in [the] ordinary realm of history... The fact that Christianity comes down to us as an historical religion in this sense... is bound to provide certain bearings for the interpretation of the whole drama of human life on this earth, bound to affect, for example, any views or dim feelings that we may have concerning the scheme of things in time.⁴

For the Christian historian, in other words, God is not dead and whirl is, therefore, not king.

Second, the Christian historian approaches the vast canvas of the human past with a point of view, a perspective, even a passion. In an earlier time, this may have seemed more a liability than an asset. In our own day,



alike" but sees the calling as an added incentive to hard work, diligence, and thoroughgoing honesty. With approval he quotes Guiseppe Alberigo, "All historical research conducted with scientific rigor is a spiritual adventure; and research into the history of the Church is also a religious experience."⁵

The third potential for Christian history is the capacity for universality, for empathy as broad as the human race. Unfortunately, Christian history has often degenerated into partisan polemical history, with the circle of sympathy so narrowed as to exclude nine-tenths of the

human race. God's love, ocean-wide, is meted out thimbleful by thimbleful. The contemporary Peruvian theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, describes salvation as the communion of all human beings with God and among themselves. For him, it is no longer useful to speak of a profane world, for grace—whether accepted or rejected—is present among *all* peoples, and *all* human activity comes within the scope of Christian concern. "There is only one human destiny," he writes, and "the history of salvation is the very heart of human history." This gives history its unity and salvation its universality. Those who try to "save" salvation exclusively for their own group, their own class, their own nation, will end up "losing" it. The salvation of Christ, Gutierrez concludes, "is a radical liberation from all misery, all despoliation, all alienation."⁶

Far too often, the message of salvation is fatefully linked to a particular cultural mode, to a single epoch. If Ptolemaic astronomy falls, then Christianity must fall. If Darwin be right, Christ is of no avail. If capitalism collapses, then the Church is doomed. In its first three hundred years, Christianity was rarely tempted to wed itself to the political or economic or even scientific system

Also relevant to the understanding of history are the Mormon concepts of God and man. God has more limits and man fewer than in traditional Christian thought. God is finite, not infinite, subject as all else to the vagaries of time, limited by the materials available to him for the creation of the world. To employ the language of Sterling McMurrin on this point:

As a constructor or artisan God, not entirely unlike Plato's demiurge of the *Timaeus*, the Mormon deity informs the continuing processes of reality and determines the world's configurations, but he is not the creator of the most ultimate constituents of the world, either the fundamental material entities or the space and time that locate them. . . . it is a basic article of Mormon theology that God is related to a world environment for the being of which he is *not* the ultimate ground and by which he therefore is in some sense conditioned. This means that God is a being among beings rather than *being* as such or the ground of being, and that he is therefore finite rather than absolute.⁸

McMurrin acknowledges that the language of absolutism and omnipotence is more emotionally satisfying and is, therefore, to be found in many a Mormon sermon, but

The Enlightenment thinkers were also captives of a prevailing climate of opinion; they too burned down one heavenly city only to erect another.

of the day. In its critically formative period, it profited from its cultural alienation. Since that time, however, it has often succumbed to the dangerous temptation to identify God's will with its own, to make itself and its institutions the very center of the universe.

This brief prolegomenon suggests then that the problems of Mormon history and theology are not unrelated to the larger question of Christian history and theology. Certainly some psychic distance, some historical perspective may be gained by seeing a single church in the context of the universal Church. But one must not be oblivious to the differences. Mormon theology (of the Utah church), like Christian theology generally, sees direction and progress in history. But for the former, the development is without end, and nothing lies beyond time. Eternity, as Thomas O'Dea pointed out, is simply "indefinitely prolonged time" during which man in cooperation with God gains mastery over the other elements in nature.⁷ Not just history is dynamic, but all reality is on the move—purposefully, progressively, and endlessly. Mormonism has a process philosophy quite apart from the underpinnings of Whiteheadian thought and a sense of time from which nothing in the universe is exempt. The Mormon view intensifies the connection between history and theology even more than does the orthodox Christian view.

"like it or not, the Mormon theologian must sooner or later return to the finitistic concept of God upon which both his technical theology and his theological myths are founded."⁹

If the great gulf between God and man (in Augustinian or Calvinist thought, for example) is narrowed by the limits placed upon God, it is further bridged by the high view taken of man. God is as man once was, and man may become as God now is. Man is not the fallen, depraved, impotent creature of much Christian thought, not the earthen pot complaining to the potter, "Why hast thou made me thus?" Original sin, with all its potential for debilitation or irresponsibility, is cast aside explicitly and boldly. Again, in the words of Sterling McMurrin:

To fail to recognize that at its foundation Mormon theology is essentially a rebellion against especially the orthodox Protestant dogma of original sin, and the negativism implied by it for the interpretation of the whole nature and life of man, would be a failure to discern not only the distinctive character of Mormon doctrine but also of the Mormon religion itself. . . . The history of Mormon theology . . . has been at many points a recasting of Pelagianism, Socinianism, or Arminianism, in a nineteenth-twentieth-century role, but where reason and theological subtleties have counted for less than common-sense insights, practical necessities, and dogmatic certainties.¹⁰

Now such a high view of man's powers and potential could lead to romanticizing many hard facts in history and to wishing away the reality of evil. Nineteenth-century America offers several examples of just such romanticism and monism. Remarkably, Mormon theology, while exalting man, does not obscure or minimize the force and fact of evil. Evil exists, but the freedom of man to do something about it also exists. Evil is not always the "blessing in disguise," not invariably an integral part of some overarching but hidden plan, not merely and evasively the absence of good without an independent existence of its own. Evil is, for God and man alike, a

true and profoundly untrue. The Mormon past, properly apprehended, is an ancient and inclusive past.

A second area of historical concern for Mormons is that of America and the New World. Here Mormons can helpfully remind all of us that the history of this hemisphere does not begin in 1492 or 1565 or 1607. Beyond extending the time-line, Mormons also declare that America and the New World were being prepared for a new revelation, a timely restoration. In the fullness of time, it came through the person and prophecy of Joseph Smith: a gospel out of America, about America, and to some degree of America. After the period of persecution,

Is the author Protestant or Catholic? To respond simply "Christian" would be to indulge in the most intolerable evasion and irrelevance.



challenge, an occasion of struggle, endurance, and ultimate victory. Once again, the importance of history is magnified, not minimized; events are not merely some sort of pageant play or placement test for the world beyond.

And history is taken seriously within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Let me suggest four areas in which this appears to be the case. First, ancient history. As Richard Bushman has pointed out, one cannot take Mormonism seriously as a religion without taking seriously its attention to ancient history in the Book of Mormon.¹¹ This certainly need not imply that only one window should be opened to the ancient world (single window history, like single issue politics, is a risky business). But it does imply that the time-line does not begin in 1830 and that the heritage of *all* human history is a legitimate and relevant part of the Mormon heritage. John Henry Newman once remarked that to be deep into history "is to cease to be a Protestant." While I do not accept that as binding truth, I acknowledge some force in the idea for those who see Protestantism as wholly the product of the sixteenth century—with nothing of relevance occurring in the fifteen hundred years between the apostolic age and the age of the Reformation. So to steal from Newman, I might be tempted to say that to be deep into history is to cease to be a Mormon—but I hope that I have made clear in what sense I believe that to be both

the Mormon dream seemed tied to the American dream, and for a time both fared remarkably well. Now, with the American dream faltering (today seems less like the fullness of time, more like the emptiness), it is increasingly important for Mormonism to guard against a cultural captivity. But in any event, America's history has been taken seriously, divinely guided in preparation for and fulfillment of the promises of Zion.

Third, Mormons consider their own particular history with deep earnestness. A century and a half of Mormon history in this country alone is filled with inexhaustible drama. The sources and resources brought to bear on this lively past are enormous. The point hardly needs to be labored. I would simply like to pay tribute to one man, Leonard J. Arrington, for the quality and the quantity of his labors. He has coaxed, cajoled, encouraged, guided, and inspired countless young Mormon scholars in doing their own history in a manner that is responsible, open, probing, and devout. For non-Mormon scholars, he has opened doors and reduced suspicions on a scale that can only bode well for the future of the Church. Most of all, he has personally set a standard of integrity for all the rest of us to follow—or to ignore at our peril. Of Mormon history as of Christian history generally, the question should not be whether the author was a Mormon or a non-Mormon, but whether that author was a historian or a hack.

Fourth, it is no secret anywhere in the scholarly world that Mormons take seriously their individual and family history. This herculean enterprise is a matter of pride, and justifiably so. The raw data accumulated—now also disseminated and preserved with the aid of modern technology—constitute a source of incalculable utility. Historians—a proud and arrogant lot—do point out, however, that genealogy is not history. In his recent book on the *Roots of Modern Mormonism*, Mark P. Leone indicates his reservations about Mormon “amateur history, basically chronicle and vignette, not interpretation; its skeleton is kinship, not politics or economics, and it is unreservedly uncritical.”¹² While Leone concedes that the Church makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of the genealogical searches, he believes that the searches themselves give a strong egocentric perspective to all historical undertakings, with one result being that the broadest human grouping acknowledged is that of the family. The past is not seen in terms of larger entities, broad social forces, subterranean causes, profound cultural conflicts. When the approach to the past is essentially, if not exclusively, autobiographical, history is “atomized.” This kind of historical investigation also

conspicuously the utopian and restorationist ones, the world began anew with their own founding. For many reasons, as I have suggested, Mormonism has largely resisted this dismissal of the past. Largely resisted, but not totally. There is still a strong tendency to go back no further than a single century or to find authentication chiefly or solely in one’s own experience. All American pietism did and does the same thing. Culture was undernourished and institutions collapsed and broke apart with breathtaking frequency. Mormonism has too strong a sense of institution and authority for collapse—at least in the twentieth century. But cultural and personal enrichment can still be denied. Mormonism, which takes time so seriously, should gulp down larger and larger chunks of it from *all* humanity’s past.

Other religious bodies originating in nineteenth-century America share this need—and have responded to it variously. Christian Science, for example, turns far less to history than to philosophy. But in terms of its own denominational past, it has manifest great and often jealous concern. The recent writings of Robert Peel, however, help make possible a freer commerce between “in-house” historians and those who approach Christian

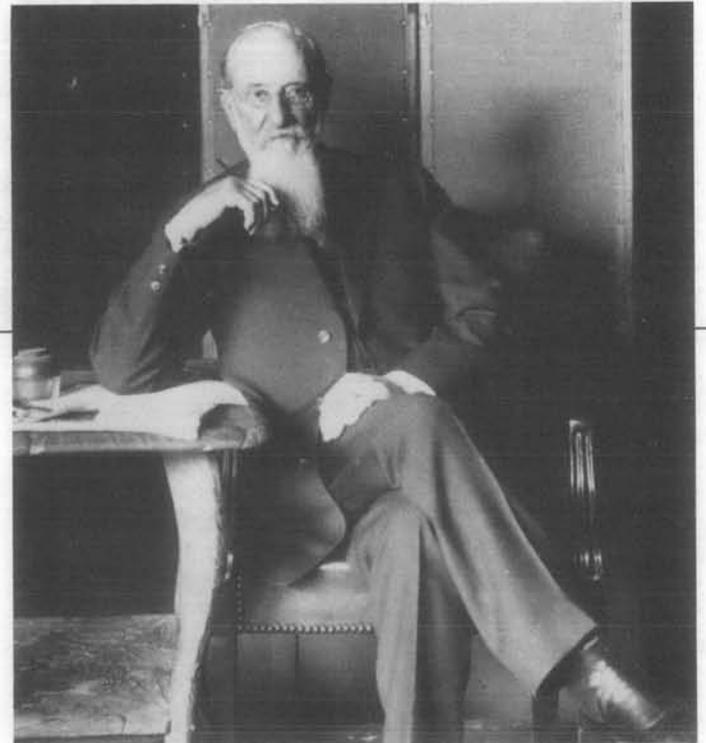
The time-line does not begin in 1830, and the heritage of *all* human history is a legitimate and relevant part of the Mormon heritage.

tends to be adulatory, to be an endorsement rather than judgment of the present. In Leone’s words:

... Mormons lock themselves into the present more effectively than the rest of society. . . . [They] never see profound change and are even prevented from seeing the causes of it because all history is an individual’s reflection; and just as a mirror never tells a viewer what it saw yesterday, history never tells Mormons what they or their society looked like before. It cannot do so because the living Mormon is the image in the mirror.¹³

In all four areas of concern with the past—ancient history, New World history, denominational history, and family history—the attention is keen. Thus, to appropriate Powicke’s remark: “The Mormon religion is a daily invitation to the study of history.” That much, it seems to me, is fixed and sure. In scrutinizing the relationships between history and theology in the Mormon context, however, some problems or questions do remain. In a most tentative and exploratory way, let me suggest three areas in which both historians and theologians might wish to focus their reflections on “the Mormon connection.”

1. They might ask, as I now do, whether an effort should be made, consciously and deliberately, to lengthen the time-line of historical consciousness.* All American religion, as Sidney Mead long ago pointed out, suffers from historylessness. For so many groups, and



Science from the outside. The movement led by Alexander Campbell, a contemporary of Joseph Smith, has suffered internal discord and dissension which has distracted the group from a steady concern with earlier Christian history. Yet, several conferences and periodical issues have tried to place that restoration movement into the larger context of the primitive and free church precedents. Seventh-day Adventists have recently been dismayed by the efforts of Ronald Numbers to place their foundress, Ellen G. White, more solidly in the company of her fellow health reformers of the mid-nineteenth century. Some of these historical ways of thinking are quite

new and, therefore, often shocking; they can also prove refreshing. A recent Adventist book looks at the question of Saturday and Sunday worship—surely nothing new here. But the look is not at nineteenth-century America; rather, it is at second-century Rome, and thence to the entire patristic period. The Adventist author is, moreover, the first non-Catholic graduate of the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome (Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday: A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday in Early Christianity*). Scholarly barriers should be crossed with the same courage and zeal that missionaries have crossed ethnic and national barriers.

2. Which leads to a second area of reflection. If history's timeline needs to be lengthened, its embrace can also be widened—to include non-Mormons both as the subjects and authors of history. This conference itself is an example of what I mean, and I would like to think that it could have as readily occurred under the sponsorship of the Church. Why might it not? Because there is a continuing defensiveness, an uneasiness, a "garrison mentality"—to use the phrase of Davis Bitton. And Mark Leone has commented that "Mormons seem at the moment to be the sole owners of their own past." Much of

But the Church keeps its guard up against the insider too, against those intellectuals who move beyond amateur history and amateur theology. In a world clearly gone awry, intellectuals, perceived as threats to a restored faith and improved morals, can serve as convenient scapegoats. "It is in such a context," Davis Bitton has written,

that we can best understand various efforts to seal off students from "worldly" ideas, the denunciation of pornography, the unwillingness in Church periodicals to include different points of view or even critical letters to the editor, the hypersensitivity to criticism, the thirst for praise, the patronizing editorials on "professors," the interminable self-congratulation at having the truth . . . and the suspicion greeting the historian who wishes to study Mormon history. "Is it for us or against us?" The assumption is that the world is divided already between the sheep and the goats.¹⁴

So it is possible to understand the defensiveness; what is also required is an understanding of its cost. For history shortened in time and narrowed in scope loses its capacity to enlighten, to liberate, to offer that emancipation which comes with genuine self-understanding. If

History, shortened in time and narrowed in scope, loses its capacity to enlighten, to liberate, to offer that emancipation which comes with genuine self-understanding.

this is readily understandable. When others were owners of the Mormon past in earlier generations, they handled that past horribly. Ordinary horse sense might suggest, therefore, that one not surrender a proprietary hold. Beyond the fact of that period of persecution and vile misrepresentation is the additional fact of this religion's visible and vulnerable youth. The formative years of a religion—consider Christianity once again—are turbulent and contradictory, filled with false starts and misdirections. Senior citizens can look back on the vagaries of pimply puberty with philosophical calm—not so the adolescent himself, challenged without at every turn and tortured from within by self-doubt and insecurity.

Still another reason for being suspicious of the outsider is the theological novelty of the Utah church, and novelty is only another word for heresy. In an earlier period, Mormons were condemned by the Gentile world for being polygamous and un-American. Now they are emphatically monogamous and vigorously American. So all is forgiven and forgotten—at least until one begins paying attention to theology. There, the traditional Christian, confronted by a finite God, an unfamiliar Trinity, an unlimited freedom, and a forbidding temple ritual, may respond with a new wave of wild accusation and scurrilous diatribe. Perhaps fearing such a situation, the Mormon Church keeps its guard up against the outsider.

Calvinist theology has a tendency to sink into gloomy despair, Mormon theology may have a tendency toward a Pelagian or a Promethean pride. And since that is all humanity's most threatening sin, perhaps Mormon history—if broadened and lengthened—can provide a needed corrective to this facet of Mormon theology. However, to be successful in this regard, the approach to history, instead of reenforcing egocentricity, must be one which transcends it. If our paths are to be guided by the light of experience, that light must shine as broadly and as brightly as possible.

3. A final arena for reflection has to do not so much with the length or breadth of history as with the attitude taken toward it. To put it succinctly, history should be seen as an ally and not as a foe. Mormon theology knows no Vincentian formula: only that is to be believed which has been believed by all men, always, everywhere. Mormon theology is not horrified by the notion that dogma has a history, that doctrine does develop, and that revelation is not closed. Think of the real advantage (the Mormon "edge") which this stance provides—no necessity for a Talmudic commentary, for a textual transmission apparatus, for a council of Imams, or for a collection of canon lawyers. Continuing revelation, far from being an embarrassment in a twentieth-century world, offers the opportunity for adaptation and growth, for flexibility and development. The opportunity is enhanced by the ab-

sence of a class of professional theologians or official interpreters of the written word. No priests to muzzle the prophet. Of course, the amateur status can become a liability as well, certainly if obscurantism and mindless literalism assume control. So another plea for the embrace of history, with its instruction in ambiguity, variety, possibility, failure—and sin. The liberating power of history was well demonstrated, I believe, by the publication in 1970 of Stephen G. Taggart's little book, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*, and three years later of Lester Bush's article in *Dialogue*. Change, wrote Taggart, "must eventually come"¹⁵ and eight years later it did. I do not argue a post hoc, ergo propter hoc. I do argue that a recognition of the relativities of history made easier the modification of doctrine. And I also argue that Mormonism has the mechanism for change and development already in place.

Another way in which to manifest the embrace of history rather than its disdain has to do with archives and access. In his recent book on the opening of the Vatican archives (*Catholicism and History*), Owen Chadwick details the elaborate intrigue, political and ecclesiastical,

A church which emphasizes so eloquently the absolute freedom of man cannot gracefully thwart that freedom's honorable exercise.

that kept these archives so long from the scholarly world (the intrigue even included the kidnapping of the archives by Napoleon in 1810). Not until the final decades of the nineteenth century were these archives opened. In the height of a renewed conflict between science and religion, the Roman Catholic Church even released all of the Galileo manuscripts, concluding—rightly I believe—that it had more to fear from imposing a rigid and authoritarian secrecy than it did from openness and honest scholarship. Leo XIII in 1883 said, "Let nothing untrue be said; and nothing true be unsaid."¹⁶ Of course there are risks, as freedom always involves risks, but a church which emphasizes so eloquently the absolute freedom of man cannot gracefully thwart that freedom's honorable exercise.

History must be embraced. But in 1980 this is far from a challenge to be set before Mormonism alone. A whole society is turning its back on history, is ignoring or dismissing its past. Such recent books as Philip Rieff's *Fellow Teachers* and Christopher Lasch's *The Culture of Narcissism* bemoan the loss of historical memory, the reversion in America to a kind of barbarism. As Lasch noted, a denial of the past at first and superficial glance appears "progressive and optimistic," but on closer analysis, we see that it embodies the "despair of a society that cannot face the future."¹⁷ So the problem is far greater than that represented by a single church or a particular tradition.

The genial pontiff John XXIII turned out to rate about a 7.5 on the Richter scale. Among his many deeds and pronouncements are these words: "The best apology for the Church is the impartial history of its life."¹⁸ Wise and welcome words for his or for any church. But they were a long time in coming, which is why—no doubt—that patience is an admirable virtue.

Notes

1. In C.T. McIntire, ed., *God, History, and Historians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 407.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
3. See John Tracy Ellis, *Church History* 41 (1972), pp. 225-9.
4. *Christianity and History* (London: Fontana Books, 1957), pp. 11-12.
5. In McIntire, *op. cit.*, pp. 453-4.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-8, 150.
7. Thomas O'Dea, "Mormonism and the American Experience of Time," *Western Humanities Review* 8 (Summer 1954): 181-190.
8. Sterling McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), p. 29.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 35.



10. *Ibid.*, p. 66-7.
11. *Dialogue* 1 (Summer 1966): 82.
12. Leone, *The Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 194.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
14. *Dialogue* 1 (Fall 1966): 128.
15. Taggart's book was published by the University of Utah Press; quotation is from p. 76.
16. Chadwick's book was published by Cambridge University Press in 1978; quotation is from p. 99.
17. Rieff's book was published by Harper & Row in 1973 and Lasch's by W.W. Norton in 1978; quotation from the latter on p. xviii.
18. Quoted by Eric Cochrane in McIntire, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

*On this matter of lengthening the timeline, I offer (more or less facetiously) one example. In 1976, the Deseret Book Company published *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (by L.J. Arrington, F.Y. Fox, and D.L. May). Chapter One opens with this sentence: "When Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ship was swept by sudden storm from her companion vessels in 1553 and lost with all on board . . ." Now, I have no doubt whatsoever that the authors wrote "1553" for Sir Humphrey Gilbert. But I can just imagine a copy-editor or proof-reader at Deseret Press musing as follows: "This is a book about Mormonism and therefore, of course, a book about the nineteenth century, not the sixteenth century. Thus, 1553 must be a misprint for 1853." One effort to lengthen the timeline was thereby swiftly done in!

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History and Theology: The Mormon Connection

A RESPONSE

Professor Gaustad's paper is an excellent one. I think he informed us, challenged us, entertained us a bit, and presented all of his information in a very gracious and tolerant manner. I appreciate very much his willingness to come to Utah and share these ideas with us. What I have to say in response will be in two parts: some general comments about the nature of this subject and then a few suggestions on some of the points that Professor Gaustad has made.

This section of the symposium is on the relationship between theology and history. By theology I mean the systematic study of the nature of God and his relations with man, and by history I mean the systematic study of man's past based primarily on the inductive method, empirical evidence, and the desire for perspective. The first question that I had in reading Professor Gaustad's paper is: "To what extent is there and to what extent ought there to be a meaningful connection between theology and history?" Can the two fields really be compared and connected in meaningful ways? Both, in the final analysis, are acts of faith, as Carl Becker and Charles Beard pointed out some decades ago. But theology, I think, requires a great deal more faith than history does. Both theology and history are relative rather than absolute, because there are no generally agreed upon values in either—at least not over time. Both are very ancient disciplines, going back at least to the Greeks, but history

was not a very sophisticated one until the nineteenth century. Both theology and history are, however, finding less and less relevance in modern society. I think the main reason for this decreasing relevance is to be found in the process of secularization—but that is another subject.

If there are similarities between theology and history there are also differences. For a historian—particularly a modern historian—the primary intellectual effort is based on an imminent rather than a transcendent perspective, on the rational rather than the religious. The historian is more comfortable with evolving truth than with revealed truth, with men more than providence. In short, history is fundamentally secular and non-religious. As a consequence, there is a growing current of both official and popular thought among those who are religious which is not only suspicious of historians but sometimes hostile as well. Many of these religious people fear historical relativism almost as much as they fear heresy, and most would probably agree with Aldous Huxley's graphic statement: "God isn't the son of memory: He's the son of Immediate Experience."¹

So what is the connection between history and theology for Mormons? I would suggest that, for the professional historian at least, the connection is very tenuous and fraught with difficulties. This is not because Mormon historians have trouble relating to theologians or under-

standing their methods. On the contrary, historians and theologians speak the same basic language, were often trained at the same institutions, and share many of the same doubts about the religious enterprise generally. The problem is that there are no *Mormon* theologians; there are only General Authorities. These authorities do not (for the most part) have advanced theological or historical training, nor do they speak the language of the scholar. Almost to a man they come from the business world rather than from the university. More importantly, their primary purpose is to build faith in a given set of "revealed" religious postulates, rather than to push back the frontiers of knowledge by asking questions and conducting experiments. I do not mean this to sound condescending. I respect these men, for the most part, and recognize their goals as quite legitimate. But their reli-



virtually all Mormon historians to be quite uncritical of contemporary Mormon prophets. It is almost as if they were "off limits" to historical analysis and historical criticism. This is particularly true, and understandably so, of those historians who are employed by the Church. I am moreover informed that from time to time whole subjects have been specifically declared off limits to them. "Don't write about the Blacks and the priesthood," they were told some time ago. "Don't write about polygamy," was advice given at another time. Today it is said, "Don't embarrass the Brethren."² This observation obviously cuts both ways. There are perhaps equally as many historians at secular institutions who downplay their religious sentiments in order to be accepted by their secular peers.

Turning to another point, I particularly appreciated Professor Gaustad's comments about the egocentricity that we find in our culture and in our faith. Those who assert exclusive and proprietary rights to salvation, those who wish to limit it for their own group alone, are manifesting more atavism than understanding. I think those outside the fold are fully within the bounds of good theology to say that salvation and exaltation are not just for Mormons alone. But this is a diversion and a theologi-

Mormons take their history seriously up to the point where it begins to undermine their faith.

gious goals are different from and sometimes antithetical to the historian's more secular purposes.

Now a few comments about Professor Gaustad's paper. One of the difficulties of connecting theology and history I have been describing is to be found on page one where Professor Gaustad says that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." That is a theological statement, not an historical statement. Historians can say very little about the actual relationship between God and Christ, since there is virtually no historical *evidence* to deal with. All historians can do is to analyze what people say they think of that relationship. The same problem exists in the quotations from Herbert Butterfield. When Butterfield mentions the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection, he is in the realm of metaphysics and well beyond the realm of history. One deals with these sorts of things on the basis of faith, not on the basis of empirical data. One asserts their ultimate truth, one does not calculate their probabilities.

There are of course both disadvantages and advantages to being a faithful, believing historian. An insider often understands many things that an outsider does not and his historical judgments can be more empathetic. But I believe that on the whole mixing one's religious beliefs with one's scholarly commitments sooner or later will compromise one or the other. A few examples will illustrate this point. There is a tendency, I think, among

cal rather than an historical judgment.

Professor Gaustad has said that history is taken seriously within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and I think that is true. But it is true only up to a point. There are, as I have said before, whole areas that have been and are today deliberately avoided by those who work for the organization. There are other areas allegedly considered too sacred for discussion, such as issues that relate to the temple ceremony. If an empirically minded, rationally minded, non-theistic historian were to discover, for example, that the Masonic and Mormon temple rituals are to a substantial degree indistinguishable, he would feel no compunction about examining the topic thoroughly.

I suspect that Mormons take their history seriously up to the point where it begins to undermine their faith. As with learning in general, it is considered good to be informed about the past so long as one's testimony is preserved—but no further. For most Mormons, testimony takes precedence over conflicting knowledge as faith surpasses reason. Historians are therefore potentially dangerous because they raise doubt-producing questions, expose contradictions in doctrine, uncover questionable behavior in the leadership, or simply tell people more than they can digest comfortably. This is why some of our most informative, most significant historical documents have been suppressed. Two notable

examples of this suppression are the journals of George Q. Cannon, which even the Church's own historians are not permitted to see, and B. H. Roberts' lengthy and provocative manuscript on problems with the *Book of Mormon*, which has just surfaced after having been kept out of sight for nearly 50 years.³

Professor Gaustad suggests that Mormons can contribute to a wider understanding of the history of the Western Hemisphere, because the Mormon time-line does not begin in 1830. I doubt that Mormons have contributed much to our historical understanding of pre-Columbian people in America, for I do not know a single non-Mormon historian who takes Moroni's account seriously. This is precisely the problem I am describing: there simply is no connection between historical fact and theological assertion insofar as the *Book of Mormon* is concerned. Non-Mormon historians do not take the book seriously because there is no historical evidence that Lehi and his descendants ever existed. After 3,500 years of time, millions of people, scores of cities, and a dramatic visit by the very Son of God one would think *something* should have survived. All kinds of historical evidence exists for the actual existence of biblical people. Why is there none for

the revered purposes of objective historical inquiry.

There are also many secular, non-Mormon historians who see religion as the "enemy." Many agree with Hume that religion is a hindrance, and with Kant that we can have no insight into the world of God. More than a few equate doubt with intelligence, religion with intellectual slavery, and progress with secularization. Few of these historians believe in sin, that there is any ultimate knowledge beyond experience, or that there is any design in the universe. Many historians at the better universities believe that religious involvement is incompatible with high scholarly productivity and that intellectual autonomy must be valued above religious obedience. If secularism and scholarship are natural bedfellows and tend to reinforce one another, if a "restless and probing intellect" is essential to any significant scholarly work, then an academic who is deeply committed to organized religion, they believe, is not very likely to be remembered for his or her high scholarly achievement.⁵

If religious commitment and scholarly commitment tend to be mutually exclusive perspectives, then the connection between theology and history must inevitably be a tenuous one. Nor will it be surprising if, at the poles,

The historian is more comfortable with evolving truth than with revealed truth, with men than providence.

Book of Mormon people? There can be no dialogue between *Book of Mormon* apologists (of whom there are many) and historians on this issue because, for historians at least, there is no evidence to discuss.

My final comment relates to Professor Gaustad's suggestion that Mormon history should be lengthened in time and broadened in scope. I enjoyed this part of his paper the most. Professor Gaustad is certainly correct when he says that Mormons find authentication chiefly in their own limited experience, that they seldom read non-Mormon authors who write about Mormonism, and that altogether too many of us are excessively suspicious of our own people who have more than amateur knowledge of the Mormon past. I particularly appreciated Professor Gaustad's suggestion that history ought to be a corrective to Mormon theology, if for no other reason than to keep our leaders honest when discussing the Mormon experience. But I think the reverse is also true. Theology can be a necessary corrective to the increasingly secular tendencies in history. There is ample evidence that some Mormons, including some General Authorities, see history as an "enemy" and deliberately manipulate the past in order to build testimonies. Elder Benson's advice to institute and seminary teachers to "always defend the faith" and never "offend the Brethren" is in this vein.⁴ Whatever its theological value, such advice when carried to this length is completely alien to

some hostility regularly exists between the two. But if *truth* is ultimately superior to both theology and history, then both can be engaged in the common enterprise, and both can make a contribution to understanding. In this sense not only can history be a necessary corrective to theology, as Professor Gaustad suggests, but theology can be an equally valuable corrective to the excesses of history, of which there are many. If both are the servants of truth, neither need feel threatened by the other. It is in this cooperative spirit that I join Professor Gaustad and express appreciation for his contribution.

NOTES

1. Aldous Huxley, *The Genius and the Goddess* (Bantam Books: New York, 1956), p. 4. For an analysis of the suspicious attitude of Mormons toward their own historians see Mark P. Leone, *The Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Harvard Press: Boston, 1979), Chapter 8.

2. For a frank and forthright statement on using history to build faith see Ezra Taft Benson, "The Gospel Teacher and his Message," address given on Temple Square, September 17, 1976, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah; and the same writer's Twelve Stake Fireside address, March 28, 1976, B.Y.U. Library.

3. The Cannon journals are under the direct control of the First Presidency. The B. H. Roberts manuscript, "Book of Mormon Difficulties" (454 pp.), is now available in the Special Collections section of the Marriott Library at the University of Utah.

4. See Elder Benson's remarks cited in fn. 2.

5. Those who wish to pursue this subject further might read: Michael F. Faia, "Secularization and Scholarship Among American Professors," *Sociological Analysis*, 37 (Spring, 1976): 63; Rodney Stark and Charles Glock, *Religion and Society in Tension*, (Rand McNally: Chicago, 1965), especially Chapter 14.

JAMES S. CLAYTON is Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of History at the University of Utah.

The Call

For Jade, the youngest,
and my four other brothers.



Next to the white collar, nineteen years
Of harvest tan deepens.

(The field is white)

Terminal clamor, flight calls—
As little part of us as radio
Voices from someone else's yard.

This Wyoming farm boy is bound for tropics in January:
World Book says Jakarta teems five million and a half.
Streets are bicycled and bussed into mazes claimed by bullcarts,
High-gloss and in full color from National Geographic.

That easy smile
Brown hands firm
(His nails are white)
Around black zippered Triple.

In our hard embrace, my eyes clench
Around photos buried in albums:
Water fights cow-salt licking
Dry Creek Canyon horse-back hiking
Snow world drifting.
(Oh grave, where is thy victory)

Our days a thousand homemade loaves
(I am the bread of life)
Pot roast dinners
Bread-and-milk suppers;
Quenching fields and dust dry throats
Melded to the horse-hauled hay days.
(The field is green)

Yesterday washes blue
In jet stream aimed above snow
For the Indies.
(Where IS the new world)

He will come back another self,
Though still self-same.
(My will be thine)
Foreign memories turned to home
He will come back. . . .

Round up the children;
"Beautiful day for the flight."

Cover the baby's head;
"Watch the ice."

"Can we ride with Grandma, Mom?"
"Can we?"

Dixie L. Partridge

One Fold

Editor's Note:

Pope John Paul II recently convened his first synod of bishops to discuss the problems of the family in our modern world. In an "Open Letter to the Synod" (printed in *The Tablet*, a Catholic periodical out of London) Dr. J. Dominian addresses those bishops, calling for "a critical and positive evaluation of change." Because "marriage, divorce, sexuality are all in a period of transition," he warns, "there will be a temptation to stress the familiar and the traditional as a way of reinforcing flagging standards. There will be a temptation to condemn, for there is much to condemn. These are tendencies to be avoided." What we need to do instead, he suggests, is to look "both backwards and forwards, with the courage to encourage the good that is emerging and specify accurately the bad that is confusing it . . ." Because of his insights and the relevance of the topic for our Mormon readers, SUNSTONE has chosen to reprint select paragraphs from his letter.

In Western society marriage is in a stage of transition. Since the industrial revolution there has been a type of marriage governed by specific roles of the spouses. The husband's role was that of provider and leader, the wife's that of childbearer and maintainer of the home. So long as these roles were enacted accurately and there was no unfaithfulness or divorce, the marriage was considered good. In this marriage love may have developed but it was not an essential ingredient of the institution. What was essential was commitment, faithfulness, procreation and the execution of the socially accepted roles of the age. Gradually, in this century, a new companionship type of marriage is emerging. The basis of the union is love. Couples fall in love and after marriage aim to convert this love into loving. This loving seeks openness, intimacy, communication, the expression and living of feelings, sexual fulfillment and an equality of worth between the sexes. These two patterns, which exist side by side and in various admixtures in individual marriages, need critical evaluation. The strength of the traditional marriage lay in the commitment, faithfulness and loyalty of the spouses to each other and the maintenance of the bond. These assets are in no way incompatible with

companionship marriage. The strength of the latter lies in the intimacy and openness which bring the spouses to an unprecedented closeness, which in its turn allows for sustaining, healing and growth in the depth of the relationship. From the Christian point of view the realisation of these new dimensions of love are to be welcomed and rejoiced in . . . The ideal movement forward would combine the continuity, reliability and predictability—which are other words for indissolubility—of the traditional marriage and the realisation of a deeper layer of being, which is the promise of the emerging type . . .

What is incompatible with Christian life is that widespread divorce should be the price paid for the deeper realisation of love in marriage. The evil of divorce is not so much the action of those who divorce, but the pain and tragedy of the parents and the children, particularly the latter who are caught in a conflict which is none of their making. Certainly the Church has a duty to decry the plight of the children of the divorced as loudly as it decries that of those killed in the womb by abortion.

The Church needs to look forward and welcome the changing form of marriage and direct its resources, both financial and pastoral, to research and to support for the married. It is possible by continuous appropriate vigilance at the time of the marriage and through support given afterwards, to encourage the realisation of the new expectations of marriage without large-scale divorce. For this the Church needs to look ahead to major and radical changes in education and support for marriage, and the Synod must spell these out. In particular it is vital for the Synod to stress that the wedding day is not the culmination of marriage. The wedding day is the beginning of marriage, as a covenant relationship which has to be supported through 40 or 50 years . . . Christianity has been too far removed from, has not drawn on the real experience of the married.

Had it been in close contact, it would have realised that sexual intercourse is a body language of pleasure and joy which

has the potential of conveying gratitude, hope, reconciliation, confirmation of sexual identity, personhood, and trust. With or without words, couples experience and express through intercourse gratitude first for the time spent together and hope for the time they will spend in the future. Intercourse is often a fitting means of completing reconciliation and one of the most economic ways of affirming sexual identity, personhood, and trust. All this, which is an intrinsic part of the nature of sexual intercourse, can only find its true and authentic meaning in a continuous, reliable and predictable relationship we call marriage. Within it sexual intercourse is a life-giving experience which on a few occasions has the potential of giving new life and on every occasion of enhancing the life of the couple . . .

Christianity has and will always continue to teach that children are God's gifts to mankind, a response to God's invitation to be fruitful and multiply. They are one of the most precious elements of marriage. What is new is the realisation that parents always come first in their stability, happiness and unity for the welfare of the children depends on the well-being of the parents. It is up to them, in a spirit of generosity, to consider how many children they can raise in their circumstances . . .

In a world battered by social injustices, economic strains and the threat of nuclear extinction, the family remains the basis where peace and love is sought. Love is learned in the home; on the success with which it is received and given the peace and sanity of the world ultimately depends. Psychological studies have repeatedly shown that, in conditions of justified discontent, the ultimate acts of inflammatory madness are perpetrated, at the point where genuine discontent meets psychopathic indifference, by those who have never known authentic love . . . For it is in the family that every person experiences the deepest insights of love and therefore of forgiveness; of despair and the need of hope, of conflict and reconciliation; of doubt and affirmation; of sickness and healing; of partiality and wholeness, of physical, emotional and spiritual hunger and of appropriate food. All this takes place in a series of relationships of love and it is within this sacrament that the rudiments of all the other sacraments will be found. It is no exaggeration to say that facilitation of love in marriage and the family is the single most important aspect of evangelisation to activate the presence of God as love within and outside the Church . . .

Reviews

Corinne: The Gentile Capital of Utah
Brigham D. Madsen
Utah Historical Society, 1980
331 pages, \$17.50



Should any town whose effective life lasted less than ten years and peak population totaled barely 1500 souls deserve an in-depth study of 331 pages? That was my first question when asked to review Brigham

Madsen's *Corinne: The Gentile Capital of Utah*. Certainly no other Great Basin town comparable in size and lifespan has received a similar published tribute.

Madsen's work, it must be stated, is more than a narrow community history. The study not only analyzes Corinne in a local context, but in a regional and national one as well. Moreover, the book has the overtones of an epic tale of two cities: "a city of infidels" versus "the city of God," with the "Great Basin Kingdom" the prize to the victor.

The serpentine Pacific railroad's intrusion into the Saint's "Garden of Eden" in 1869 set the stage for a ten-year struggle between Gentile Corinne and Mormon Utah Territory. Influenced by a nation's general anti-Mormon sentiment, the upstart railroad town's journals bitterly denounced anything and everything inspired by the teachings of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Needless to say, the Latter-day Saints' newspapers, while somewhat more restrained in their attacks and counterattacks, had a few choice things to say about "that sin-filled city of Gentiles." Madsen gives the reader a generous taste of the salty fare.

At times, the conflict took on the appearance of a "holy war." Believing themselves the single bastion of civilization in the midst of a barbaric people, the "Corinnethians" assaulted

the political and economic foundations of Mormondom with missionary zeal. "They attempted to get one of their citizens appointed territorial governor, endeavored to have Corinne named the capital of Utah, tried to divide the territory by annexing the northern area to Idaho, and opposed statehood which would have placed Utah completely in Mormon hands . . . Corinne worked assiduously to gain control of Box Elder County affairs and particularly rejoiced in the success of its free market in attracting Mormon farmers to its shops and mercantile establishments."



In the final analysis, Corinne fared rather poorly in this battle to the death. The telling blow came in the years 1877-78 when the Utah Northern Railroad was completed into Marsh Valley, Idaho Territory. There the road intersected the Montana trail—the commercial lifeline of Corinne—and Ogden began to reap the sizeable profits associated with the traffic to and from Idaho and Montana territories. After ten years as a regional freighting and trading center and as the

Gentile thorn in Mormon Utah's side, "the Burg on the Bear" rapidly passed into obscurity. For the time being, the Great Basin Kingdom, including Corinne, belonged uncontested to the Saints.

The history of Corinne, then, is a study of nineteenth-century Gentile-Mormon relations in microcosm, and for that reason alone deserves the in-depth treatment it has received. If there is any significant shortcoming, it is that more attention could have been devoted to the "vice trade"—gambling, prostitution, and divorce—which freely proliferated in the heartland of Zion for ten years. That criticism aside, the book is well organized, pleasingly illustrated, and thoroughly documented. The Utah State Historical Society, as the book's publisher, is to be commended for a handsome product. And Brigham Madsen is to be applauded for a first-rate contribution to the annals of Utah, the Great Basin, and the American West.

Guy Louis Rocha

GUY LOUIS ROCHA is Interim Director of the Nevada Historical Society

Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story
Truman G. Madsen
Bookcraft, 1980
459 pages, \$9.50



To anyone who ever heard B. H. Roberts speak on Mormonism he was simply the greatest preacher of the gospel the Church had. A fierce lion of a man, he possessed vast knowledge of the self-acquired kind and combined with it an intensity, an intellectual and spiritual power, that was unforgettable. He died in 1933, but to this day those who remember him say that he was "the greatest."

What is it that makes the life of B. H. Roberts so compelling and so significant? Others lived through approximately the same years, so it cannot be only that he provides an informative focus for seeing the Church in transition from its pre-1890 posture to the "accommodation" we have become familiar with in the twentieth century. Other Church leaders were missionaries, writers, preachers, administrators. But it is impossible to find any in whom the combination, the convergence of experiences, matches that of Roberts. He was an immigrant waif from England; leader of the early MIA organization at Centerville; a

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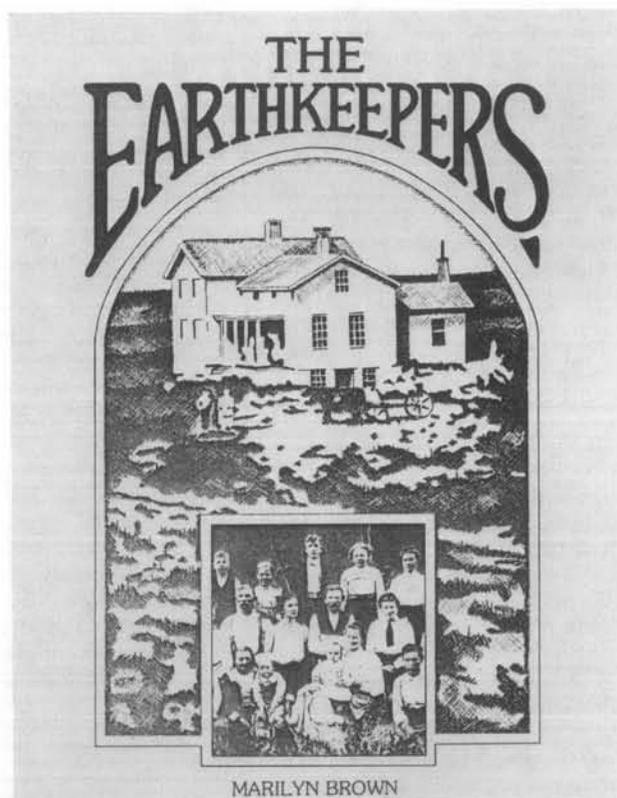
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blacksmith's apprentice; at the University of Deseret a Horatio Alger type of student who overcame formidable odds to graduate; husband (eventually of three wives); missionary and mission president in the years of persecutions and martyrdoms; prolific writer and editor; general authority in the First Council of Seventy; politician and Democrat who was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1898 but, after a committee investigation, was barred from his seat; orator at Utah's constitutional convention in 1895; chaplain in World War I; and, finally, the greatest historian produced by the Church during its first century. Who else combined into one life all these strands? Add the strong, vivid personality of the man, and we can perhaps understand his drawing power, his acknowledged fascination as a subject for students of Mormon history.

Despite the obvious intrinsic interest, there has been no biography, no way of introducing Latter-day Saints to this, one of the most colorful personalities the Church ever produced. Robert H. Malan's *B. H. Roberts: A Biography* (Deseret Book Co., 1966) may have been an acceptable master's thesis, but it fell far short of being a satisfactory biography. A few articles on specific phases of Roberts' life have appeared, but none pretended to be the biography. Now, at last, Truman G. Madsen's labors of many years have borne fruit. In the next generation at least, his will stand as the standard life of Mormonism's great warrior.

There are many things to commend in Madsen's treatment. First, as is only appropriate when writing on someone known for eloquence, Madsen has a flair for the English language. An experienced speaker and author of other books, he brings to his biographer's role the ability to describe vividly, to summarize deftly, to insert quotations and comparisons tellingly—in short, to make the subject live. One comes away from the book with a satisfied feeling of having known a man well worth knowing. Madsen's own religious intensity, his sensitivity to the things of the spirit, enable him to capture that element in Roberts without which any biography, however convincing in other respects, would fall flat. It is safe to predict, I think, that this biography will be well received by Church members. Not only will they enjoy becoming acquainted with a colorful subject but also they will find it "inspiring"—an unbeatable combination for the Mormon audience.

The author seems to have done his

homework. He has used the partial autobiography left behind by Roberts, sermons, quotations from publications, and letters to family members and friends. To judge from the footnotes, Madsen has corresponded with and interviewed many people—including especially Elsie Cook, Roberts' secretary, whose recollections provided valuable details.

There are excellent chapters and exciting sections of smaller scope. Noteworthy are the opening chapters on Roberts' incredibly oppressive childhood in England and perilous journey across the Plains; his teen-age years in Utah, when he almost became a derelict; fascinating experiences as a missionary in the days of debates and persecution, before the standardization of the program; exciting confrontations between Roberts and such zealous anti-Mormon crusaders as William Jarman in England; a term in the Utah penitentiary "for conscience sake"; and many other passages. Especially impressive is the listing of "the paradoxes of his personality" (pp. 385-86), which elevates Madsen's interpretation into a class by itself in Mormon biography, for however common such awareness is in other traditions, Mormons have preferred their heroes simple and unilinear.

Yet the work falls short of being what it might have been, given the subject and the author. Madsen has a tendency to overwrite. A final revision for pruning adjectives, "fine writing," and a score of infelicitous phrases would have raised the book's stylistic competence. Such a revision might also have removed most of the explicit moralizing the author indulges in. Acceptable enough in a sermon, gratuitous editorializing—and there are a number of examples—will turn off readers who prefer to draw their own moral conclusions and get on with the narrative.

The footnote references induce confidence that the work rests on solid documentation. But for many details that are far from common knowledge there is no indication of the author's source of information. Where, for example, did he find the verbatim prayer delivered by Roberts at the graveside of his grandson Paul (p. 379)? And is not the reader entitled to know the date and location of the Emmeline B. Wells letter recalling details about Joseph Smith (p. 388)? Many other such examples convince me that neither the author nor his editors have consistently applied the standards of proper scholarly documentation. This, after all, is not the retelling of a life whose documentary foundation has already been laid; it is the

first, the only, thorough treatment of its subject.

The bibliography is inadequate in all three of the functions one expects it to fulfill. First, all the published works by Roberts are not listed. Admittedly, the thousand or more separate articles, pamphlets, and sermons—Madsen's estimate—would have filled a fifty-page bibliography. But I wonder if a small type size combined with a clearly stated statement of purpose would not have permitted a complete listing of all the Roberts works except for sermons and newspaper articles, which could have been accounted for in a brief bibliographical essay. Second, a bibliography should list secondary sources, books, and articles relevant to the study. Not all of these are in the footnote references. Third, and probably most important, the unpublished primary sources are not clearly listed. One can of course use the footnotes, but there are too many such as the following: "From a journal of B. H. Roberts, 2 April 1883." Where is this journal? The same question has to be raised about other primary sources, including the letters and interviews collected by the author, which I hope have been deposited in a recognized repository.

There are a few problems with the book that are more serious. I am uncomfortable with the handling of Roberts' editing of the so-called documentary history. It is misleading to label this work as "the journal of Joseph Smith" (pp. 289-90). It is inaccurate to say (p. 438) that "the History of the Church had been dictated by Joseph Smith in third person." Even a sentence that says "much of it [was] gathered and dictated with the help of scribes" (p. 290) fails to give a correct picture of the process of creating this work. Dean Jessee's thorough reconstruction of the process (published in *BYU Studies* 11 [1971] and the *Journal of Mormon History* 3 [1976]) is not cited. To say that Roberts chose the Wentworth letter version of the first vision as "the later source written by Joseph Smith himself in preference to earlier sources which were dictated to scribes" shows a faulty understanding of the production of that letter, not to mention lack of respect for the integrity of documents. I assume Truman Madsen does not wish to argue that the "documentary" history is reliable by today's standards. It is not, and the recent publication of excerpts from it under the title *Journal of Joseph* is a display of ignorance and crass exploitation of an audience whose tradition has not trained them to discriminate.

Footprints in the Wilderness:



A History of the Lost Rhoades Mines

By Gale Rhoades and Kerry Boren

Back in print after ten years, the long awaited reprint of the classic work on the Lost Rhoades Mines in the Uintah Mountains is now available. Completely revised with new material, maps, and photos of Indian and Spanish gold mines, this fascinating account is must reading for anyone interested in Utah history. The clothbound edition will make an excellent gift for the holidays and can be delivered before Christmas.

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To my mind there is too much playing fast and loose with chronology. In describing the "turn-around" in Roberts' life at about age twenty-one, Madsen says, "Now he began his literary baptism by immersion." An incredible list of historical and philosophical works follow with author Madsen's occasional editorializing on what Roberts would have gleaned from the individual works. While the survey is useful in the general sense of calling attention to a voracious appetite for reading, we are left in the dark as to whether the reading program was largely completed in Centerville at age twenty-one or extended over a lifetime. It is implausible to me that Roberts at that age ("the better part of a year") read, at least with any comprehension, a 42-volume set of the Church Fathers. This kind of problem recurs.

One wishes that more space had been allowed. Many subjects are touched upon, leaving the reader thirsting for more information, more in-depth discussion, more follow-through. To be sure, some of these subjects—Roberts' testimony of the Book of Mormon and his unfinished master work "The Truth, the Way, and the Life", have been treated more fully by Madsen himself in separate articles (See *BYU Studies* 15 [1975]: 259-92 and 19 [1979]: 427-45). The omissions may have been necessitated by the publisher's demands. One does not envy Dianne Higginson, who undertook what Madsen calls "the grim task of reducing the thousand pages of manuscript to six hundred" (p. xiv).

But some omissions are critical. If he was anything, Roberts was controversial. He seemed to relish being in the thick of the fray. Indeed, a natural if one-sided approach to his life would be in terms of a series of controversies. Not a decade passed, I think, from the 1880s to his death that he failed to become embroiled in at least one scrap. Here I am referring not to his polemical defense of Mormonism against outside critics but to fights within the circle of Mormon leaders. The Thatcher-Roberts incident of 1895 was followed by a series of differences between Roberts and his fellow general authorities. The role of the Seventy, the relationship of science to Genesis, the implications of secular scholarship to the Book of Mormon—these are but three of the issues over which the blacksmith orator crossed swords with his "brethren." Although Roberts valued harmony and characteristically deferred to his colleagues rather than prolong an argument when it was obviously deadlocked, he did not back down easily and was not one to state his opinion

timidly. These controversies tell much about Roberts as a person and about the inner dynamics of Church leadership. But in the present biography they are muted, downplayed, or omitted. It is well and good to wish to include other things, to give credit to Roberts for the many constructive achievements of his life, but I cannot help but feel that the essence of a scrapper has been partially lost.

I do not think we will raise the standards of the works purveyed to Mormon audiences by our regional, specialized publishers until we demand adherence to minimal standards. Most everything I have found lacking in the present work could have been taken care of by a modicum of extra effort. It is such things as the final polish of style, refraining from "preachy" moralizing, and thoroughly professional documentation in footnotes and bibliography that raise a work to the level that will receive respectful reading by the larger audience and professional journals.

Having frankly stated my disappointments, having noted some of the flaws that will deprive the book of a hearing in academic circles, I wish to conclude on a positive note. It is a mistake, Hugh B. Brown used to say, to keep our attention so focused on the sun spots that we miss the brilliance of the sun. This is a very good book. I learned something from every chapter. Few Latter-day Saints will fail to gain from it both inspiration and knowledge. I predict for it a long and deserved success. It stands among the top half-dozen of Mormon biographies and for now may well head the list.

DAVIS BITTON received his PhD from Princeton in history. Co-author of *The Mormon Experience*, he is currently professor of history at the University of Utah.

The Farley Family Reunion

Written by James Arrington

Directed by Lynn C. Frost

With original music by Jerry Williams and set design by Stewart Wakefield.

Somewhere in the foggy limbo between Zion and Babylon lies contemporary Mormon culture, perpetuating itself. It is either openly criticized by Church members where it is firmly entrenched and feels no fear of extinction (Utah, Idaho, Southern California), or deliberately nurtured by clusters of faithful LDS hovering together for protection amid the more populous gentiles (New York, Chicago). Happily, perhaps now that we are an expanding, international church, it is becoming possible to distinguish between our revealed religion and the culture that

grew up around it—enough at least to laugh at the latter without feeling irreverent.

The popularity of Calvin Grondahl's cartoons demonstrates with what relief we temporarily unload the burden of being a light to the world and chuckle at our peculiarities. And even the *Ensign* is willing to admit the numerous possibilities for humor in the Mormon lifestyle with its regular feature, "Mirthright."

But it took James Arrington, who feels no need either to reinforce or ridicule Mormon Society, to write a play—a comedy, strictly about our culture and completely free from self-consciousness.

The Farley Family Reunion is a collection of broad character sketches which include four generations of the Farley family who loyally show up for the annual summer reunion—a day long event complete with family farm reports, genealogy and council updates, the obligatory program, and lunch (if you have paid for it). Arrington, widely known for his one-man show *Here's Brother Brigham*, authored and co-stars in this two-man production with Allison Hickman. Together, they give us 26 delightful characters with Hickman playing "some of them" and Arrington providing "the rest of them."

We get some strong clues as to the tone of the evening by the look of the play's printed program. It includes an agenda for the reunion, dotted with misspellings that often cannot be distinguished from the typographical errors. On the back is an elaborate pedigree chart in impressive calligraphy. Upon close examination it shows a helter-skelter posterity with relationships bewilderingly obscured, and given names indigenous only to Utah.

The family association's president, Heber C. Farley, ceremonially welcomes the audience to the reunion, and with an intricate test of the microphone and sound system, the fun begins.

Viola Waddups opens with the family's theme song, "Climb Every Mountain," singing in a vibrato (with no accompaniment) that pales every parody of Jesse Evans Smith. The audience applauds spontaneously as Heber interjects, "And she's never had a lesson in her life." We hear a hilarious story from Pearl Akselson, the family genealogist, about a pioneer ancestor who singlehandedly killed a buffalo as food for her starving children and sick husband, slept inside its carcass for warmth and when she awoke to find wolves gnawing on the meat, cut two holes in the buffalo hide, grabbed hold of

the wolves tails, and drove herself and the family's dinner 12 miles back to camp.

The whole family is spunky, especially Aunt Minnie June who has been in poor health all her life and carries her X-rays around in her purse. "I always take home what I pay for," she points out. Another lively character portrayed by Hickman is Arvilla Farley, the organization's secretary. In and out of the house while continually adjusting her rhinestone-studded glasses, Arvilla keeps order, cooks huge amounts of food, fields phone calls from family members too far away to come but wanting to say their hellos, and demands confessions from nasty children we never see, but who disembowel dolls with cherry bombs and torture the cat (which needs to be replaced every year). Marva Bingham and Geneva Farley, in the same housecoats they wore all over Europe, show us slides of the trip: the Cathedral of Notre Dame, "named after our college here"; Venus de Milo whose missing arms "undoubtedly held her towel after her bath"; and Michelangelo's defoliated David, with a prudent hand upon the screen to replace the absent fig leaf.

Arrington's Heber Farley, as a favor to the cousin who provided all of the meat for the noon meal, announces "the Annual Regional Christian Patriot's Defense League Freedom Festival Citizen's Emergency Defense System Picnic and Small Bore Rifle Marksmanship Competition at Camp Custer up Freedom Fork in Mac Arthur Canyon"—a case of parodying personality types by imitating them almost exactly. And of course there are the awards, the most amusing of which went to the parents of eight girls and one boy named respectively Arizona, California, Colorado, Idahona, Montana, Oregona, Utahna, Wyoma and little Brick.

In spite of this nonsense the characters are not revolting but endearing. Though unsophisticated and having achieved nothing by way of worldly success, (of the 47 Farleys attending college this year, most tried real hard for a while or got married), there is something healthy about characters who feel no need to justify their place in the cosmos. Their idiosyncrasies are harmless. It is the extended family support system at its best. As we recognize some of our zany, pesky relatives and ward members in the play we are almost persuaded to organize a family reunion of our own if we could be assured of as many laughs as we had at *The Farley Family Reunion*.

One serious flaw, however, occurs at the

end of the play when a third-generation Farley who has been missing for years returns incognito to the reunion.

Contrite, for reasons which she tried to explain but we never fully understand, the young lady claims that she is no longer embarrassed by her family and is prepared to acknowledge them. It is an attempt to justify the writing of the play, and to let the audience know that having a family means having a heritage that should be valued and improved upon. But the moment is awkward and unnecessary because by intermission, we have learned that lesson for ourselves.

Character acting is Arrington's forte. Trained at the American Conservatory Theatre in San Francisco, he can paint a personality in a few seconds with broad swift strokes, believably creating, for example, the 99-year-old Farley patriarch with the tilt of his head and the manipulation of his tongue and voice. He is an entertainer whose energy increases whenever he has contact with the audience, whether onstage as Chester setting up the sound equipment before the show, or as Heber sharing potato chips with the audience during intermission. The real proof of his unpretentious performance becomes clear when Arrington plays some of the female roles in drag without the slightest cause for offense or innuendo.

No stranger to family reunions, Arrington has created his characters and written material for them over a period of years. Impressed with Hickman's previous performances at BYU, he developed characters especially for her. And she holds her own, though she is somewhat less experienced than Arrington.

The play's initial run was at BYU under the generous auspices of Dr. Harold Oaks, who, as chairman of the Department of Drama and Cinematic Arts, has allowed professionals in the theatre to use the resources at the University, and given credit to drama students who work on productions outside of the department. This is in refreshing contrast to the "play it safe, take no risks" policy that has strangled quality theatre activity at BYU in the past.

A tour of *The Farley Family Reunion* is being organized for other cities in Utah and should reach California and Arizona by February.

Merilee Van Wagonen

MARILEE VAN WAGENEN is a homemaker and mother of four children. She studied drama at BYU and the American Conservatory Theatre in San Francisco.

Sunday School Supplement

Winton Thomas once wrote that "not all Israel's story is told in the Old Testament. It has to be supplemented by the evidence of ancient documents discovered by archaeologists—inscriptions on clay, stone, seals and coins, and writings on potsherds, papyrus and leather." [*Documents from Old Testament Times*, (New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1961), p. v.] In like fashion, not all of the knowledge on the Old Testament is found within the walls of Mormonism. This supplement is an effort to present to the readers selections from a variety of sources; however, a real study of the Old Testament should take

the interested student to the scores of scholarly works available.

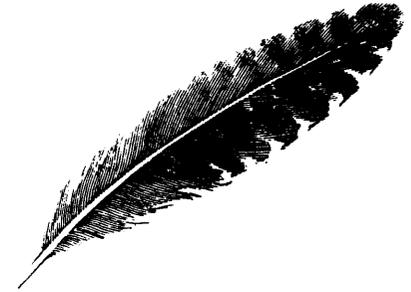
THE PENTATEUCH AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

The Documentary Hypothesis of Authorship

Why do college and seminary textbooks, commentaries, Bible dictionaries, Bibles with study helps, and Christian education curriculums regard the Pentateuch as composed of legends, myths, folk tales, fiction, and folklores? Why do they represent Moses as leading only a few of the twelve tribes from Egypt through the desert? Why do they consider the tabernacle and the

priesthood associated with Israel in the Pentateuch as a figment of the imagination?

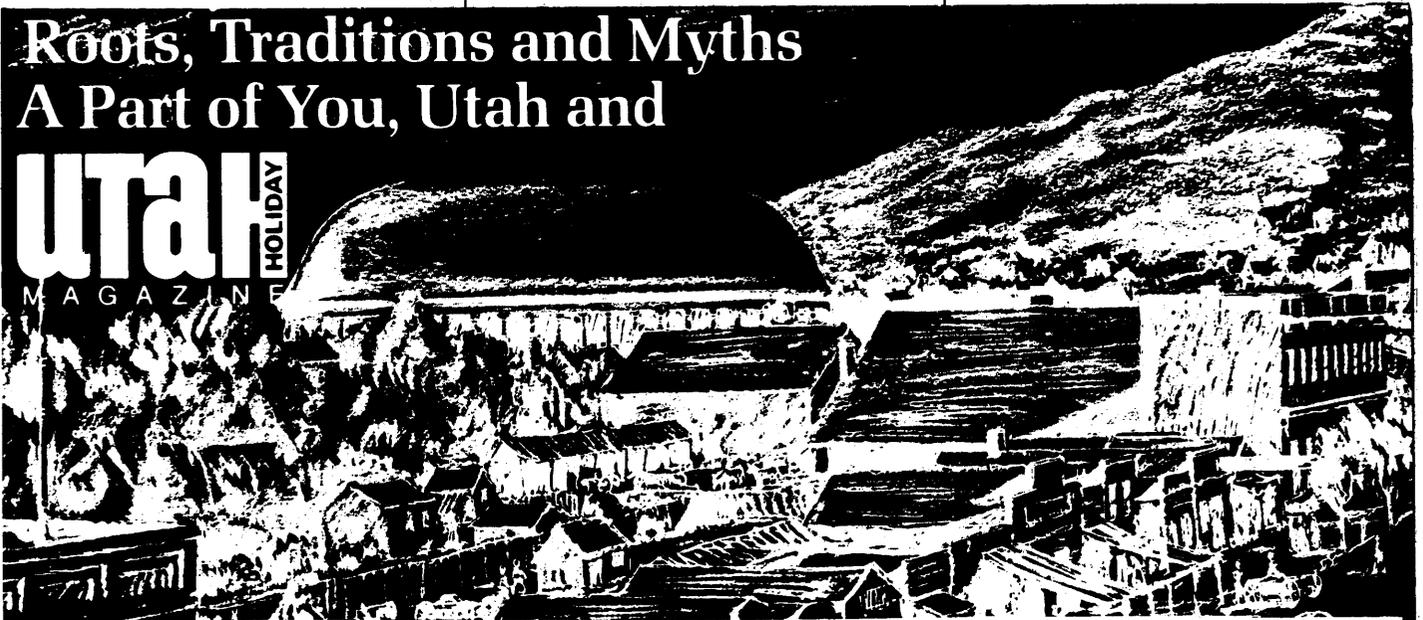
The popular view that the Pentateuch is composed of documents written beginning in the ninth century B.C. and completed by about 400 B.C. provides the basis for these perspectives. The dating of the composition of the first five books of the Bible basically affects and often determines the interpretation of



the content. That the theory of authorship provides the framework for interpretation is willingly acknowledged by authors of textbooks offering an interpretation of the Old Testament. (Cf. R. H. Pfeiffer *Old Testament Introduction*, 1941; p. 141; Gerald Larue, *Old Testament Life and Literature*, pp. 31-33; and others).

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The viewpoint that Moses was responsible for the Pentateuch as held by Jewish and Christian scholars was brought into question during the eighteenth century. The literary partition of Genesis was suggested by Witter (1711) and Astruc (1753) on the basis of two names used for deity in the first two chapters. Eichhorn (1775) developed this idea of documents on a scientific basis, identifying literary styles for various documents throughout the entire Pentateuch. Graf (1865) advocated the theory that the laws during Old Testament times developed from the simple to the complex. The classic exposition of this documentary hypothesis in contrast to Mosaic authorship was published by Julius Wellhausen (1878). Using the literary analysis with ingenuity and creativity he proposed four hypothetical documents, each reflecting the times in which they were written—J (Jehovah) composed during Jehoshaphat's reign, ca. 850 B.C.; E (Elohim) written during the time of Jeroboam II, ca. 750 B.C.; D (Deuteronomy) originating during the Josian era, ca. 650 B.C.; and P (Priestly Code) dated in exilic times, ca. 550 B.C.—for the composition of the Pentateuch by about 400 B.C. Wellhausen was influenced by Hegel and Darwin in advocating the concept that Israel's religion evolved from animism to national henotheism and finally under the influence of the prophets and exilic conditions into ethical monotheism. The book of Genesis yielded no historical knowledge. The patriarchs were but primitive nomads and the religion of Israel began with the exodus. The law came in the wake of the prophetic movement which began in the eighth century, while the psalms were largely exilic or later.

The Wellhausen position regarding the composition of the Pentateuch seemed so reasonable, sure, and satisfying to contemporary scholarship that it gained a wide acceptance. Penetratingly influential in the dissemination of this theory was the book by S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, published in 1891 and republished in the Meridian series in 1957. During the early decades of this century many volumes in Old Testament studies were published, not the least of which was *Introduction to the Old Testament* by R. H. Pfeiffer in 1941. Optimism prevailed that this literary-critical method had produced results that were firmly established and assured for all times.

Samuel J. Schultz, *The Gospel of Moses* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1979), pp. 48-50.

The Mosaic Hypothesis of Authorship

When the Pentateuch is taken seriously against the background of ancient Near Eastern culture as it has become known in recent times, it is reasonable to consider Moses as its author. Being trained in Egypt when the pharaohs extended their control up to the Euphrates River, Moses may have had as classmates royal hostages from the city-states in Palestine and Syria so that the culture and languages of the fertile crescent became part of his general education. His awareness of the divine promises to the patriarchs and his involvement in leading the Israelites out of Egypt to the land of Canaan provided the general circumstances in which he would have been concerned to write an account of God's relationship with man available to posterity. The book of Genesis provided the introduction and background as Moses reminded the Israelites on the Moab plains that God's love for them as a chosen people began with the patriarchs.

The covenant between God and Israel at Mount Sinai was given in written form in the model of contemporary treaties. Several references—Exod. 17:14; 24:4-8; 34:27; Num. 33:1f.—undeniably credit Moses with writing. When the content of Exodus-Deuteronomy is taken at face value it is apparent that Moses was personally associated with most of the content as leader of Israel and mediator between them and God. It seems reasonable that Moses committed to writing the collection of laws, the details concerning the tabernacle, the instructions concerning various offerings, the installation of the priesthood, the instructions concerning the importance and significance of the feasts and seasons they were to observe, and combined this with an account of the events that occurred under his leadership. All of this was essential for coming generations of Israelites to realize that God had chosen them, manifested His love and mercy toward them in delivering them from Egyptian bondage, and had made known to them through Moses the covenant way of life so that through their personal devotion and commitment they would express their love for God, thereby fulfilling the law. The primacy of writing down important material in contemporary culture certainly is applicable when the revelation of God to Israel at Mount Sinai is recognized.

If there ever was a historic situation where a written document would have been considered important in the ancient Near East, it was the occasion in which Moses gave his farewell to the Israelites on the Moab plains before his death. He

focused attention upon the unique divine revelation at Mount Sinai in which a special relationship between them and God was established. His basic concern was that this unique relationship with God should be maintained in a wholehearted exclusive devotion to and love for God not only by them but also by coming generations. To preserve it for posterity, Moses provided the law in written copies to be kept by the ark, according to Deuteronomy 31. The priests were charged with the responsibility to teach the people and provide copies for future leaders of Israel. Oral dissemination to every household was made through the public reading of the law every seven years. It would indeed have been inappropriate in the light of contemporary practice if Moses had left the content of God's great revelation to Israel to the process of oral transmission to posterity without taking advantage of preserving this in written form.

Based on the witness of contemporary culture and the internal claims of the Pentateuch itself, the present writer regards the first five books as essentially the work of Moses in interpreting the Old Testament, giving emphasis to the basic idea of the God-man relationship. Crucially significant is the Sinaitic revelation in which God spoke to Israel through Moses. Out of this issued the written word of divine revelation marking the birth of the Old Testament canon. With this in written form, the background for the God-man relationship is given in Genesis, which is unparalleled in literature and history as an introduction. With Moses as the great prophet, a written record is provided which was authoritative for Joshua and his generation of Israelites as well as posterity. By God-fearing people the Pentateuch was regarded as God's revelation and was supplemented by the prophets throughout Old Testament times.

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Samuel J. Schultz, *The Gospel of Moses*, (Chicago, Ill.: Moody Press, 1979), pp. 48-50, 64-67.

OF MEN & MIRACLES

This miracle consisted of seeing the rod which they possessed become a serpent (v. 9). Following the Lord's instructions they went to Pharaoh, presumably at a royal residence near the Delta Region, and cast down the rod as commanded. The rod suddenly became a serpent (v. 10). This miraculous sign was designed to confirm the fact that the message that Moses and Aaron brought indeed came from the living God, a God whom Pharaoh claimed not to have known—or in any case refused to obey (cf. 5:2). Pharaoh, however, was not convinced that this miracle possessed any uniqueness or was indeed anything different from what Egyptian magicians and sorcerers could duplicate; thus, wise men and sorcerers were called in to perform for Pharaoh, vindicating his suspicions (v. 11).

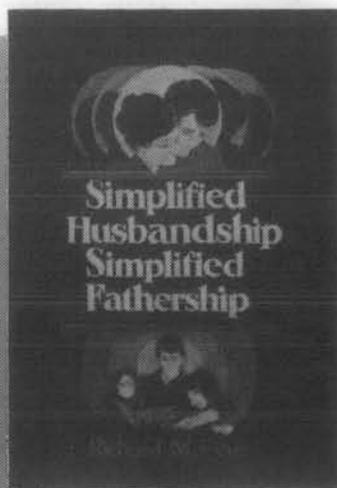
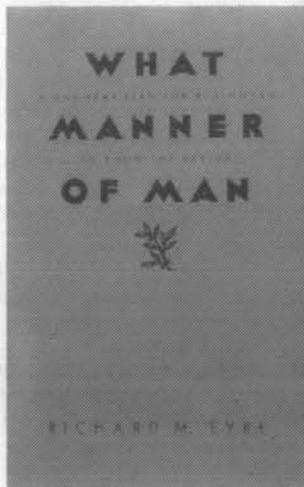
We know from ancient documents that magic and sorcery were not only common throughout the land of Egypt, but played a significant role in the lives of the pharaohs. From the Old Kingdom period comes a very interesting and

informative tale about King Khufu and the magicians (*Papyrus Westcar* in Berlin). While the story related to King Kheops, the builder of the great pyramid, the present papyrus manuscript dates back only to the Hyksos period. The story concerns tales told by the son of Kheops relating to the wonders which magicians had performed in the past. Later one of his sons informed him that he knew a living magician who could work miracles. This magician was brought before the king and worked miracles in the king's presence, and in addition to that predicted the future. What precisely do we mean when we speak of "Egyptian magic?" Included in this multifaceted subject would be

"... cursing (including killing); curing; erotic magic; agricultural (including weather); divination; and resurrection. Since magic and medicine are hard to untangle, and since the Egyptians did not, as a rule, try to untangle them, we will discuss curative magic under medicine."

The question that has long plagued scholars revolves around the nature of the events which followed the miracle performed by Moses and Aaron. Just precisely what did the magicians in Egypt do? The biblical text expresses the

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fact that they "also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents . . ." (vv. 11-12). These verses have received four basic interpretations. The first is that the event was merely an optical illusion; that is:

Moses describes the act of the sorcerers as it appeared to Pharaoh and the spectators . . . They represent the magicians as deceiving the spectators by acting upon their imagination.

Such trickery or deceit is many times attributed either to Satan himself or to evil spirits. This interpretation relies heavily on the Hebrew expression *belatehem* (v. 22) which is variously translated as "with their enchantments" (KJV), "by their secret arts (RSV) or "with their witchcraft" (*Jerusalem Bible*). The verb used in this passage (*lahat*) literally means to "blaze up, to flame." The advocates of this viewpoint argue that the magicians produced a dazzling delusion with the use of their rods thus deceiving those present; however, since the Septuagint translates this word as *pharmakeiais* which means "sorcery, magic, or magical arts" (cf. Gal. 5:20), it may well be that the original root was the Hebrew *lat* or *lat* which means secrecy or mystery.

The second interpretation offered is simply that the magicians performed an effective sleight of hand thus convincing Pharaoh that a miracle had been performed. This view would argue that actual serpents did appear but were produced by a sleight of hand rather than a mere illusion occurring with perhaps no serpents being present at all. Commentators who advocate this view either argue that the magician produced the snakes by the sleight of hand alone or that Satan actually aided in the performance of this event; in other words, the substitution of actual serpents for the rods of the magicians was accomplished by the power of Satan.

The third view which has been suggested for the meaning of this passage is best summarized by James G. Murphy:

It is certain that the charming of serpents has long been practiced in Egypt and adjacent countries. The serpent called *hage* by the Arabs, apparently the asp, can be made to appear as dead or rigid as a stick, and of course, restored to its natural state again.

K. A. Kitchen notes that this kind of conjuring was not uncommon in Egypt. The cobra (Arabic *naja haje*) could be

rendered immobile if pressure was applied to the muscles at the nape of the neck. It is the general viewpoint of the advocates of this position, and the ones discussed above, that men (and Satan) do not have the power to create life. It has been pointed out that the three things duplicated by the magicians—the turning of their rods into serpents (7:12), turning the water into blood (7:22), and bringing up the frogs (8:7)—did not involve the creation of life; whereas, the producing of lice from inanimate dust did require this (8:16-19) which the magicians could not perform and so confessed.

The final view is that the magicians actually did perform some miraculous feat, probably by evil supernaturalism. One writer argues, "it is clearly not mere jugglery nor sleight of hand. It is suggested that men under the influence of demonic power can do things which would fall in the classification of miraculous; therefore, under the influence of satanic power the magicians performed real miracles, thus hardening Pharaoh's heart. It is, of course, understood that God restricts the exercise of such power, and on this particular occasion permitted the magicians to perform in such a way as to guarantee the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.

The solution to this problem is not at all easy as indicated by the great division among conservative commentators. What is clear is that whatever the magicians did was sufficiently close to the acts of Moses and Aaron as to satisfy the heart of the wicked king. If Satan indeed does possess the power to create life (or the illusion of life), then the acts of the magicians were miraculous in nature. If, however, it can be argued effectively that evil men and evil spirits do not possess such powers, then the conclusion must necessarily be that the magicians through sleight of hand and deception were able to satisfy the desires of Pharaoh even though what they performed was not an exact duplicate of that which Moses and Aaron had done. Whatever the precise nature of their work, one thing is clear: It accomplished what God intended; namely, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart. Jacob J. Davis, *Moses and the Gods of Egypt*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1971, pp. 81-84.

WAS MOSES TRANSLATED?

It may be said that Enoch and his holy city went to heaven, that Elijah was caught up, and that it is generally believed that Moses did NOT die; still the sentence that is passed upon all mankind will come upon them at some time or other.

They must meet this change, to be prepared to enter into the celestial kingdom of our Father and God.

Brigham Young, President of the Church, An Address, June 19, 1859, *Journal of Discourses* 6:333, 7:193.

So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And He buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. (Deuteronomy 34:5-6.)

Do you think God revealed that? I am satisfied He did not. The person who revised these books added that by way of explanation. How do they know he died, or how do they know the Lord buried him? They simply learned that Moses went out of the midst of the people; they did not know what became of him; so they supposed he died and that the Lord buried him, because nobody else had done so. 'No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' No wonder; we have learned, *he was treated the same as Elijah was*; not taken up in a chariot of fire perhaps, but TRANSLATED, quickened by the power of God, that he might remain as a witness of the Lord unto the last day. He appeared with Elijah to Jesus in the mount of transfiguration. It is appointed unto all men *once* to die; but some men have been translated, as it was in the days of Enoch, and they will like others pass through the great change.

Charles W. Penrose, An Address, June 25, 1893, *Millennial Star* 55:559, August 28, 1893.

We understand why Elijah and Moses were preserved from death. Because *they had a mission to perform*, and it had to be performed BEFORE the crucifixion of the Son of God, and it **COULD NOT** be done in the spirit. *They had to have tangible bodies*. Christ is the first fruit of the resurrection; therefore if any former prophets had a work to perform preparatory to the mission of the Son of God, or to the dispensation of the meridian of times, it was ESSENTIAL that they be preserved to fulfill that mission *in the flesh*."

Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the Twelve, *Doctrines of Salvation* 2:110-111.

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This book is valuable to the student interested in the role of covenants, blessings, and obedience in Old Testament times.



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