SUNSTONE

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DECENNIAL REFLECTIONS

Peggy Fletcher

When he was a boy my father, the quiet studious scientist, thought he would marry a Madame Curie type and they would spend their lives doing meticulous experiments together in their tidy, ordered house. Instead he found himself presiding over a family of nine lively, talkative, independent spirits (including my mother) and a chaotic laughter-filled home. Night after night at the dinner table, as he dabbed at the spilled milk that somehow always found its way onto his suit pants, I would hear him moan: "If I had known in detail what marriage and children were like when I was courting, I'd never have gotten married. But," he would quickly add, "I'm very glad I did."

I guess we never know exactly where our commitments will take us. Eleven years ago this August I agreed to help Scott Kenney start a magazine. I gave it about as much thought as if he had asked me to direct a roadshow for my ward. The enterprise sounded fun, like an adventure. Not being particularly visionary, I had no sense at the time that I was walking into a whirlwind. Looking back now, I like to think I see God's involvement from time to time nudging events, sending people, and whispering ideas.

Choosing the name, SUNSTONE, seems like one of those magical moments. After months of heated discussion we rejected such suggestions as *The Vineyard, Rough Draft, Chrysallis, The Mormon Student, Stratavarious, The Nouveau Expositor, The Harbinger*, and several others. We settled finally on *Whetstone* but when Scott mentioned this to Bob Rees, then editor of *Dialogue*, he balked. We had intended to imply a sharpening of our wits, a refining of our minds and ideas, but Bob pointed out that those who didn't like the publication would say we were sharpening our knives against the Church. He recommended SUNSTONE instead. Tired of discussing it and almost completely unfamiliar with the term, we all hesitantly agreed.

I confess I had neither seen nor even heard of the Nauvoo temple sunstone. With a bit of research I discovered there were thirty sunstones on the temple (forming the capital of the pilasters), as well as thirty starstones and thirty moonstones. The sunstones were the largest, measuring four feet by six feet, and weighing some three thousand pounds. But the intended symbolism was unclear. The face on the stone is engimatic, at once ominously scowling and benign, depending on the viewing angle. And there is confusion about what the two hands above the sun are holding; are they horns of plenty symbolizing the fertility of the restored gospel, or trumpets sounding an apocalyptic call?

Because the sunstone is all that remains of the Nauvoo temple, it stands as a historical link between the generations, reminding us of the continuity of truth. As a genuine icon, it represents the integral nature of artistic expression and religious sentiment. But the sunstone points to much more than these. In terms of Mormon theology the sunstone is obviously a symbol of Jesus Christ, the light of the world. The sun is also an explicit symbol for the dwelling place of celestial beings and the quest for perfection, a belief in the truth and light which battle the dark side of human life. The sun is the source of all creation and regeneration; indeed, of life itself.

The stone, on the other hand, is a physical image, representing the union of matter and spirit. It also suggests a firm grounding in reality, a concern with the practicalities of this world. Moreover, the stone is the Church. "On this rock I will

build my church." The rock of our salvation.

Because there are no instant identifications which would place it in a fixed category, the meaning of SUNSTONE can be created afresh with each new reader. The possibility of multilevel interpretation, the very mystery of the name, allow it a richness of meaning.

How completely the contents live up to name, only time and the readers can determine. My own assessment is that we have succeeded miraculously at some of our goals and failed dismally at others. But the striving has been instructive. I have repeatedly encountered "teaching moments" and have learned much.

Here are a few things I have come to understand:

1. The tone of an article is often more important than the content. Criticisms offered without rancor, bitterness, self-righteousness, or whining are consistently the most effective ones. The wisdom of the saying, "You catch more flies with honey than vinegar," seems increasingly evident.

2. Articles which affirm an institutional position or elaborate in some original way a standard doctrine are very rare, and when available they are often dull or poorly written. It is easier to communicate with clarity and feeling those things we dislike or wish to reform than those we accept and embrace. Creative adrenalin seems to accompany criticism more readily than praise.

3. Mormon writers seem most at home with the passive voice, academic prose, and numerous footnotes. Perhaps because of the authoritative nature of our faith and tradition, writers tend to rely too heavily on authorities outside themselves. They are least comfortable taking responsibility for their own ideas. Too, with a few obvious exceptions, it seems more acceptable to write honestly about dead people than living ones.

4. Even Mormon intellectuals are not very interested in reading about or listening to other religions.

5. News reporting about the Church is almost completely uncharted territory, for which there is little if any competition. Also, news coverage in the finest journalistic tradition will always be perceived by some of our readers as "gossip" or "rumor-mongering." News printed on nice paper is more acceptable to some than exactly the same news printed on newsprint.

6. The terms "positive" and "negative" are regularly misapplied to articles and issues dealing with Mormon topics and are often completely beside the point. The questions should be: Is it fair? Is it honest? Is it accurate? Is it well-reasoned? Is it informative? Does it make me think, or reconsider old ideas in a new way? If the answer is yes, then it is positive.

7. All small businesses face cash-flow problems; they come with the territory. In addition, business sense (like changing a tire) is not necessarily a male genetic inheritance, nor is it bestowed with the priesthood.

8. Simple Mormon folk are sometimes more open than Mormon intellectuals. We all have our biases which we close to discussion.

9. Every author (including myself) needs a good editor and several rewrites. Authors who are most interested in communicating their ideas, and are self-confident generally, readily accept suggested changes.

10. Strength and support often come from surprising sources. Many times those with the fewest riches make the largest donations.

11. It is a great pleasure to publish the work of little-known authors. Discovering talent in unexpected places confirms our theology: spiritual insights belong to all God's children, not just the elect.

12. Although it resembles them in many ways, SUNSTONE is not and never will be a "normal" periodical. Christian virtues like compassion, tolerance, and forgiveness ought to be evident in both the writing and the governing of SUNSTONE.

13. SUNSTONE is not for everyone. Many people live genuinely good, virtuous lives without a second thought for the knotty complexities of contemporary issues. Others are temperamentally incapable of avoiding them. For the latter group, a periodical like SUNSTONE becomes more than a magazine, almost a way of life.

14. A good sense of humor is absolutely essential to involvement with any publication like SUNSTONE. Whenever you think you've reached the bottom of the hole, there's always farther to fall. While you're falling, you should at least be able to laugh. Never take yourself too seriously.

A single list could not possibly contain all the good things I've learned while working for SUNSTONE; likewise, a single issue could not possibly contain all the pieces worth reprinting in ten years of publishing. At best, this issue can only offer a representative sample.

In any case the selection process was necessarily subjective and arbitrary, painful and arduous. Because the reader survey indicated a low interest in fiction and poetry, we eliminated them from the issue. On the other hand, although it was extremely popular, because of its length we declined to reprint "Fires of the Mind," Robert Elliott's three-act play about missionaries in Taiwan. Moreover, we restricted our choice to issues now completely out of print (1975-79). Works that were excellent when they appeared but are now somewhat dated or works that were too technical for a general readership were omitted.

The meaning of SUNSTONE can be created afresh with each new reader.

What all of this means is that most readers will be disappointed to find some of their favorite works missing, and some authors will wonder why their pieces didn't appear. As editors we can only say that many of *our* personal favorites are similarly missing. But then, we liked almost all of them.

Reliving the past ten years this month has been nostalgic and, for the most part, gratifying. I am pleased and proud to have been associated with the fine authors whose work graced the pages of the magazine, and the fine editors and staff who have willingly sacrificed and strained to bring those ideas to the reading public. It has been instructive to see the controversies that have embroiled us. Issues that once burned passionately are now reduced to embers; others continue to blaze, and some that seemed only smouldering brush-fires have burst into flames. As I note the trends we accurately predicted, and those we curiously (and maybe stupidly) overlooked, I wonder what the next ten years will bring.

We offer this issue to celebrate the past and symbolize the future.

The Mormon Temple Experience

A non-Mormon look at a Latter-day Saint's most sacred ritual.

By Mark P. Leone

Probably the most noticeable feature of a Mormon is his certainty. He not only "knows" his church to be true and Joseph Smith to have been a prophet of God, he is certain he understands what life is about, his place in it, and his role in the past and future. He has the answers—and he really does. Producing that certainty are experiences and institutions like the temple, which takes the reality a Mormon lives with, calls it true, necessary, and painful; shows the bliss that comes from being valiant in the face of it; takes the fear out of it by immersing him in it inside the temple; and then sends the individual back out to start again.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has built eighteen temples from Switzerland to Sao Paulo, Hawaii to New Zealand. For a Mormon, the temple is as close to the otherworld as he can come on earth. The temple is God's residence rather more than the local chapel where he does most of his worshipping and all of his congregational meeting. A Mormon visits a temple once a month as a kind of norm, but may go every day, or several times a year. He may also go much less frequently than once a year. But he cannot be a good Mormon and avoid the temple.

Mormons go through a series of rites in the temple which guarantee them and their relatives, living and dead, the rewards the Church promises in the next life. The ceremonies are long and complex, take the nature of initiation rites centering on the individual and his family, and do not center on the congregation. They are the most sacred and meaningful acts a Mormon can perform.

The individual goes through the temple for himself and is often accompanied by relatives—husband, wife, and children. Socially it is a family experience in a very profound sense because the family ties are given eternal permanence in the temple, but spiritually and psychologically the temple has its deepest impact on the individual. The temple and its rites are about order; they create a continuous line of relatives stretching back through the otherwise personally meaningless epochs of history and do this through vicarious baptism for dead kinsmen, and through endowments and sealings projecting the family forward to infinity. The temple guarantees order in history and reduces the future to a function of acts performed now. Since all the temple rites use kinship as the basis for organization, every participant is an ego and builds his world accordingly. An individual does this only once for himself; all other times he assumes the ego of a relative or even someone else's relative.

The work an individual does in the temple allows him to be both a good Mormon and a success in the midst of the antagonistic world. The Mormon lives successfully both in the world of outside chaos and the world of order within the Church. We can assume he does so because, among other reasons, his temple experience shows and instructs him how. Mormon successes in business, government, management, and finance are so well celebrated they do not need relating here. Mormons handle the real world very well. Since the temple rites partake of heaven ("eternal things"), the transcendental and unempirical are the highest things a living Mormon can experience. This is puzzling in the face of Mormon worldly success. Many modern Christians, it can be argued, are quite successful in the world and believe in transubstantiation, the efficacy of prayer, and the reality of magic. Yet what the Mormon experiences in the temple is more personal, coherent, more enveloping and, I would suggest, requires a bigger leap of

faith if only because it is so new and untraditional, so ungrounded in popular acceptance, and so all-encompassing. The temple rites are extravagantly systematic in what they encompass of a person's life. They are supposed to affect one's life deeply, and rather obviously do, judging from what participants say.

How can Mormons negotiate being Mormon and being in the world simultaneously? The answer is: success comes not despite the peculiarity of the messages received in the temple, but because of them. The messages about the next life obviously deal with something unempirical, but the way those messages are delivered is very empirical and in fact forms the basis for what a Mormon takes from the temple in order to deal successfully with daily life. There are several real messages. The first focuses, as already suggested, on the family but stresses the individual. Recall the silence of the temple (Mormons cannot talk about it outside, even with each other, and must remain silent during the ceremonies). The emphasis is on meditation and reflection. Discussion in the temple is usually with a spouse or son or daughter. Individuals, knowing they are closer to God here, sometimes have visions and revelations, something Mormons are entitled to concerning themselves and their families. Ceremonies are small and culminate in securing one's own or a relative's place in the family for the next life. The whole takes place in the multitudinous vastness of this very broken up and isolated building. There is no emphasis on what is going on for anyone else, anywhere else and, indeed, there is no real way to find out. The individual is alone but never lonely. He is encouraged to resolve issues and questions of deep concern. There is no discussion and certainly no checking on either the questions or the answers taken away from the ceremonies. Answers to personal questions derived from inspiration could no more be questioned than a person's right to pray for them. All this is sponsored in the temple, and coincides with much other Mormon speculating and theologizing at a personal level in Sunday schools and sacrament meetings. It is interesting here because of the high level of idiosyncratic interpretation guaranteed to Mormons on spiritual matters.

Mormons have invented a very diffuse system in which each believer takes the Reformation injunction that every man be his own priest and moves a step further, namely, that he be his own theologian as well. This is a complex theme that cannot be developed here except to say that such a system of idiosyncratic meanings needs careful sponsorship and equally careful control. Its sponsorship comes in the many settings for and prescriptions to discuss the meaning of the faith in terms of everyday problems. It comes in the way ego must be fitted into the whole in the temple. Personal construction of meaning can proliferate freely only if, in addition to its being encouraged, it is not seen as being in conflict either with what other Mormons believe or with other segments of itself.

The particularity of the temple and its many isolated chambers preface and help guarantee the particularity of beliefs which can be found from Mormon to Mormon. The categories or compartments which exist in any one Mormon's world view and in which he holds incompatible ideas apart from each other are all licensed in the temple. Incompatible ideas stem from any system which involves secret oaths, private knowledge, ongoing revelations, and visions from the beyond. It stems from believing in biblical literalism and ongoing revelation; from holding alleged racial attitudes and backing civil rights for all; from opposition to evolutionary biology and believing in the evolution of knowledge; from sponsoring sexual prudery while frankly enjoying sex in private. This amounts to saying that Mormons like all believers must juggle discrepancies and contradictions, but, unlike most other Christians, they must do it individual by individual without professional thinkers to invent syntheses for them.

The highly compartmentalized and much commented on mode of thought that results from this is as much reflected in the temple as it is sponsored by the way the rituals operate. The cognitive principle behind all this is: close but mutually exclusive categories.

Any culture's mode of thought obviously must consist of categories and oppositions, but it is how they are combined that gives rise to the difference between groups. Mormon categories are exceptional in two ways. They are often at variance with and contradictory to the categories of American society. Furthermore, they are, in a system which depends on revelation for its logic, frequently at odds with themselves. This does not make the system unique—in fact it probably accounts for its considerable strength—but it makes the position of any individual Mormon more sensitive to the cognitive adjustments the world demands than ordinary Americans have to be. Non-Mormons are not forced at every turn to compare their notions to those of some superior power. Further, there are masses of clever people whose job it is to juggle any discrepancy when it appears. The Mormon must face this individually. He is very good at it, is given a lot of practice, and in the temple rites is shown how to hold the world together.

What clashing categories do Mormons bring to the temple? Mormons are encouraged to bring their personal problems to the temple; all expect deeply personal and integrating experiences there. There are other expectations as well. Originally, of course, Mormons expected the Millennium momentarily and to some extent they still do. The crisis of that nonevent as well as of continuing persecution are also brought to the temple. So, to some extent one comes to the temple with

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something on one's mind. Consider then the pressures the ordinary Mormon is under in his day-to-day life, pressures no more acute than those arising from having to make sense of the world within a religion which has been most public about its most spectacular differences with America (polygamy and the place of the black). Then match these against what actually happens in the sacred ceremonies.

The temple context is one of several where a Mormon can work out the paradoxes created by the way he sees the world.

Consider then what is going on for the Mormon in the temple. He brings expectations of profound experience and sometimes specific problems to be solved. Narrated before him by supernatural personages is the whole of human history comprising the creation, fall, and redemption of man. At one point there is actually verbal and physical contact with God himself and then God invites the purified to enter and experience heaven. Throughout the narrations people are listening to Adam, God the Father, and Christ talk, not as read by a reader out of the Gospels, but by people playing the heavenly beings. And for additional emotional impact the audience overhears private, off-stage conversations between God, Christ, Peter, and others making plans to redeem man based on his worthy performance. One Mormon, no doubt speaking for many others, said, "It's like going to heaven and coming back again." Mormons clearly know they have neither talked to God personally nor been in heaven, but they talk as though they have experienced something quite real, not a set of elaborate metaphors. What does the drama mean? How does it highlight ego and his place in the eternal family? And what does it do to allow a Mormon to live successfully and happily in a world so at odds with his religion?

I think the place to seek an answer is in Levi-Strauss' analysis of myth in *The Effectiveness of Symbols* (1963:186-205).

Levi-Strauss tells how a woman undergoing difficult childbirth was treated by a shaman who told her a myth of a gigantic struggle, a telling which eased and delivered the birth. Levi-Strauss likens the relationship between the pregnant woman and the shaman to that between a patient and a psychoanalyst. The shaman invites the woman to be absorbed in the myth, to experience the genuinely intense but abnormal pain she is feeling, pain which the shaman tells her is part of the struggle of the supernaturals elaborated in the myth. By allowing the woman to come to terms with, and to fully experience the pain and tension of her situation, the shaman eases the birth. By listening to the myth of violent and gargantuan struggle, a struggle which, according to the myth, is being played out in her loins right now, the woman can give free development to the conflicts and resistances inherent in her situation and can do so in a way allowing for their resolution. Levi-Strauss suggests that all this is effective even though the role of speaker is reversed with the therapist talking and the patient listening.

There are three elements involved in this analysis: (1) the individual who is experiencing some troublesome conflict, (2) the recitation to this involved audience of a conflict of transcendent importance which is being played out right now inside him or her, and (3) a transference relationship between listener and speaker.

Reflecting back now on the temple rites, recall that Mormons enter the temple under two simultaneous conditions. They come there expecting a deeply moving experience, one which is personal and fulfilling. Any Mormon entering the temple will also face two other problems, these being his general reason for doing temple work. He faces the problem, as does his whole church, of redeeming all those generations of mankind who lived before the "restoration of the gospel," i.e., before the advent of Mormonism. This problem is double-faceted: why was the Church founded so late in time? And why were previous generations excluded from it?

The second paradox which every Mormon faces just because he is Mormon and incidentally because he is a Christian as well, is the nonevent of the Millennium. The Prophet Joseph unambiguously promised the Second Coming before the generation to whom he was speaking passed away. Mormons are allowed very free personal rein in suggesting when Christ will return to earth and many expect to see him in their lifetimes. Nonetheless Christ has not come, and Joseph's generation has passed away. That problem is doubly poignant because the Second Coming would establish a bliss that would show both the triumph of the Church and an end to its persecution, the latter being something Mormons still dwell on and from time to time genuinely experience.

The effectiveness of reciting a myth about a blissful future to a congregation disappointed in its millennial hopes has been pointed out by John Gager in an illuminating analysis of the Book of Revelation, St. John's Apocalypse. The telling of the myth about the Millennium to a group who expects it immediately, allows the group, in Gager's use of Levi-Strauss, to experience directly and thus to resolve the conflict between the promised coming and its nonfulfillment, and between continued persecution and unarrived bliss. In the temple experience, if he believes what he is hearing, the Mormon is hearing a level of reality not present even in *Revelation*.

I have suggested two sets of problems any Mormon faces when going through the temple: the problem of saving the past and guaranteeing the future on one hand and, on the other, specific problems which derive from experiencing the arbitrariness and incoherence of the world, especially as it conflicts with Mormonism. The degree to which this consciously presses on a Mormon must vary a great deal and it is quite possible that most Mormons enter the temple without specific

awareness of any strong problem in particular. Nonetheless, every Mormon is aware of the fact that he is different from all other Americans, and that those differences, while central to his religion and well-being, are peculiar and often invite persecution. The Mormon then goes through an emotionally compelling ritual which narrates his basic fear, rejection by his Father, a consequently chaotic world, the tremendous power of the world's temptations, the great fear that he cannot remain steadfastly separate against them, and the horrendous punishments awaiting him outside the faith. He is treated to reunion with his dead relatives, permanent union into the next life with his closest kin; he enjoys the company of God and enters what can only be regarded as a foretaste of eternal bliss. A whole set of the most profound crises are faced for what they are, with their full implicatons for all to see.

The temple context is one of several where a Mormon can work out the paradoxes created by the way he sees the world. Here he overcomes time to experience both past and future, and overcomes space to experience spirit persons dwelling in another world. By experiencing such a melting of categories into each other the Mormon can tolerate the incoherence and arbitrariness he lives with daily. His own mode of thought seems to be to hold onto incommensurable notions, notions which are all quite essential to existence. The separation, although part of living a good Mormon life, creates a tension that is resolved through the temple rites. The resolution can be only temporary since Mormons cannot change the world or their place in it. Both their place in it, a subordinate one given their status as a religious and economic minority, and the success they have made in exploiting their position, exert some pressure to maintain things as they are. Since Mormons are very American and very Mormon, and since to be Mormon is to be both suspicious of America and to be very American, any Mormon may love his society and be in rebellion against it at the same time. He is perforce divided and lives in society and apart from it; he must live in and think about very close but exclusive categories. And if the categories are not maintained, his distinctness is eliminated and his identity along with it. Lost would be his ability to adjust to the demands of being a member of a minority, in short, his way of earning a living.

Now, reflecting back on the temple, we can see that the experience connected with it keeps a person a whole individual by helping him resolve the tensions of being Mormon, which in turn allows him to continue using the same conflicting categories that come from daily life, categories which make his participation possible in the first place. All this categorization, the very close but exclusive categories are seen in the physical aspect of the temple: the compartments, the floors, the lockers, the lighted maps showing which of the many rooms are in use, the multitude of towers and the silence. All this planning can now be understood in terms of the general cognitive principle that informs Mormonism: close but mutually exclusive categories. The temple isolates the individual, resolves that isolation, but does so only to plunge the individual back into it again when the ceremonies are over. Unlike psychotherapy and Levi-Strauss's childbirth myth, the tensions of life are addressed but not eliminated in the temple. The future cannot be changed but merely assured or perhaps glimpsed.

The temple isolates the individual, resolves that isolation, but only to plunge the individual back into it again.

MARK P. LEONE, an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Maryland, is the author of the book The Roots of Modern Mormonism.

The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine

From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology

By Thomas G. Alexander

Perhaps the main barrier to understanding the development of Mormon theology is an underlying assumption by most Church members that there is a cumulative unity of doctrine. Mormons seem to believe that particular doctrines develop consistently, that ideas build on each other in hierarchical fashion. As a result, older revelations are interpreted by referring to current doctrinal positions. Thus, most members would suppose that a scripture or statement at any point in time has resulted from such orderly change. While this type of exegesis or interpretation may produce systematic theology and while it may satisfy those trying to understand and internalize current doctrine, it is bad history since it leaves an unwarranted impression of continuity and consistency.[1]

By examining particular beliefs at specific junctures in Church history, this essay explores how certain doctrines have in fact developed. I have made every effort to restate each doctrine as contemporaries most likely understood it, without superimposing later developments. This essay focuses on the period from 1830 to 1835, the initial era of Mormon doctrinal development, and on the period from 1893 through 1925, when much of current doctrine seems to have been systematized. Since a full exposition of all doctrines is impossible in a short paper, I have singled out the doctrines of God and man. Placing the development of these doctrines into historical context will also illuminate the appearance of so-called Mormon neoorthodoxy (a term borrowed from twentieth-century Protestantism), which emphasizes particular ideas about the sovereignty of God and the depravity of man.[2]

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MORMON DOCTRINE 1830-1835

Historians have long recognized the importance of the Nauvoo experience in the formulation of distinctive Latter-day Saint doctrines. What is not so apparent is that before about 1835 the LDS doctrines on God and man were quite close to those of contemporary Protestant denominations.

Of course the problem of understanding doctrine at particular times consists not only in determining what was disseminated but also in pinpointing how contemporary members perceived such beliefs. Diaries of Church leaders would be most helpful. Currently available evidence indicates that members of the First Presidency, particularly Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Frederick G. Williams, and Sidney Rigdon were the principal persons involved in doctrinal development prior to 1835. Unfortunately, the only available diary from among that group is Joseph Smith's, which has been edited and published as *History of the Church.*[3]

Church publications from this period are important sources of doctrine and doctrinal commentary, given the lack of diaries. After the publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830, the Church supported *The Evening and the Morning Star* in Independence (June 1832-July 1833) and Kirtland (December 1833-September 1834). In October 1834, the *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, October 1834-September 1837) replaced the *Star*. Both monthlies published expositions on doctrine, letters from Church members, revelations, minutes of conferences, and other items of interest. William W. Phelps published a collection of Joseph Smith's revelations in the 1833 Book of Commandments, but destruction of the press and most copies left the *Star* and *Messenger* virtually the only sources of these revelations until 1835. In that year, the Doctrine and Covenants, which included the Lectures on Faith and presented both revelation and doctri-

nal exposition, was published.[4]

The doctrines of God and man revealed in these sources were not greatly different from those of some of the religious denominations of the time. Marvin Hill has argued that the Mormon doctrine of man in New York contained elements of both Calvinism and Arminianism, though tending toward the latter. The following evidence shows that it was much closer to the moderate Arminian position, particularly in rejecting the Calvinist emphasis on absolute and unconditional predestination, limited atonement, total depravity, and absolute perseverence of the elect.[5] It will further demonstrate that the doctrine of God preached and believed before 1835 was essentially trinitarian, with God the Father seen as an absolute personage of Spirit, Jesus Christ as a personage of tabernacle, and the Holy Ghost as an impersonal spiritual member of the Godhead.

The Book of Mormon tended to define God as an absolute personage of spirit who, clothed in flesh, revealed himself in Jesus Christ (Abinidi's sermon to King Noah in Mosiah chapters 13-14 is a good example). The first issue of the *Evening and Morning Star* published a similar description of God, the "Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ," which was the Church's first statement of faith and practice. With some additions, the "Articles" became section 20 of the Doctrine and Covenants. The "Articles," which according to correspondence in the *Star* was used with the Book of Mormon in proselytizing, indicated that "there is a God in heaven who is infinite and eternal, from everlasting to everlasting, the same unchangeable God, the framer of heaven and earth and all things which are in them." The *Messenger and Advocate* published numbers 5 and 6 of the Lectures on Faith, which defined the "Father" as "the only supreme governor, an independent being, in whom all fulness and perfection dwells; who is omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient; without beginning of days or end of life." In a letter published in the *Messenger and Advocate*, Warren A. Cowdery argues that "we have proven to the satisfaction of every intelligent being, that there is a great first cause, prime mover, self-existent, independent and all wise being whom we call God . . . immutable in his purposes and unchangeable in his nature."[6]

On the doctrine of creation, these works assumed that God or Christ was the creator, but they did not address the question of *ex nihilo* creation. There is little evidence that Church doctrine either accepted or rejected the idea or that it specifically differentiated between Christ and God.[7]

Indeed, this distinction was probably considered unnecessary since the early discussions also supported trinitarian doctrine. Joseph Smith's 1832 account of the First Vision spoke only of one personage and did not make the explicit separation of God and Christ found in the 1838 version. The Book of Mormon declared that Mary "is the mother of God, after the manner of the flesh," which as James Allen and Richard Howard have pointed out was changed in 1837 to "mother of the Son of God." Abinidi's sermon in the Book of Mormon explored the relationship between God and Christ: "God himself shall come down among the children of men, and shall redeem his people. And because he dwelleth in flesh he shall be called the Son of God, and having subjected the flesh to the will of the Father, being the Father and the Son—The Father, because he was conceived by the power of God; and the Son, because of the flesh; thus becoming the Father and Son—And they are one God, yea, the very Eternal Father of heaven and of earth." (Mosiah 15:1-4.)[8]

The Lectures on Faith differentiated between the Father and Son somewhat more explicitly, but even they did not define a materialistic, tritheistic Godhead. In announcing the publication of the Doctrine and Covenants which included the Lectures on Faith, the *Messenger and Advocate* commented editorially that it trusted the volume would give "the churches abroad . . . a perfect understanding of the doctrine believed by this society." The Lectures declared that "there are two personages who constitute the great matchless, governing and supreme power over all things—by whom all things were created and made." They are "the Father being a personage of spirit," and "the Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, a personage of tabernacle, made, or fashioned like unto man, or being in the form and likeness of man, or, rather, man was formed after his likeness, and in his image." The "Articles and Covenants" called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost "one God" rather than the Godhead, a term which Mormons generally use today to separate themselves from trinitarians.[9]

Much of the doctrine that early investigators found in Mormonism was similar to contemporary Protestant churches.

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost presented in these early sources is even more striking compared to the point of view defended in our time. The Lectures on Faith defined the Holy Ghost as the mind of the Father and the Son, a member of the Godhead, but not a personage, who binds the Father and Son together. This view of the Holy Ghost reinforced trinitarian doctrine by explaining how personal beings like the Father and Son become one God through the noncorporeal presence of a shared mind.[10]

If the doctrines of the Godhead in the early Church were close to trinitarian doctrine, the teachings of man seemed quite close to Methodist Arminianism, which saw man as a creature of God, but capable of sanctification. Passages in the Book of Mormon seemed to indicate that in theological terms man was "essentially and totally a creature of God."[11] Alma's commandments to Corianton in chapters 39 through 42 defined man as a creation of God who became "carnal, sensual, and devilish by nature" after the Fall (Alma 42:10). Man was in the hand of justice, and mercy from God was impossible without the

atonement of Christ. King Benjamin's discussion of creation, Adam's fall, and the atonement in Mosiah chapters 2 through 4 viewed man and all creation as creatures of God (Mosiah 2:23-26; 4:9, 19, 21). Warren Cowdery's letter in the *Messenger and Advocate* argued that though "man is the more noble and intelligent part of this lower creation, to whom the other grades in the scale of being are subject, yet, the man is dependent on the great first cause and is constantly upheld by him, therefore justly amenable to him."[12]

Persecution intensified the emphasis on perfectionism—which eventually led to the doctrine of eternal progression.

The Book of Mormon included a form of the doctrine of original sin, defined as a "condition of sinfulness [attaching] as a quality or property to every person simply by virtue of his humanness." Though sinfulness inhered in mankind from the fall of Adam according to early works, it applied to individual men only from the age of accountability and ability to repent, not from birth. Very young children were free from this sin, but every accountable person merited punishment.[13] Lehi's discussion of the necessity of opposition in 2 Nephi 2, particularly verses 7 through 13, made such sinfulness a necessary part of God's plan, since the law, the Atonement, and righteousness—indeed the fulfillment of the purposes of the creation—were contingent upon man's sinfulness. An article in *The Evening and the Morning Star* supported this view by attributing "this seed of corruption to the depravity of nature. It attributeth the respect that we feel for virtue, to the remains of the image of God, in which we were formed, and which can never be entirely effaced. Because we were born in sin, the Gospel concludes that we ought to apply all our attentive endeavors to eradicate the seeds of corruption. And, because the image of the Creator is partly erased from our hearts, the gospel concludes that we ought to give ourselves wholly to the retracing of it, and so to answer the excellence of our extraction."[14]

These early Church works also exhibit a form of Christian Perfectionism, which held man capable of freely choosing to become perfect like God and Christ but which rejected irresistable grace. *The Evening and Morning Star* said that "God has created man with a mind capable of instruction, and a faculty which may be enlarged in proportion to the heed and diligence given to the light communicated from heaven to the intellect; and that the nearer man approaches perfection, the more conspicuous are his views, and the greater his enjoyments, until he has overcome the evils of this life and lost every desire of sin; and like the ancients, arrives to that point of faith that he is wrapped in the power and glory of his Maker and is caught up to dwell with him." The Lectures on Faith argued that we can become perfect if we purify ourselves to become "holy as he is holy, and perfect as he is perfect," and thus like Christ.[15] A similar sentiment was expressed in Moroni 10:32 which declared "that by his grace ye may be perfect in Christ."

As Marvin Hill and Timothy Smith have argued, much of the doctrine that early investigators found in Mormonism was similar to contemporary Protestant churches. The section on the nature of God in the "Articles and Covenants," now Doctrine and Covenants 20:17-28, was similar to the creeds of other churches. In fact, what is now verses 23 and 24 is similar to passages in the Apostle's Creed.[16]

On the doctrines of God and man, the position of the LDS church between 1830 and 1835 was probably closest to that of the Disciples of Christ and the Methodists, though differences existed. Alexander Campbell, for instance, objected to the use of the term "Trinity" but argued that "the Father is of none, neither begotten nor preceding; from the Father and the Son." Methodist teaching was more explicitly trinitarian than that of either the Disciples or the Mormons. All three groups believed in an absolute spiritual Father. Methodists, Disciples, and Mormons also believed to some degree in the perfectability of man. As Alexander Campbell put it, "Perfection is . . . the glory and felicity of man. . . . There is a true, a real perfectability of human character and of human nature, through the soul-redeeming mediation and holy spiritual influence of the great Philanthropist." Methodists believed that all "real Christians are so perfect as not to live in outward sin."[17]

Mormons rejected the Calvinistic doctrines of election, which were basically at odds with their belief in perfectionism and free will, but so did the Methodists and Disciples. In the discussion of the Fall and redemption, Nephi declared that "Adam fell that men might be and men are they they might have joy" (2 Ne. 2:25). This joy was found through the redemption from the Fall which allowed men to "act for themselves and not to be acted upon, save it be by the punishment of the law at the great and last day, according to the commandments which God hath given" (2 Ne. 2:26). Like Methodist doctrine, however, the LDS doctrine of perfectionism began with the sovereignty of God and the depravity of unregenerate man. A careful reading of Mormon scriptures and doctrinal statements, however, leads to the conclusion that LDS doctrine went beyond the beliefs of the Disciples and Methodists in differentiating more clearly between Father and Son and in anticipating the possibility of human perfection through the atonement of Christ.[18]

Nevertheless, that there was disagreement—often violent disagreement—between the Mormons and other denominations is evident. The careful student of the Latter-day Saint past needs to determine, however, where the source of disagreement lay. Campbell in his *Delusions, An Analysis of the Book of Mormon* lumped Joseph Smith with the false Christs because of his claims to authority and revelation from God, and he objected to some doctrines. He also attacked the

sweeping and authoritative nature of the Book of Mormon with the comment that Joseph Smith "decides all the great controversies—infant baptism, ordination, the trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, eternal punishment, [and] who may baptize." Nevertheless, he recognized somewhat backhandedly that the Book of Mormon spoke to contemporary Christians with the comment that "the Nephites, like their fathers for many generations, were good Christians, believers in the doctrines of the Calvinists and Methodists." Campbell and others before 1835 objected principally to claims of authority, modern revelation, miracles, and communitarianism but not to the doctrines of God and man.[19]

LAYING THE BASIS FOR DOCTRINAL RECONSTRUCTION 1832-1890

During the remaining years of Joseph Smith's lifetime and into the late nineteenth century, various doctrines were proposed, some of which were later abandoned and others adopted in the reconstruction of Mormon doctrine after 1890. Joseph Smith and other Church leaders laid the basis for the reconstruction with revelation and doctrinal exposition between 1832 and 1844. Three influences seem to have been responsible for the questions leading to these revelations and insights. First was the work of Joseph Smith and others, particularly Sidney Rigdon, on the inspired revision of the Bible (especially John's Gospel and some of the letters of John). Questions which arose in the course of revision led to the revelations contained in Doctrine and Covenants 76 and 93, and perhaps section 88. These revelations were particularly important because they carried the doctrine of perfectionism far beyond anything generally acceptable to contemporary Protestants, including Methodists. Evidence from the period indicates, however, that the implications of this doctrine were not generally evident in the Mormon community until 1838.[20]

The second influence was the persecution of the Saints in Jackson County. This persecution also intensified the emphasis on perfectionism—which eventually led to the doctrine of eternal progression. As the Saints suffered and persevered, the *Star* reemphasized the idea that the faithful could become Christlike, and a side of man's nature quite apart from his fallen state was thus affirmed.[21]

The third influence was the work of Joseph Smith and others on the Book of Abraham. Though Joseph Smith and others seem to have worked on the first two chapters of this book following 1835, the parts following chapter 2 were not written until 1842. Still Doctrine and Covenants 121:31-32 indicates that Joseph Smith believed in the plurality of gods as early as 1839.[22]

Thereafter, between 1842 and 1844 Joseph Smith spoke on and published doctrines such as the plurality of gods, the tangibility of God's body, the distinct separation of God and Christ, the potential of man to become and function as a god, the explicit rejection of *ex nihilo* creation, and the materiality of everything including spirit. These ideas were perhaps most clearly stated in the King Follett discourse of April 1844.[23]

Because doctrine and practice changed as the result of new revelation and exegesis, some members who had been converted under the doctrines of the early 1830s left the Church. John Corrill exhibited disappointment rather than rancor and defended the Church against outside attack, but left because of the introduction of doctrine which he thought contradicted those of the Book of Mormon and the Bible.[24]

It seems clear that certain ideas which developed between 1832 and 1844 were internalized after 1835 and accepted by the Latter-day Saints. This was particularly true of the material anthropomorphism of God and Jesus Christ, advanced perfectionism as elaborated in the doctrine of eternal progression, and the potential godhood of man.

The doctrine of the Holy Ghost in early sources is striking compared to the point of view defended in our time.

Between 1845 and 1890, however, certain doctrines were proposed which were later rejected or modified. In an address to rulers of the world in 1845, for instance, the Council of the Twelve wrote of the "great Eloheem Jehovah" as though the two names were synonymous, indicating that the identification of Jehovah with Christ had little meaning to contemporaries. In addition, Brigham Young preached that Adam was not only the first man, but that he was the god of this world. Acceptance of the King Follett doctrine would have granted the possibility of Adam being a god, but the idea that he was god of this world conflicted with the later Jehovah-Christ doctrine. Doctrines such as those preached by Orson Pratt, harking back to the Lectures on Faith and emphasizing the absolute nature of God, and Amasa Lyman, stressing radical perfectionism which denied the necessity of Christ's atonement, were variously questioned by the First Presidency and Twelve. In Lyman's case, his beliefs contributed to his excommunication.[25]

The newer and older doctrines thus coexisted, and all competed with novel positions spelled out by various Church leaders. The Lectures on Faith continued to appear as part of the Doctrine and Covenants in a section entitled "Doctrine and Covenants," as distinguished from the "Covenants and Commandments" which constitute the current Doctrine and Covenants. The Pearl of Great Price containing the Book of Abraham was published in England in 1851 as a missionary tract and was accepted as authoritative in 1880. The earliest versions of Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology* and Brigham H. Roberts's *The Gospel* both emphasized an omnipresent, nonpersonal Holy Ghost, though Pratt's emphasis was radically materialistic and Roberts's more allegorical. Both were elaborating ideas addressed

in the King Follett sermon.[26] Such fluidity of doctrine, unusual from a twentieth-century perspective, characterized the nineteenth-century Church.

THE PROGRESSIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF DOCTRINE 1893-1925

Some doctrines were abandoned and others adopted in the reconstruction of Mormon doctrine after 1890.

By 1890 the doctrines preached in the Church combined what would seem today both familiar and strange. Yet, between 1890 and 1925 these doctrines were reconstructed principally on the basis of works by three European immigrants, James E. Talmage, Brigham H. Roberts, and John A. Widtsoe. Widtsoe and Talmage did much of their writing before they became Apostles, but Roberts served as a member of the First Council of the Seventy during the entire period.

Perhaps the most important doctrine addressed was the doctrine of the Godhead, which was reconstructed beginning in 1893 and 1894. During that year James E. Talmage, president of Latter-day Saints University and later president and professor of geology at the University of Utah, gave a series of lectures on the Articles of Faith to the theological class of LDSU. In the fall of 1898 the First Presidency asked him to rewrite the lectures and present them for approval as an exposition of Church doctrines. In the process, Talmage reconsidered and reconstructed the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. In response to questions raised by Talmage's lectures, George Q. Cannon, "commenting on the ambiguity existing in our printed works concerning the nature or character of the Holy Ghost, expressed his opinion that the Holy Ghost was in reality a person, in the image of the other members of the Godhead—a man in form and figure; and that what we often speak of as the Holy Ghost is in reality but the power or influence of the spirit." The First Presidency on that occasion, however, "deemed it wise to say as little as possible on this as on other disputed subjects."[27]

In 1894 Talmage published an article in the *Juvenile Instructor* elaborating on his and Cannon's views. He incorporated the article almost verbatim into his manuscript for the *Articles of Faith*, and the Presidency approved the article virtually without change in 1898.

The impact of the *Articles of Faith* on doctrinal exposition within the Church seems to have been enormous. Some doctrinal works like B. H. Roberts's 1888 volume *The Gospel* were quite allegorical on the nature of God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost. In the 1901 edition, after the publication of the *Articles of Faith*, Roberts explicitly revised his view of the Godhead, modifying his discussion and incorporating Talmage's more literal interpretation of the Holy Ghost.[28]

By 1900 it was impossible to consider the doctrines of God and man without dealing with evolution. Darwin's *Origin of Species* had been in print for four decades, and scientific advances together with changing attitudes had introduced many secular-rational ideas. James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe had confronted these ideas as they studied at universities in the United States and abroad. As early as 1881 Talmage had resolved to "do good among the young," possibly by lecturing on the "harmony between geology and the Bible." In 1898 Talmage urged George Q. Cannon to have the General Authorities give "careful, and perhaps official consideration to the scientific questions on which there is at least a strong appearance of antagonism with religious creeds." Cannon agreed, and Talmage recorded a number of interviews with the First Presidency on the subject. In a February 1900 article Talmage argued that science and religion had to be reconciled since "faith is not blind submission, passive obedience, with no effort at thought or reason. Faith, if worthy of its name, rests upon truth; and truth is the foundation of science."[29]

Just as explicit in his approach was John A. Widtsoe. Norwegian immigrant and graduate of Harvard and Goettingen, Widtsoe came early to the conclusion that the "scriptural proof of the truth of the gospel had been quite fully developed and was unanswerable." He "set out therefore to present [his] modest contributions from the point of view of science and those trained in that type of thinking." Between November 1903 and July 1904, he published a series of articles in the *Improvement Era* under the title "Joseph Smith as Scientist." The articles, republished in 1908 as the YMMIA course of study, argued that Joseph Smith anticipated many scientific theories and discoveries.[30]

Joseph Smith as Scientist, like Widtsoe's later *A Rational Theology*, drew heavily on Herbert Spencer's theories and ideas elaborated from Joseph Smith's later thought. The gospel, Widtsoe argued, recognized the reality of time, space, and matter. The universe is both material and eternal, and God had organized rather than created it.

Thus, God was not the creator, nor was he omnipotent. He too was governed by natural law, which was fundamental. Widtsoe correlated this view of the creation with Spencer's views on development toward increasing heterogeneity and argued that Spencer's theory was equivalent to Joseph Smith's idea of eternal progression. As man acquired knowledge, he also gained power, which allowed endless advancement.[31]

God did not create—or rather organize—in a way man might yet comprehend, since man's understanding was still developing. Rather, "great forces, existing in the universe, and set into ceaseless operation by the directing intelligence of God, assembled and brought into place the materials constituting the earth, until, in the course of long periods of time, this sphere was fitted for the abode of man." This much he did know, that God, with the assistance of Jehovah and Michael, had worked through the "forces of nature act-[ing] steadily but slowly in the accomplishment of great works."[32]

Even though the publications of Talmage,

Roberts, and Widtsoe had established the Church's basic doctrines of the Godhead, members and nonmembers were still confused. In 1911, George F. Richards spoke in the Tabernacle on the nature of God. Afterward, a member challenged him, arguing that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were one God rather than three distinct beings. Richards disagreed and cited scriptural references including Joseph Smith's first vision.[33]

In February 1912, detractors confronted elders in the Central States Mission with the Adam-God theory. In a letter to President Samuel O. Bennion, the First Presidency argued that Brigham Young did not mean to say that Adam was God, and at a special priesthood meeting during the April 1912 general conference, they presented and secured approval for a declaration that Mormons worship God the Father, not Adam.[34]

Reconsideration of the doctrine of God and the ambiguity in discourse and printed works over the relationship between God the Father and Jesus Christ pointed to the need for an authoritative statement on the nature and mission of Christ.

During the years 1904-1906, Talmage had delivered a series of lectures entitled "Jesus the Christ" at Latter-day Saints University. The First Presidency asked Talmage to incorporate the lectures into a book, but he had suspended the work to fill other assignments. In September 1914, however, the Presidency asked Talmage to prepare "the book with as little delay as possible." In order to free him "from visits and telephone calls" and "in view of the importance of the work," he was "directed to occupy a room in the Temple where" he would "be free from interruption." After completing the writing in April 1915, he said that he had "felt the inspiration of the place and . . . appreciated the privacy and quietness incident thereto." The Presidency and Twelve raised some questions about specific portions, but they agreed generally with the work, which elaborated views expressed previously in the Articles of Faith.[35]

It seems clear that by 1916, then, the ideas which Joseph Smith and other leaders had proposed (generally after 1835) were serving as the framework for continued development of the doctrine of God. Talmage's initial discussion in the *Articles of Faith* had been followed by such works as Widtsoe's *Joseph Smith as Scientist* and *Rational Theology*; Roberts's *Seventies Course in Theology*, the revised *New Witness for God*, and *History of the Church*; and finally Talmage's *Jesus the Christ*. In retrospect, it seems that these three men had undertaken a reconstruction which carried doctrine far beyond anything described in the Lectures on Faith or generally believed by Church members prior to 1835.

Official statements were required to canonize doctrines on the Father and the Son, ideas which were elaborated by the progressive theologians. A clarification was particularly necessary because of the ambiguity in the scriptures and in authoritative statements about the unity of the Father and the Son, the role of Jesus Christ as Father, and the roles of the Father and Son in creation. A statement for the Church membership prepared by the First Presidency and the Twelve, apparently first drafted by Talmage, was published in 1916. The statement made clear the separate corporeal nature of the two beings and delineated their roles in the creaion of the earth and their continued relationships with this creation. The statement was congruent with the King Follett discourse and the work of Talmage, Widtsoe, and Roberts.[36]

This elaboration, together with the revised doctrine of the Holy Ghost, made necessary the revision and redefinition of work previously used. By January 1915, Charles W. Penrose had completed a revision of Parley P. Pratt's *Key to the Science of Theology*. Penrose deleted or altered passages which discussed the Holy Ghost as nonpersonal and which posited a sort of "spiritual fluid," pervading the universe.[37]

Fluidity of doctrine, unusual from a twentieth-century perspective, characterized the nineteenth-century Church.

The clarification of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost and the relationship between the three members of the Godhead also made necessary the revision of the Lectures on Faith. A meeting of the Twelve and First Presidency in November 1917 considered the question of the lectures, particularly lecture five. At that time, they agreed to append a footnote in the next edition. This proved unnecessary when the First Presidency appointed a committee consisting of George F. Richards, Anthony W. Ivins, James E. Talmage, and Melvin J. Ballard to review and revise the entire Doctrine and Covenants. The initial reason for the committee was the worn condition of the printer's plates and the discrepancies which existed between the current edition and Roberts's edition of the *History of the Church*.[38]

Revision continued through July and August 1921, and the Church printed the new edition in late 1921. The committee proposed to delete the Lectures on Faith on the grounds that they were "lessons prepared for use in the School of the Elders, conducted in Kirtland, Ohio, during the winter of 1834-35; but they were never presented to nor accepted by the Church as being otherwise than theological lectures or lessons." How the committee came to this conclusion is uncertain. The general conference of the Church in April 1835 had accepted the entire volume, including the Lectures, not simply the portion entitled "Covenants and Commandments," as authoritative and binding upon Church members.[39] What seems certain, however, is that the interpretive exegesis of 1916 based upon the reconstructed doctrine of the Godhead had superseded the Lectures.

If the 1916 statement essentially resolved the Latter-day Saint doctrine of God along the lines suggested by Talmage, Widtsoe, and Roberts,

the work of these three men, while suggesting a doctrine of man, did not lead to a similar authoritative statement, except on the question of the relation of the creation to natural selection. Still, the work of these progressive theologians provided a framework for understanding man which went relatively unchallenged until the recent development of Mormon neo-orthodoxy.

The reconstructed Godhead doctrine had superseded the Lectures on Faith which did not define the Holy Ghost as a personage

Talmage's *Articles of Faith* considered a number of doctrines relating to man, such as the foreknowledge of God, which have important consequences for the doctrine of free will. In the first edition, Talmage wrote that "the Fall was foreordained, as a means whereby man could be brought face to face with both good and evil." This was later changed, and the word "foreordained" was replaced by "foreseen," indicating an unwillingness to take such a definite stand on a doctrine so close to freedom of the will.[40]

Talmage also argued that the doctrine of free will made impossible any predisposition to evil on the part of "God's children." "Man," Talmage wrote, "inherits absolute freedom to choose the good or the evil in life as he may elect." God "has left the mortal creature free to choose and to act, with no semblance of compulsion or restraint, beyond the influences of paternal counsel and loving direction." Such a radical doctrine of free will essentially rejected the ideas implicit in the Book of Mormon by denying man's predisposition under any conditions to evil, whether before or after the Fall.[41]

The *Articles of Faith* also considered the question of the movement from one kingdom of glory to another after death. In the first edition "eternal progression" included not only "advancement from grade to grade within any kingdom" but also movement "from kingdom to kingdom." Later, probably to hedge on the certainty of the doctrine, this was changed to say that though movement within the kingdoms was certain, as to "progress from one kingdom to another the scriptures made no positive affirmation."[42]

The whole matter of the doctrine of man was tied up with the question of the eternality of the family and the importance of sexual relationships, here and hereafter, for procreation and love. In his *New Witness for God*, B. H. Roberts confronted this problem when he chastized those who objected to Mormon doctrine as too materialistic. "If anyone shall say that such views of the life to come are too materialistic, that they smack too much of earth and its enjoyments, my answer is, that if it be inquired what thing has contributed most to man's civilization and refinement, to his happiness and dignity, his true importance, elevation, and honor in earth-life, it will be found that the domestic relations in marriage, the ties of family, of parentage, with its joys, responsibilities, and affections will be selected as the one thing before all others." Man, he said, in this and other ways was becoming like God because man was God in embryo.[43]

As Roberts prepared the *New Witness* and the first edition of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*, other questions relating to the doctrine of man arose. On 6 February 1907 in the First Presidency's office, the First Presidency and six members of the Council of the Twelve heard Roberts read a passage on the pre-existence of man for inclusion in the *New Witness*. The chief point of Roberts's discussion was his view that the elements of man became a spirit—a child to God—through pre-mortal birth. After all, he pointed out, the brother of Jared saw Christ's pre-mortal spirit body. Following the discussion, the brethren agreed to incorporate the passage essentially as written, and they also included this view in the First Presidency's 1909 statement on the origin of man.[44]

In 1911, however, while preparing the *History of the Church*, Roberts had somewhat more difficulty in selling his views on the nature of pre-existent intelligences. Roberts read his article on the philosophy of Joseph Smith to the First Presidency. In the article, he argued that intelligences were self-existent entities before becoming spirits. Charles W. Penrose particularly opposed this view, and the First Presidency asked Roberts to delete the section. Anthon H. Lund—probably rightly—was convinced that Roberts wanted to prove that man was co-eternal with God, something which the First Presidency then rejected. Roberts agreed to remove the passages but undoubtedly believed his views were inspired. Penrose also considered the King Follett discourse spurious, and the First Presidency had it deleted from the 1912 edition of Roberts's *History*.[45]

Widtsoe also addressed the doctrine of man. In 1914, Widtsoe further elaborated views expressed in *Joseph Smith as Scientist* by publishing *A Rational Theology*, which the Melchizedek priesthood quorum used as a manual. His view that all truth must harmonize led to the position that the gospel expressed "a philosophy of life" which must be in "complete harmony with all knowledge" and "to which all men might give adherence."[46]

Widtsoe also moved to a consideration of the creation. Without trying to explain the process, he argued that the biblical account of man's creation from the dust of the earth was figurative. The exact method of creation was unknown, and probably at man's current stage of development unknowable. Nor, he said, "is it vital to a clear understanding of the plan of salvation."[47]

His attempt to reconcile science and religion led to the view that the Fall came about through natural law. Thus the account of the Fall was also figurative. In addition, there "was no essential sin" in the Fall, except that an effect follows the violation of any law, whether deliberate or not. Thus, the "so-called curse" on Adam was actually only an opportunity for eternal progression. Indeed, since all beings are bound by eternal laws such as that of free will, Satan himself must be governed by law, and man must be allowed to

react freely to temptation.[48]

Agreeing with earlier positions spelled out by Joseph Smith and elaborated by Roberts, Widtsoe argued that man's existence was simply a reflection, however inferior, of God's. Thus, "we must also have a mother who possesses the attributes of Godhood." Sexual relations will continue into eternity both for joy and for procreation.[49]

The most controversial portion of the draft Widtsoe presented to the First Presidency concerned the eternal relationships between God and man. If God had not created the universe or man, man must be coeternal with God and in fact God himself must be finite and may not always have been God or have existed eternally in the same state. It followed that "the man who progresses through his increase in knowledge and power, becomes a colaborer with God." Thus, God was not "a God of mystery," but rather a being who operated on a different level of advancement than men. Like Roberts, Widtsoe had included a discussion of intelligences, which he said had existed as separate entities before men became spirit beings, and he included an explicit statement that there was a time when there was no God.[50]

This elaboration was simply too much for the First Presidency to accept. On 7 December 1914 Joseph F. Smith, then in Missouri, telegraphed Anthon H. Lund to postpone the publication of Widtsoe's book. Lund called in Edward H. Anderson, who furnished the proof sheets. After reading the discussion of the evolution of God from intelligence to superior being, Lund became disturbed. "I do not," he wrote, "like to think of a time when there was no God." On December 11 Joseph F. Smith had returned from Missouri, and he agreed with Lund. Changes in the proofs were ordered, and all references to the doctrine of intelligences were eliminated from this work, just as they had been from Roberts's, on the ground that they were merely speculation. In their 1925 statement regarding evolution, the First Presidency again made no statement on the doctrine of intelligences but simply stated that "by his Almighty power God organized the earth, and all that it contains, from spirit and element, which exist co-eternally with himself."[51]

Some of the attacks on evolutionary theory published by the Church came from the pen of a non-Mormon journalist, J. C. Homans, under the pseudonym Dr. Robert C. Webb. After the *Improvement Era* carried a Homans article in the September 1914 issue, Talmage came to see the First Presidency, read the article to them, and with the help of Frederick C. Pack, who had succeeded to the Deseret Chair of Geology at the University of Utah, convinced at least Anthon H. Lund that Homans's arguments were illogical and did not touch the real "pith of evolution."[52]

In January 1915 Talmage again brought a Homans manuscript, this time on the origin of life, to the First Presidency, which they agreed to reject. Lund wrote that they considered the article "abstruse," and failing to "meet points at issue between the old ideas and the Evolutionists." Homans believed that evolutionists held ideas which would kill religion. Unfortunately, Lund thought, he was not willing to deal with the problem of harmonizing the ideas and "truth must harmonize with itself. This is the great problem," he wrote. "It will be solved."[53]

Talmage, Widtsoe, and Roberts gave at least as much effort to considering the doctrine of man as they did the doctrine of God, but their work did not lead to the kind of authoritative statement on man that had been issued by the First Presidency on God. Several possible reasons for the failure to settle questions regarding man seem plausible. First, it may be that the Church leaders and members generally considered such questions settled by doctrines implicit in the Book of Mormon and other teachings of the period before 1835. Second, it may be that they generally took for granted the doctrines of the King Follett discourse and the progressive theologians. Or, third, it may be that the Church membership never thoroughly considered the implications of the problem.

The impact of Talmage's "Articles of Faith" on doctrinal expositon within the Church seems to have been enormous.

Given the information available at this point in time, it seems probable that the reason questions were not resolved is a combination of the second and third hypotheses. Basically, concern over the increasing vigor of the theory of evolution through natural selection seems to have overridden all other considerations on the doctrine of man. The First Presidency wanted to see the truths of science and religion reconciled, and much of the work of Talmage, Widtsoe, and Roberts dealt with that challenge. On evolution, for instance, the progressive theologians generally took the view that while evolution itself was a correct principle, the idea of natural selection was not. The First Presidency statements of 1909 and 1925 specifically addressed the problem of evolution and of man's essential nature, which was an important part of Talmage's, Widtsoe's, and Roberts's works.[54]

Because the evolution problem was constantly in the background, it seems apparent that two things happened. First, the Church membership had internalized the implications of the doctrine of eternal progression and assumed that man, as God in embryo, was basically Godlike and that the flesh itself, since it was common to both God and man, posed no barrier to man's perfectibility. Second, members seem to have held Joseph Smith's statement in the Articles of Faith that God would not punish man for Adam's transgression as equivalent to a rejection of the doctrine of original sin, which held that man inherited a condition of sinfulness. In general, it seemed, the doctrine of absolute free will demanded that any evil which man might do came not because of any predisposition of the flesh but rather as a result of conscious choice.

SOME CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR TIME

The long-range consequences of both the success in reconstructing the doctrine of God and the failure to reconstruct the doctrine of man also bear consideration. During the period following World War I, a movement developed in Protestantism which challenged the prevailing modernism and proposed the reestablishment in a more sophisticated form of a theology which returned to the basic teachings of Luther and Calvin emphasizing the sovereignty of God and the depravity of man. Since World War II, a similar movement has taken place in Mormonism which is as notable for its differences from the Protestant movement as for its similarities.[55]

A recent discussion of man by Rodney Turner and George Boyd indicates the scope of this movement with regard to the doctrine of man. While, as Kent Robson pointed out in a critique of the discussion, much of both Turner's neo-orthodox and Boyd's progressive exposition involves contradictory exegesis of the same scriptures and authorities, what is also apparent is that Roberts, Talmage, and Widtsoe play a prominent part in Boyd's view of man while they are conspicuously absent from Turner's[56]

As O. Kendall White has pointed out, Mormon neoorthodoxy has not gone as far as the Protestant movement in defining a sovereign God and a depraved man entirely dependent upon grace for salvation. As should be apparent, statements by Joseph Smith, the progressive theologians, and the First Presidency have specifically rejected doctrines such as the absolute sovereignty of God and irresistible grace. In the absence of an authoritative statement by the First Presidency, however, it is still possible to return to the early 1830s and find a basically sensual and devilish man. Because of the reconstruction of the Mormon doctrine of God, however, what we get today is a rather unsteady neoorthodoxy lacking the vigor and certitude of its Protestant counterpart, since the progressives amputated two of its legs and seriously weakened the third.

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NOTES

1. See, for instance, Joseph Fielding McConkie, "A Historical Examination of the Views of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on Four Distinctive Aspects of the Doctrine of Deity Taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith," (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), pp. 31-32.

2. O. Kendall White, Jr., "The Transformation of Mormon Theology," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*5 (Summer, 1970): 9-24; Gordon C. Thomasson and Julian R. Durham, "Thoughts on Mormon 'Neo-orthodoxy,'" Ibid., 5 (Winter, 1970): 123-28.

3. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1902-35), vols. 1 and 2 passim.

4. *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ* (Zion: W. W. Phelps and Co., 1833); Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams, *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter-day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams, 1835). Both these volumes are photoreproduced in Wilford C. Wood, ed., *Joseph Smith Begins His Work*, 2 vols. (N.p.: Wilford C. Wood, 1958, 1962), vol. 2, and I have used this edition.

The problem of understanding doctrine at particular times consists not only in determining what was disseminated but also in what contemporary members perceived it to be. Clearly, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and revelations published in the monthlies are the best sources for doctrine as disseminated. One could use diaries, journals, and autobiographies to determine perceptions, but they tend to represent one person's rather than a collective view. This problem might be solved if a larger number of diaries were available for the pre-1835 period. This is, unfortunately, not the case. Autobiographies and journals, particularly if they were written considerably after events, tend to confuse contemporary feelings and earlier perceptions. Thus, the monthlies and doctrinal expositons like the Lectures on Faith since they were meant for public dissemination provide the most reliable sources for contemporary perceptions of doctrine.

5. Marvin S. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring, 1969): 363-65.

For a discussion of the differences between Calvinism and Arminianism, see James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Scribner's, 1951), 1:809-11.

6. *Evening and Morning Star*, June 1832, p. 2; May 1833, p. 189; (I have used the Kirtland reprint edition throughout); *Messenger and Advocate*, May 1835, pp. 122-23; W. A. Cowdery to Editor, March 17, 1835, *Messenger and Advocate*, May 1835, p. 113.

7. Alma 18:28, 22:9-12; 1 Ne. 17:36; D&C 14:9, 45:1; James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 6 vols., (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 1:27.

8. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith: First Vision: The First Vision in its Historical Context* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971), pp. 155-57; Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1969), pp. 47-48; James B. Allen, "Line upon Line," *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 37-38. In citing scripture, unless there is a major discrepancy between the first editions and the editions currently in use, I have cited the current edition used by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, since the chapter numbers in the Book of Mormon have been changed and there are no verse numbers in the first edition and the section and verse numbers in the first edition of the Doctrine and Covenants are different than the current edition.

It might be argued that the apparent inconsistency of these questions can be resolved since the Lord and God the Father are one in purpose and since God directed while Jesus implemented the creation. This is, however, falling into the trap mentioned in paragraph one of this essay in which current doctrine is used to interpret previously revealed scriptures.

9. *Messenger and Advocate*, May 1835, pp. 122-23; D&C 20:28.

10. D&C (1st ed.), pp. 53-54.

11. Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), p. 49 for the definition. The view presented here of the nature of Mormon doctrine, however, is quite at odds with McMurrin's position.

12. *Messenger and Advocate*, May 1835, p. 113.

13. McMurrin, *Theological Foundations*, pp. 65-66. Again McMurrin would deny this is the case with Mormon doctrine. I suspect that if asked about original sin, most Mormons would say that they do not believe in it and then cite the second article of faith. They might not realize that they are also denying that a condition of sinfulness attaches to every person by virtue of his humanness, but if pressed, they would probably say that the statement that men will be punished for their own sins denied the possibility of original sin in either formulation. See also Mosiah 3:16-25; Alma 41:2-15; 42:2-13.

14. *Evening and Morning Star*, October 1832, p. 77.

15. *Evening and Morning Star*, March 1834, p. 283; D&C (1st ed.), p. 67.

16. Hill, "Mormon Mind," pp. 352-53; Timothy L. Smith, "Righteousness and Hope: The Biblical Culture that Nurtured Early Mormon Faith," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Canandaigua, New York, May 2, 1980.

17. Alexander Campbell, *A Compend of Alexander Campbell's Theology*, ed. Royal Humbert (St. Louis, Mo.: Bethany Press, 1961), pp. 85, 231; Jonathan Crowther, *A True and Complete Portraiture of Methodism* (New York: Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware, 1813), pp. 143, 178.

18. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 1:532.

19. Alexander Campbell, *Delusions, An Analysis of the Book of Mormon with an Examination of its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of Its Pretences to Divine Authority with Prefatory Remarks by Joshua V. Himes* (Boston: Benjamine H. Greene, 1832), pp. 5-7, 12-14; Thomas Campbell in *Evangelical Enquirer* 1 (Dayton, Ohio, March 7, 1831): 235-36; *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate* 2 (New Series, 1913): 47 says that "The whole book is filled with blasphemous nonsense, silly stories, pretended prophesies, history, &c . . . interlarded with unnumbered profanations of the names of the Deity and Jesus Christ." *Niles Weekly Register*, July 16, 1831, p. 353 attacks the Church on the basis of miracles and common ownership of property. *The Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Brattleboro: Fessenden & Co., 1835), p. 844 cites "pretensions" and the doctrine of Zion. Campbell, in the *Evangelical Enquirer*, also objects to the character of Joseph Smith, and the doctrine of authority and rebaptism.

In general, however, most of these attacks did not consider the doctrines of God and man deviant. The principal opposition developed against the announcement of new revelations and scripture, and the presentation of these in the names of God and Christ was considered blasphemous.

20. LaRoy Sunderland, whose book, *Mormonism Exposed and Refuted* (New York: Piercy & Reed, 1838), was also published as a series entitled "Mormonism" in *Zion's Watchman* between January 13 and March 24, 1838, attacked a number of passages from the Doctrine and Covenants. Sunderland used for his sources the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants (1835 edition) and Parley P. Pratt's *Voice of Warning* (New York: W. Sandord, 1837). Sunderland attacked Mormonism on an ad hominem basis as many of the others calling the writings "nonsense and blasphemy," p. 35, and he also opposed the rejection of infant baptism as many others did, p. 25. The question of infant baptism, however, was a controversy within Protestantism, and opposition to the Mormons on that basis would not have separated them from the Baptists, for instance.

His major substantative attack, however, came on the doctrine of perfectionism mentioned in D&C 76:58 and 88:107 indicating the possibility of man becoming equal with Christ and God (Sunderland, p. 35). The problem here is that it is not at all certain that until Parley P. Pratt's reply to Sunderland in *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked, and its Editor, Mr. L. R. Sunderland, Exposed* (New York: Privately printed, 1838), especially pp. 27 and 31, that these passages and the passages like them in the Bible (Ps. 82:6; John 10:34-36; and 1 John 3:2) would have been interpreted literally. Paul Edwards, "The Secular Smiths," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 5 argues that Parley P. Pratt played a central role in developing theology for the Church. Robert Matthews, "The 'New Translation' of the Bible, 1830-1833: Doctrinal Development during the Kirtland Era," *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 411-15 points out that many of the revelations between sections 76 and 93 were received in connection with the new translation of the Bible, particularly as Joseph Smith revised the gospel of John and the Book of Revelation. The headnotes for sections 76 and 93 particularly reveal the relationship between these sections and the new translation of the New Testament.

21. Francis H. Touchet, "Perfectionism in Religion and Psychotherapy: Or on Discerning the Spirits," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 4 (Winter 1976): 25-26; see also *Evening and Morning Star*, especially after the persecutions in Missouri began, e.g. January 1834, p. 256; March 1834, p. 283.

22. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book 1976), pp. 67-68; Joseph Smith said in June 1844 that the elders had been preaching "plurality of Gods . . . for fifteen years." Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:474. This statement does not represent the perception of Church members before 1835. Joseph Smith may have been referring to the rather explicit division between God and Christ in the 1835 Lectures on Faith or to D&C 76:58 which dates from February 1832. It is unclear that members of the Church would have perceived these references as explicit references to the 1844 doctrine.

23. T. Edgar Lyon, "Doctrinal Development of the Church during the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975): 435-66 deals with the broad range of development in Nauvoo; Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 193-208; Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse," ibid., 209-25. It has been argued that much of the current doctrine of the Chruch had been well clarified by mid-1833 when Joseph Smith finished his new translation of the Bible—particularly that Jesus was Jehovah of the New Testament and that man had enjoyed a premortal existence as a spirit child of God. See Robert Matthews, *"A Plainer Translation": A History and Commentary* (Provo: BYU Press, 1975), pp. 309-13.

The problem with this proposition is that it assumes the present Mormon tritheism, which is not at all obvious, particularly in view of the doctrinal exposition of the 1834-35 Lectures on Faith. An interpretation of Genesis 2:5 in the Inspired Version for instance which assumes a premortal spiritual creation also assumes an understanding of the term "spirit" which may not have existed among the Mormons in 1834. It may simply have meant that God created men intellectually or conceptually which was a contemporary meaning of the term "spiritual." (See *Oxford English Dictionary*, compact edition, s.v. *spiritual*) In fact, there is little evidence that a contemporary of Joseph Smith reading what became Moses 3:5-7 in the Pearl of Great Price would have interpreted as we do today to refer to mankind as the spirit children of God in any corporeal sense.

The same problem exists with Doctrine and Covenants 93:29-38. Today, we interpret the term "intelligence" in those passages to mean the essential uncreated essence of each person. The passage, however, discusses intelligence as "the light of truth," which it declares eternal, not as the premortal essence of each individual. It also declares, "The elements are eternal, and spirit and element, inseparably connected, receive a fulness of joy." Until the development of the materialism associated with the King Follett discourse, it is not at all certain that the term "spirit" would have been construed as in any sense corporeal. The *Evening and Morning Star*, May 1834, p. 314 uses the term "intelligence" to mean fact or information. The use of the term "beginning" would also not necessarily have meant "in the presence of God before the creation." See Ether 3:14-17; Mosiah 7:27. In fact, I would argue that contemporary meaning of these terms would have militated against such an interpretation before Church leaders began to elaborate on them in 1838.

Another problem which I have not addressed in this paper, but which bears consideration, is that of biblical literalism. There is a tendency to see Mormons as biblical literalists. What those who claim this tendency apparently do not see is

that biblical literalism is not absolute. In the final analysis biblical interpretation is dependent upon a theological system since some scriptures must be interpreted allegorically. Currently, for instance, the passage cited in note 8 above, indicating the unity of Father and Son, would be interpreted allegorically while those indicating that Christ is the Son of God, "after the manner of flesh," would be interpreted literally. The system of interpretation which Mormons adopted in 1830 was essentially drawn from contemporary Protestantism. After 1835 that system of interpretation was changed because of the work of those like Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt who elaborated the doctrine of perfectionism into a system of radical materialism.

24. John Corrill, *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints . . .* (St. Louis: Privately printed, 1839), pp. 10, 12-13.

25. Clark, *Messages*, 1:253; 2:233-40; *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86; reprint ed., 1967), 1:50-51; 7:299-302; Ronald W. Walker, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1977), p. 183.

26. See, for instance, Doctrine and Covenants, 1883 edition, pp. 1, 76; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, p. 383; Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1874), passim; B. H. Roberts, *The Gospel: An Exposition of Its First Principles* (Salt Lake City: The Contributor, 1888), pp. 212-13.

27. Journal of James E. Talmage, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, 5 January 1899; *Juvenile Instructor* 29 (1 April 1894): 220; the entire series of lectures was reproduced in ibid., 28 (15 November 1893) through 29 (15 August 1894); James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith: A Series of Lectures on the Principal Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1899), pp. 164-65.

28. Roberts, *The Gospel* (3d ed.), pp. vi-vii, 196. The radical nature of Talmage's contribution can be overemphasized. The doctrine of the separate corporeal nature of Christ and God had been well established before the *Articles of Faith*, and members who believed otherwise would probably have been exceptional by 1893. In addition, Talmage continued to insist on the absolute attributes of God such as omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence (pp. 42-43). Still as a codification of generally accepted doctrines and as a formulation of the new doctrine of the Holy Ghost, it was seminal.

29. Talmage Journal, 21 January 1883, 15 March and 4 May 1884, 14 March 1898, and 13 September 1899; and *Improvement Era*, February 1900, p. 256.

In this discussion, I have not gone into detail into the controversy over the question of evolution through natural selection since the topic has been so well treated elsewhere. Those interested in considering the topic would do well to see: Duane E. Jeffery, "Seers, Savants, and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," *Dialogue* 8 (Autumn-Winter 1973): 41-75 and Richard Sherlock, "A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 33-59.

30. John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land: The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe* (Salt Lake City: Milton R. Hunter and G. Homer Durham, 1952), pp. 66-67; *Joseph Smith as Scientist: A Contribution to Mormon Philosophy* (Salt Lake City: YMMIA General Board, 1908).

31. John A. Widtsoe, *Rational Theology as Taught by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: General Priesthood Committee, 1915), pp.20-22.

32. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

33. Journal of George F. Richards, Library-Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives), 28 March 1911.

34. Joseph F. Smith to Samuel O. Bennion, 20 February 1912, cited in Clark, *Messages*, 4:266; and Journal of Anthon H. Lund, Church Archives, 8 April 1912; *Journal of Discourses*, 1:50-51.

35. Talmage Journal, 14 September 1914, 19 April 1915; Lund Journal, 4, 6 May 1915; Richards Journal, 15, 24 June 1915; Journal of Heber J. Brant, Church Archives, 18, 20 May, 8, 10 June 1915; Clark, *Messages*, 4:399-400; James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1915).

36. Clark, *Messages*, 5:23-24.

37. Lund Journal, 21 January 1915, Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology*, 5th ed., pp. 68, 75, 97, 100-2, 139; 7th ed., pp. 66, 73, 48, 92-94, 100.

38. Grant Journal, 15 November 1917, 20 August 1921; Talmage Journal, 3 January 1918, 11 March 1921; Richards Journal, 11 March, 29 July 1921.

39. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:243-51.

40. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, 1st ed., p. 71; 12th ed., pp. 69-70.

41. Ibid., 1st ed., p. 54.

42. Ibid., 1st ed., p. 421; 12th ed., p. 409.

43. Brigham H. Roberts, *A New Witness for God* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1895), p. 462.

44. Richards Journal, 6 February 1907; Roberts, *New Witness*, pp. 457-66; cf. 2d ed., 1:458-61. (See especially 1st ed., p. 466; 2d ed., 1:461.)

45. Lund Journal, 25, 29 August 1911; Donald Q. Cannon, "The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith's Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 190-92.

46. Widtsoe, *Rational Theology*, p. iii, 3.

47. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

48. Ibid., pp. 46-48, 81.

49. Ibid., pp. 64, 146.

50. Ibid., pp. 26-27, 61-62; Lund Journal, 7, 11 December 1914.

51. Ibid; Clark, *Messages*, 5:244.

52. *Improvement Era*, September 1914, pp. 1040, 1043-45. Lund Journal, 22 September 1914; Richards Journal, 20, 21 January 1915; Talmage Journal, 28 September 1914.

53. Lund Journal, 16 January 1915.

54. For the statements, see Clark, *Messages*, 4:199-206; 5:243-44.

55. White, "Mormon Theology," pp. 10-22.

56. George Boyd, Rodney Turner, and Kent Robson, "Roundtable: The Nature of Man," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Spring 1968): 55-97.

Mormon Women and Depression

Are Latter-day Saint women becoming casualties of perfectionism?

Reporter/Producer: Louise Degn Executive Producer: Ed Yeates Photographer/Editor: Bob Greenwell Graphics: Larry Fiddler

On February 17, 1979, KSL Television in Salt Lake City aired a one-hour documentary on depression and its effects on Mormon women. The program generated an overwhelming positive response from viewers. With permission from KSL, Inc., SUNSTONE prints the full transcript of the documentary. The visual impact of the people who appeared on the program is lost on the printed page, but their words are here preserved for study and reflection.

JOANNE RICE (President, Utah Mental Health Association): The program you are about to see deals with a very real and important mental health problem—depression, a painful and crippling disorder that often goes untreated. As many as 25 percent of the population is estimated as suffering from depression or anxiety at any given time.

KSL Television, in addressing this difficult and sensitive issue, is to be highly commended. They're providing a real and needed service to the residents of Utah.

The participants involved are also to be highly commended for so honestly coming forth and sharing their problems. Because of the stigma still attached to mental illness, many people are reluctant to discuss such disorders.

On behalf of the Mental Health Association, a citizen advocacy organization dedicated to the prevention of mental illness and the promotion of mental health, I want to express appreciation and deep thanks for this public service.

LOUISE DEGN: Good evening. Tonight we are focusing on depression and its effects on one group of people in our community—Mormon women. By choosing this topic, though, we are not saying Mormon women are the only ones who get depressed. We single out Mormon women simply because Mormons make up a great majority of people in our community and by focusing on their issues, this program can help a large number of people. If nothing else, we can let these women know they are not alone, as so many of them think they are.

Depression is not just feeling bad for a day. It is a *clinical illness* that can be caused by such diverse things as chemical imbalances in the body, having a certain personality type, suffering the loss of a loved one or of a job, or simply being unable to cope with the social pressures in one's life. All of these factors can play a part, intertwining with one another, to cause depression.

This program has been in the making for over a year. In that time we've interviewed dozens of experts. For this program, we chose to interview on film eleven of those people:

Dr. Libby Hirsh, a psychiatrist at the Copper Mountain Mental Health Center in Salt Lake County. An active Mormon and convert to the LDS church.

Dr. Carlfred Broderick, a Mormon stake president in southern California. A marriage counselor. Director of the Marriage and Family Counseling Training Program at the University of Southern California.

Dr. Rodney Burgoyne, an inactive Mormon, as he describes himself. A psychiatrist. Director of the Emergency Psychiatric Clinic at the University of Southern California Medical Center.

Dr. Jed Ericksen, a Mormon bishop. A social worker. Director of the Psychiatric Emergency Service at the University of Utah Medical Center.

Dr. R. Jan Stout, a Salt Lake psychiatrist, a Mormon. Assistant Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Utah College of Medicine and former president of the Utah Psychiatric Association.

Jan Barker, a Sandy, Utah, mother of four and active Mormon woman who suffered a nervous breakdown three years ago but is now recovered.

Bonnie Sobotka, an active Mormon woman and mother of eight from Alpine, Utah, who is recovered from a severe depression.

Barbara Smith, President of the LDS church Relief Society.

And a visit to a Relief Society in Provo, Utah, which has developed its own special program to teach women how to deal with stress in their lives.

Our experts say Mormon women who get depressed feel the guilt more strongly.

For our report, we explored five questions:
1. What is depression?
2. Why do Mormon women get depressed?
3. Do Mormon women get depressed more than other women?
4. Is there anything in Mormonism that helps overcome depression?
5. How can depression be prevented and treated?

First, a personal experience to illustrate. What is depression?

JAN BARKER: We were living in northern California. We had not been there long. We had three children, the oldest of whom was two and a half; the youngest, of course, was a new baby. My husband was called to the bishopric. I was very proud, still am very proud.

But I found myself losing control of my temper and my emotions and feeling very lonely. I felt like I musn't tell anybody these things, you know. I was set out to be super-Mormon-mom and I was going to do it.

I finally went to my family doctor. I was never going to raise my voice to my children and didn't for the first two years of my mothering, and now I am screaming. He said, "Look, you have too many children. The next time you get pregnant, get an abortion." And I thought, "If that's what medical science has to offer me, then obviously that's not the answer."

And so we went back to just gutting it out. Husband gone a lot with work and with his being in the bishopric; children sick a lot. Home by myself a lot. My husband stopped teaching in California, and we came to Utah to work on the newspaper here, and things got worse.

Finally—and this is the part that still hurts—was the day I kicked my daughter down the hall. I went to my family doctor. He'd already had me on Valium for my sleeping problems, but I'd never told him how truly out of control I was. And I said, "I'm not handling this, what'll I do?" He quickly picked up on it then, and set an appointment for me with a psychiatrist two days later.

It didn't get better right away with a psychiatrist. A lot of hard things still had to be gone through.

I found myself totally responsible for the ward Christmas party by default, several other people having fallen through. And I was Junior Sunday School coordinator. And I was saying, "I can do that. I can do that. I can do that." The day they took me into the hospital for the first time, everybody was amazed. I had been putting a good face on it.

DR. LIBBY HIRSH (psychiatrist at Salt Lake County's Copper Mountain Mental Health Center, resident at the University of Utah Medical Center, and active LDS convert): We've had a great many women come in, and these are usually women in their late twenties or early thirties who have grown up all their lives in a very kind of sheltered family atmosphere in one community. They haven't moved around. They've been raised with one set of ideas, with one set of values, and a variety of different teachers along the way who have given them sound principles but which they have taken as absolute: "This is the way it is and there is no other way."

By the time that these women come here, they have perhaps anywhere between two and eight and sometimes more children. They're exhausted. They never get a chance, really, to have a vacation. They don't get time of their own. And by the time that I see them, there's a great deal of feeling: "What am I doing? Why didn't I ever have any time for me? Did my husband and I really ever get a chance to know each other? And why isn't this working?"

DEGN: You say this is an illness. It's not just feeling low?

BARKER: No. Oh, there's a difference. And, I think, this is the mistake so many people make, thinking that the bandaids, the bromides, the getting-out-in-the-garden, and all those things will work.

When it gets to the point where it's—what do they call it—depressive neurosis, where it's a clinical problem that needs to be treated by things that actually block a chemical process in the brain, then it is an illness.

DEGN: Why do Mormon women get depressed?

DR. JAN STOUT (Salt Lake psychiatrist, Mormon professor of psychiatry at the University of Utah Medical School): We find that a lot of depressed people have some characteristics that are quite similar. Often they are conscientious, hard-working, duty-bound, very responsible. They worry a lot. They get things done.

You could say, well, this is the ideal Mormon woman who has learned to do her job very well.

But they often carry around a lot of shoulds and oughts and feelings of heavy, heavy responsibility.

DEGN: A personality type, then, that makes a person particularly susceptible, combined with stresses, creates for Mormon women a fairly common type of depression?

DR. RODNEY BURGOYNE (inactive Mormon psychiatrist, director of the Emergency Psychiatric Clinic

at the University of Southern California): It's not an unusual kind of depression; it's one that everybody has—Mormon, non-Mormon. But it's *reactive depression* which is brought on by the stresses that a person lives in. And if the person is a Mormon, then the stresses of Mormonism obviously figure into the stresses.

DEGN: So what are the stresses? Dr. Carlfred Broderick, an LDS stake president and family counselor in the University of Southern California campus, first pointed out to us the strain on Mormon women, the pressure to be perfect.

BRODERICK: We do have a lot of depression in the Church around the issue of not being able to be the perfect Relief Society woman: not grinding your own wheat and making your own bread and having your own garden and taking casseroles over to all the sick and not also being a perfect mother and an ideal housewife and well-groomed and reading the scriptures every day. And being something less than that makes a lot of people depressed who, if their standards weren't quite so high, might be more self-accepting.

BONNIE SOBOTKA (active Mormon mother of eight from Alpine, Utah): Well, I think there's a lot of stress in our lives that a lot of other people don't have. This perfectionist thing. I mean, you know, to be the perfect mother, the perfect wife, the scriptorian, the best teacher. I mean, I just feel like most of the time most of us feel like they're asking for more than we can give. I don't know who's asking. I'm not sure where it's all coming from.

STOUT: I think in Mormonism the women themselves tend to apply a great deal of pressure on each other. I don't see it coming so high from Church pronouncements of leaders. Some of it is there, but it is largely the women themselves who carry around with them excessive expectations of what they should or should not be as Mormons.

Some of them feel they have to reach this kind of idealized, crystallized, beautiful Mormon woman, which I term Mother-of-Zion syndrome. This is a woman who is really a myth, a mystique. She doesn't exist at all, in fact. But all Mormon women in almost any ward you wanted to go into would tell you they know a woman who is like that: She's got it all together; her children are well-groomed; she bakes bread every day; she has wonderfully clean things in the house; her husband is happy and whistles off to work; she never complains at any of the Church meetings he goes to; she's supportive and loyal; and not only that: she gets up and reads her scriptures at six in the morning. She's got it all together. And that's a very intimidating thing for the average Mormon woman.

Now, in fact, this woman exists only in the minds of other women. They may try to approximate it. But I've seen too many cases of these super-Mormon women who themselves are depressed or who have private faces, private lives that are quite different from what their ward members see out on the street.

BARKER: Other Mormon women make it very difficult, too. You would hear constantly: You have a wonderful husband. You have beautiful children. Your husband's active in the Church. You have everything you need to be happy and you're not happy. And it's the implied "How dare you" that makes it hard to be depressed and be a Mormon woman.

DEGN: Do you think some women in the Church expect too much of themselves?

BARBARA SMITH (president of the Relief Society): I think we set too many goals all at once. Our real goal is perfection for ourselves. And so, I guess, if you expect perfection in the long range, that's fine. But you must remember you can reach it only one step at a time. Remember, goals are stars to steer by and not sticks to beat yourself with, as I've said before. And I think that's what we have to do. We have to remember where we are and then do something that will help us work towards that achievement.

Some of them feel they have to become some kind of idealized Mother-of-Zion.

BRODERICK: Lots of people think they have to be perfect. But not everybody has it in placards on the wall: "Be ye therefore perfect." I always like the Book of Mormon version better where it says: "I *would* therefore"—it sounds more plaintive—"I would therefore that ye would be perfect, even as my Father in heaven is perfect." it sounds like he doesn't really expect us to be, but he hopes for it; he would wish it on our behalf.

BARKER: But sometimes our perceptions of our role—and I really think it's our perception of our role as a Mormon woman—is what will get us into trouble. We think we have to be things we truly don't.

Some women in this church may never sew and some may never quilt, but that's okay. I think it was Carol Lynn Pearson who said: "Can I really make it into the Celestial Kingdom if I don't quilt?"

DEGN: In addition to the pressure to be perfect, there is the pressure of raising a family—not unique to Mormonism, but accentuated by the LDS emphasis on large families.

KAREN HADLOCK (active Mormon from Alpine, Utah, who at the time of this interview was undergoing treatment for depression): I didn't realize the pressures of raising five children. I had three preschool boys under the age of three and a half. And I became very tired and exhausted and not very enthused about life, the fun things I always enjoyed doing. And it was just easier to stay home than to make the effort to bundle my boys up and get out and take them somewhere, to make arrangements with a friend to trade babysitting, or to do something like that.

And I just felt, well, you always have been able to handle the pressures you've had, you'll just

stick this one out and pretty soon, in two years your boys—or at least one of them—will be in school and the pressures will let up. And I developed an attitude that my life was not going to be enjoyable for several years because I felt trapped. And I became less and less able to cope with their needs and the pressures that I found myself under.

SOBOTKA: Well, I think what basically started my depression off was just the basic postnatal depression, which is very common. When I was hospitalized in Salt Lake in the psychiatric ward with it, there were three or four other women there with postnatal depression that had small babies.

I see a lot of non-think in some of the ladies who become easily depressed.

After I had my last baby, he was about two or three months old, and I just started feeling really strange inside. It's hard to explain; I felt like I was going crazy. I was really depressed. The family doctor hospitalized me first for depression. I didn't gain anything in the hospital. I just kept getting worse and worse. I just couldn't seem to get any relief.

But I just got to the point where I couldn't do anything at home with the kids, with my husband. I just couldn't function even taking care of the baby. I was in a very deep depression.

HADLOCK: I did feel the pressure of having children. I felt the pressure of wondering how you know when you've had the right number of children. How do you make a moral decision that you don't want any more children and you want to make a permanent decision about that?

SOBOTKA: I just don't think you can say everyone should have a large family. I love my family; I wanted them. But I have a lot of friends who didn't, who don't want big families, but they're having more children than they want because they feel like they should. It's doing things to them that shouldn't be happening.

DEGN: Several women said that some of their depression was caused because they had too many children too fast. Do you think that's possible?

SMITH: I certainly do. I think it depends upon a woman's emotional stability and her physical condition. And if you don't get enough sleep there's going to be stresses upon your body. You really have to have the sleep, and you have to have the physical health to be able to handle a large number of children. I had seven children myself, and I know there were nights when I thought: "Oh, will this night ever end?" And really, you can have children too fast.

DEGN: Instead of just saying, "Well, the Church told me to have kids, and I'm going to have kids," do you think some women need to think more about their individual situations before planning their families?

SMITH: Yes, I think the Brethren have given this counsel. They advise husbands and wives to think very carefully about the number of children they're going to have and to plan so that the mother's health will not be impaired.

DEGN: In addition to the pressure to be perfect and the pressure that comes from raising large families, another pressure on Mormon women comes from involvement in Church programs.

HADLOCK: I took a church job when I moved here—my last baby was three months old—and it put a lot of pressure on me that I couldn't deal with. I had been Beehive advisor for two years in the ward where we lived before, and I felt like I'd done a really fine job. And I was too worn out and under too much stress to do the job that I expected of myself. And so I put my own pressures on to an extent. I was Mia Maid advisor; I felt guilty and I felt like I was not measuring up to the needs of the girls. And I felt guilty leaving little children at home who needed me.

DEGN: Is the Church changing the way it's viewing the family and the time demands that are required of the family?

SMITH: Yes, the Church is putting a very definite stress on being able to spend more time with the family. And I think what we are saying is that we would like people really to have one Church job—maybe one responsibility as an officer or a teacher, and then maybe an assignment as a visiting teacher or a home teacher—so that we don't put such a stress on any one person.

HADLOCK: Many women have large families, and they feel like they have to take Church jobs when they have little tiny babies so young. They don't give themselves a chance to get on their feet and get their physical and emotional strength back.

SOBOTKA: We try to keep our homes up and we try to. . . . You're supposed to be into genealogy and you're supposed to . . . I think that while we're raising our families, it's just unrealistic to be really good at all those things at the same time. I'm not sure you ever could, but especially not while you were trying to raise a family.

DEGN: In addition to the pressures of perfection, child-raising, and church responsibilities, another pressure is that of finding an identity.

HADLOCK: I think LDS women lean too much on their husbands for their identity. I know that's something I've been learning from this depression and from therapy.

And you haven't become an individual in your own right. You haven't taken the time to further your education or an interest, something like that that would really build up your confidence. But you feel guilty taking that time because you feel torn in so many directions.

HIRSH: And I think that is where a lot of these ladies get . . . maybe distorted is the best word. Because what they learn is not so much Church doctrine, but they've been given different people's interpretations along the way. If women

overreact to it to the point of absolute rigidity, there can be no room for questioning, no room for thinking, and they get stuck in a mold. If you get stuck in a mold hard enough, and you get worn out by your kids and worn out by your own feelings of "what am I doing, why don't I feel happy?" then it can end up to a point where you get depressed enough that you have to go to the hospital.

SOBOTKA: I don't think we can be everything to everyone. In fact, my doctor said to me, "When you quit trying to be super-mom, you'll have a chance to get well." And I had never thought about it like that before. I was just doing what I thought everyone did. He said, "You're trying to be everything to everyone in that family, to answer every need they have. And you just can't do that."

HIRSH: They don't allow themselves (or at least a lot of them don't) the freedom to look around and question. I don't want to get across that they should always question, but I think they need to think about what they're taught. I see a lot of non-think in some of the ladies who become easily depressed that I have treated.

DEGN: And finally, another stress on Mormon women is the changing role of women in society.

We hear a lot about the women's movement these days. Do the issues there enter in in any way?

STOUT: My wife brought something interesting home from a class she attended. When the instructor asked the class of Mormon women what they had in mind when their children grew up and went away from home, she said to them in kind of a sarcastic way, "Do you want to all become mothers-in-law?" That was the only future they had for themselves unless they could try to identify other things in their lives. So I think a lot of Mormon women are feeling conflict about the changes in social roles and expectations.

DEGN: This young Mormon mother from southern California, who asked that her name not be used, overcame her depression by leaving the LDS church:

WOMAN: I don't think the Church really encourages women to use their talents as much as they could. They kind of tell you that if you have a talent (such as writing or music or anything else like that) use it within the Church. They don't encourage you to go out and use it in, say, civic organizations, or maybe professionally, or something like that. And that's too bad, too, because I think there are a lot of Mormon women who are very, very talented and have a lot of energy and are not using it. And maybe they're using it in destructive ways like gaining a lot of weight or being very depressed.

BURGOYNE: Mormon women sometimes have stress as a result of having their structure shaken.

Some of the structure that Mormon women have to live with is the idea of what their role is or ought to be in society—such things as, "A woman's place is in the home," and all of the things that are very much against the women's movement right now. And it's only reasonable that when they experience personal things in their own lives which are in conflict to the stated way they ought to feel according to the creed of Mormonism, it might shake some of their structure.

DEGN: These are some of the religious pressures a Mormon woman faces in what is called *reactive depression*, that is, reacting to one's environment: the pressures to be perfect, to raise a large family, to fulfill Church assignments, to find one's identity, and to sort out one's place in a changing society.

I think it's just unrealistic to be good at all those things at the same time.

But there are many other things that can cause depression: personal qualities, tragedies in life, and one's biology or chemical imbalances in the body. This is often treated with simple medication.

BARKER: As I was growing up, my father was an alcoholic. And my family broke apart when I was eleven. And families just don't break up, they shatter. So I, at the worst part of my depression, felt like I had a built-in self-destruct, that I was programmed to fail, that there was no way I could succeed. I had a bad self-image.

DR. JED ERICKSEN (Mormon bishop, director of the University of Utah Psychiatric Emergency Service): We have strong evidence to indicate that there is a thing that we call *endogenous depression*, which may be biological, or perhaps biochemical, in origin. We have evidence to suggest that depression shows up in families much more than we'd expect on the basis of chance, suggesting a possible hereditary kind of transmission.

HIRSH: Well, of course, one of the exciting things, I think, about psychiatry, especially in the last ten or twenty years, is that as we learn more and more about the really serious forms of mental illness, we find that a lot of them seem to be traced to biologic illnesses. In other words, it's a physical basis for the illness that interacts with whatever else is going on in a person's environment.

DEGN: It should be pointed out that women are more prone to depression than men: according to one doctor, women are twice as likely to get the illness, and specifically women in two age groups—young mothers and women whose children are leaving home. These factors—gender and age—along with others we've mentioned, such as personality type and biology, have nothing to do with religion. So, the next question we will explore is, Do Mormon women get more depressed than other women?

ERICKSEN: Well, I don't think I have any empirical evidence to demonstrate that they do. A significant number of Mormon women do get depressed,

but I don't have any concrete evidence to show that it's disproportionate.

HIRSH: I think any kind of culture where people are taught from a very early age to believe in very rigorous doctrines and to grow up with one set of this-is-the-way-things-are-always-done, then that group by definition is probably more at risk for these kinds of problems. I think they happen everywhere. In other words, I've had other ladies that have come in with the same syndrome, and they're not LDS. So it happens to anyone; but perhaps, let's say, the Mormon population is at risk.

I think there is a good chance I would have committed suicide if it hadn't been for the Church.

BURGOYNE: Among those people—Mormon women—who get depressed, you can often trace one of the precipitants of their depression to their lives, as you can with anybody else. And since their lives involve Mormonism, then Mormonism is, at times, a precipitant of their depression. But as compared to other religious people or nonreligious people, I don't think you can say they're any more depressed as a group.

DEGN: Any less depressed?

BURGOYNE: No, I don't think so.

DEGN: Just an average population?

BURGOYNE: Yes, I think they're made up of average people.

DEGN: So depression can come to any woman. But our experts say the thing about Mormon women who get depressed is they feel the guilt stronger.

STOUT: Most people who are depressed are suffering from a larger degree of neurotic guilt than they are from real guilt. They have conjured up a whole raft of things which they conclude are things that they have done wrong—anywhere from saying a sharp word to a Primary teacher thirty years ago to not liking a bishop to smoking a cigarette one time outside the barn down in Lehi. There's a whole variety of things people carry with them for years and years, and they don't let go of them.

HIRSH: We see some difficulties sometimes, or at least I do, in talking with the families and sometimes the patients in terms of helping them understand the biologic nature of their depressive illness. In other words, they may feel, "Well, I'm doing everything right. I'm going to church. I'm attending all my meetings. I'm going to the temple. I'm Relief Society president. I have six kids. I've raised them all. They're all going to college, you know. I've done the best I can. Why should God strike me down with this illness?"

And if we can help them to understand that it's not a defect or is not because they did something sinful, then many times they'll be able to accept the hospitalization and their illness and their need for ongoing care much more easily.

BURGOYNE: A middle-aged lady who has many children, a very successful husband both financially and in the Church, came for treament. She didn't know why, except that she was unhappy and cried all the time and that sort of behavior which was very clearly an earmark of depression—she couldn't call it depression, because she wasn't really depressed. I mean, how could she be depressed? Her husband was prominent in the Church and she had this wonderful family and they were very successful in all spheres and she was very active in everything she did. So by definition she was not depressed.

Over a very short period of time it became clear that the thing that she was unhappy about was that she had virtually no relationship with her husband at all except over the subject of childrearing—what they should do with their many children and their financial obligations towards them—or the Church or the program that either he or she was putting in the Church. And there was no close communication between them whatsoever.

Her husband predictably responded both good and bad. Bad in the sense that she dared say there was anything the matter. And good in the sense that when he recognized that there was something wrong, he demonstrated concern and care, and it had a good outcome.

DEGN: Could this have happened to any woman?

BURGOYNE: Sure, sure. The only reason that I think that it was a little more serious with her as a Mormon was that all the way through the treatment she was saying how she shouldn't feel this way. How could she feel this way when her husband was such-and-such and she was such-and-such? And these feelings just didn't occur if you lived the gospel. Guess what? They do.

DEGN: You and your husband are both active members of the Church. You were married in the temple. You're living the principles of the gospel. How could something like this happen to you?

HADLOCK: That's what I've asked myself. I don't think being active members of the Church makes a great deal of difference. I mean, we're human beings subject to our fallacies and our weaknesses. And some people have the ability to cope better than others.

SOBOTKA: I had a wonderful father, but one of his favorite sayings was: "If you're good, you'll have blessings, more blessings than you can imagine. And if you're bad, you won't have them. And it's just as simple as that." That just isn't true. You know, people that are really good have problems, too.

ERICKSEN: I think LDS families who are active in the Church have the idea that if they live their lives according to their standards, the way they've been taught, that then all will go well for them. There may be a fallacy in that reasoning, recognizing that all of us human beings are subject to difficult vicissitudes of everyday living. And the fact that we're LDS, we live standards, doesn't

prevent us from being subject to those and they may exact an adjustmental toll in people's lives.

DEGN: Elements of a person's religion may bring on stresses that aggravate or cause depression. But can that religion also provide some of the strengths and the tools in dealing with depression? So, the fourth question we ask is, Is there anything in Mormonism that helps overcome depression? That helps others prevent it?

BRODERICK: There are three elements that are impressive to me. One is the knowledge of who you are. The concept that you are a prince or princess in the household of God who is cared about and who has some track record already before you came here so there must be something good about me or why would I be in the Church? I think that's a very powerful concept. I think we have a very lively concept of prayer and of God.

Probably the most important thing about the Church is that it doesn't leave its members isolated. Isolation is the most devastating cause of both depression and suicide on the one hand and things like wife abuse, child abuse, and aggression on the other hand.

BURGOYNE: It's hard to feel totally alone when you're a good member of the Church because there are so many people, at least on the surface and superficially, who are going to be your friends and help. That's a big help.

DEGN: Do you think your religion gave you any strengths to help you overcome depression?

WOMAN: Yes, it did. Yes, I hadn't ever thought about it, but it has. Because I've been taught that there is a God, a very loving God. I do believe very much in a loving God who loves me and will watch over me. And so in the back of my mind, I've always felt that there's someone watching over me and taking care of me and someone I can talk to and pray to. And I still believe that there's a life after death, and some of the things that were happening to me that caused me to be depressed had to do with people dying, and that helped a lot to know, to feel, to really believe that there is a life after death and believe in a God. It did help. And I think if I hadn't been raised a Mormon that I wouldn't have had that.

DEGN: How did your Mormon religion help you?

HADLOCK: It's given me a lot of faith and a lot of strength. I feel like I have strength from the Lord to help me. But I found out that I was hoping all along that someone could take this pain and this hurt away but that was not possible.

BARKER: Little experiences. The very first time I went to the hospital only one of my friends was even aware of what was going on, but she knew that I hated myself and she knew that I thought that I would never, ever make it to the celestial kingdom. And other people were calling, and calls to a person in the hospital going through this make a demand on them that's very hard. But this dear friend wrote a note and all it said was: "Sweet friend, I love you. I know your heart." And since then, I've decided that that's what the Savior's saying: "Sweet friend, I know what it's like to be afraid, to be lonely, and to think you cannot do it." But he's saying to every soul on earth, "I know your heart. I know you can do it." And that perception, that light on it I would never have had without the gospel. I could never have come through it without bitterness without the gospel.

SOBOTKA: I received many blessings from the priesthood. Even though they certainly didn't cure me, now my feeling is that my Heavenly Father helped me in a different way than I was expecting him to help me. He gave me all the aids and all the helps that were available and possible around here. Some very special people in my neighborhood helped me get through it. And then he helped me get myself well so I had confidence in myself, where if it had been some miracle healing from those blessings, I don't think I would have had the confidence within myself that I have.

I set out to be a super-Mormon-mom and I was going to do it. I finally went to my doctor.

Many nights my husband gave me a special blessing in the evenings on especially hard nights and it brought us very close together.

DEGN: What about the doctrine—did it give you any security or comfort?

SOBOTKA: Well, this isn't a very positive statement, but I will say it. I think there is a very good chance I would have committed suicide if it hadn't been for the Church. But because I knew there was a hereafter, because I knew I would meet my father there, I didn't think he would be very happy to see me under those circumstances.

DEGN: You're speaking of your own father?

SOBOTKA: My own father has passed away. Yes.

BARKER: My husband's unwillingness to leave me when I begged him to was one thing that helped. Because of his commitment to our temple marriage he said, "I do not have that option." This when I had changed totally, when I had been sick for two years. He thought I'd never be better. He thought this was the way life would go on for us until we died. And yet he would not leave because of his commitment. He fought for me. He fought hard for me and for my sanity. And that was because of the gospel.

DEGN: The final question we want to explore is how can depression be prevented, be treated?

Talking it out, to realize one is not alone in having a depressive illness, to learn more about the symptoms, the treatments—this is what is happening in one unusual Relief Society class in the Edgemont Fourteenth Ward in Provo. Teacher Dorothy Bramhall lists four stresses which women face: perfectionism, receiving no rewards for the job of mother, lack of nurturing from husbands, and loneliness.

DOROTHY BRAMHALL (Relief Society teacher): So somehow we think colds and flu and everything else are not our fault. But somehow we feel that depression *is* our fault.

CLASS MEMBER: But it's when the stress gets to the point where we reach a point almost of apathy where we say we don't care or we can't function anymore. And maybe it's just for a period of hours or for a period of a couple of days where we feel that way. But it's when everything just loads in on you and you suddenly say, "I quit," or "I give up," or "I don't care."

DEGN: This course on depression was created by stake board member Carol Lee Hawkins. Her job as Stake Specialist for Varied Interests was to come up with a course of study on anything except homemaking. She would teach the course to ward leaders, who would then run it once a month in their own wards as an optional miniclass on homemaking day. She chose to create a class on depression.

LDS families believe if they live the standards, that then all will go well.

CAROL LEE HAWKINS: I saw a lot of stress on women, and I guess I felt sort of victimized by myself, by a lot of my circumstances around me. And I saw what it was doing to myself and other women. And I didn't like what it was doing. And so I thought, in other areas of medicine and education there are skills that we can learn to help us. In mental health it's the same. There are skills that we can incorporate in our lives to help us cope with these situations that are inevitable.

DEGN: This Relief Society class is designed to help. But there are many things in a woman's environment that do not help.

BARKER: Misguided people with their misguided advice. I never through it all doubted the truthfulness of the gospel. But, oh, sometimes people could hurt. The nurse who said, "If you'd been reading your scriptures, it wouldn't have happened." The women who say, "Well, I had exactly the same thing, and all I had to do was just stop thinking about it so much." Or the people who say, "Just get up in the morning and put a smile on your face." It's so simplistic, and they just don't know the nature of the thing they're dealing with. And yet when you feel that your opinions are worth absolutely nothing, you accept these things and think you must be doing something terribly wrong.

DEGN: So these things hurt. But the most important thing for treatment all the women said is, "Go get help."

Are there lots of women that you're aware of in the Church who are going through depression?

BARKER: I feel that there are. And I feel that they don't get better as fast as they should because they're so reluctant to say, "Help me." They're reluctant to leave themselves wide open for criticism.

SOBOTKA: Well, the first thing is that if you ever feel like you are having some problems, I wouldn't get real bad before I sought help. And I would make sure I was going to someone good because that's really, really important. Sometimes a lot of women have just a touch of depression, and they can go two or three times to a doctor to get help and that's the end of it. But if they stay at home and try to work it out themselves—or sometimes with some counseling from someone from the Church who isn't qualified—I think that's when it really turns into a big problem.

NEIL HADLOCK (Karen Hadlock's husband, an active Church member): It came right to the critical period. We took Karen into the emergency room at the hospital five months ago; it had to go pretty far with us before we got help. And I think that's unfortunate. I think if these things are picked up earlier, if a husband can even see his wife losing interest in things and see that she's not coping quite right. It's important to talk to someone.

DEGN: You say go for help. Are you speaking about a bishop or a professional counselor?

N. HADLOCK: I think you know, if you go to your bishop, you can sense where his abilities fail. And I think he can help you in some things, but I think when you find yourself in depression, you really need to see a professional and get some help.

DEGN: In the treatment of depression, many attitudes have to be changed. One of the most important that must be developed, our experts say, is the ability to say "no" intelligently.

STOUT: Mormon women have traditionally been taught that it's difficult to say "no." And yet saying "no" can be a very healthy thing if it's done appropriately. One shouldn't do it just as a sign of rebellion or negativism or fear. "No" should be a reasoned kind of response. But that's maybe one very important thing to teach a depressed Mormon woman: the ability to say "no."

SOBOTKA: I can say "no" now, where I had a hard time. I don't only mean Church positions, which I can say "no" to now a lot easier with less guilt. And I can say "no" to my husband if I don't want to do something instead of feeling like I have to. The other day I had a call from a lady from school. I had signed up to help with one party for the school for the year, and I was approached to be the room mother. And I said, "No, there's no way." I said I'd help with a party. But a few years ago I probably would have felt I'd have to go ahead and do that.

BARKER: Simplifying. I truly believe that although the misguided little visiting teachers will say, "Get out and do more and do this and do this and do this and stop thinking about it." It's not right. This is the time to simplify your life. This is the time to cut out the things that are causing anxiety to the greatest extent that you can. You can't cut out your family or your children. And I didn't give up my Church callings; personally, I felt that I needed that, too, although there were some elements of anxiety there. But my bishop simplified for me by cutting my callings down to one—which was a great relief.

DEGN: Is there a time when a woman should tell her bishop "no"?

SMITH: I think she should very often discuss with her bishop her problems before she will accept a responsibility. Because if he could understand her situation, her health, her mental frame of mind,

the responsibility she has with her children, the problems she might be having as far as financial resources, those things need to be a part of the decision that's made. And I think most bishops would not put more stress upon a woman than she would be able to handle if he just understood.

BARKER: That's a big lesson for a Mormon woman to learn to say, "I don't think I can take that on. I don't think I can take that luncheon on, but I'll be glad to do this little part or this small something." It's not cutting out altogether, but it's simplifying.

DEGN: Another very important attitude for a woman to develop, our people said, is to perceive herself as an important individual.

SOBOTKA: One of the most important things that I learned is that I'm a person first, a wife and a mother second. It's not all one thing. And I'm justified in having needs and justified in buying something for myself. And I don't have to explain everything I do and answer to my children and my husband for every little minute of my day.

K. HADLOCK: Take time for you. Find something that you really love. Sometimes it's just easier not to take the time. Sometimes it's easier to stay home. Maybe you're too tired. I've heard women say, "The joy of doing the things I loved to do is gone because it just seems like too much effort." But it's important to make that effort. It's important that you don't let yourself slide.

SOBOTKA: I feel like I had such an identity crisis during this time. And I think partly it was because I was swallowed up in trying to be the mother, in trying to be the wife and not the person. And so, do your own thing. When the doctor told me to take one day a week and go out and do something that I wanted to do, I could not think of anything. I hadn't thought about something like that for so long that I couldn't come up with a thing. They kept trying to help me find something that I would enjoy doing. And so, that's kind of sad to think that you can't do that.

DEGN: And now, in conclusion, some final thoughts on getting better from one who's been through it and from one, at the time of this interview, who was still on the way.

What made you better?

BARKER: The Lord made me better. The Lord loves me. People prayed about me. Good help, professional help, time, medication. But I truly feel that I would have committed suicide had it not been for the gospel. Had I not known that I would still be me after death, that I would still be me with all my problems but only that I would be cut off from the people I loved even though I felt that I didn't deserve to be with them, I would have committed suicide. So the gospel saved my life.

DEGN: How do you feel now?

K. HADLOCK: How do I feel right now? I had three good days this week and I started to sink today. I go up and down and I have to have faith that gradually the good days will come more often than the bad days. And it's not the type of thing—I don't know how to make women realize—it's not the type of thing where you just have a discouraging day. It's a real mental anguish. It's a real pain. It's a real suffering.

DEGN: Do you see the end?

K. HADLOCK: Some days I do. Some days I have a hard time.

DEGN: This reaction is common for people going through a depression. They feel they *never* will see the end. But the American Mental Health Association says ninety percent of depression can be treated successfully.

To summarize then. Women seem to get depressed more than men do. Two age groups are hit harder than others—early motherhood and ending motherhood.

Mormon women are just as vulnerable to this, some would say more so, others would say just the same. Certain pressures that Mormon women must deal with are the pressures to be perfect, the pressure over raising a family, of church jobs, the pressure in finding an identity, and their role in society. But other pressures in other societies can do the same for other women.

Biology can also aggravate or cause a depression. Certain personality types are more prone. Traumatic life experiences can also trigger a depression.

One thing about Mormon depression, though, is the women seem more *guilty* about having this problem and therefore more reluctant to seek help.

But just as their religion might be a source of some of their pressure, it is also a source of some of their help—providing structure, friendship, and answers.

The treating of depression often involves going for professional help, learning to say "no," to take time for oneself, to establish one's identity and, often, to regulate biological imbalances in the body.

Tonight we explored how depression affects one group in our community: Mormon women. This is not to say they are the only ones who have problems. Our purpose was to help this large group of women and their families in our community understand their illness and help them overcome it, so that they need not suffer needlessly thinking they are alone in this trauma or that there is no help, so that even more of them may become part of the ninety percent in this country who can be treated successfully for this illness we call depression.

When the doctor told me to take one day to do something I wanted to do, I could not think of anything.

Mormon Chess

A whimsical peek into a favorite Latter-day Saints game.

By Kris Cassity

Often new converts or Mormons who have had little association with other Mormons experience some frustration upon moving into a dominantly Mormon society. This frustration is generally unanticipated, and Mormonologists maintain that it is the result of an often misunderstood game called Mormon chess. This game is played frequently among Mormons and is similar to the traditional game of chess, but it has the distinct advantage that it can be played verbally without chess figures or a playing board. An explanation of the fundamentals of Mormon chess should be very useful to those who are unfamiliar with this game and should be a definite playing asset to those who find themselves frequently defeated and frustrated.

The game is played when two individuals have opposing opinions on the same subject, or opinions which appear to be opposing. The object of the game is for each player to attack the opinion of his opponent and thus make his own opinion appear dominant. When either player's opinion is successfully discredited, the game ends.

To achieve the goal of discrediting the opponent's opinion, each player has a set of verbal strategies, known as "chessmen," that he can use either to defend his own opinion or to attack the opinion of his opponent. Each of these chessmen has different characteristics and can be directed to attack or defend in given patterns. The mark of a skilled player is his ability to make full use of all his strategies.

The first rank of chessmen, which are called "pawns," have limited mobility and limited force. The pawn stratagem is constructed by adding one of the following statements to a statement that supports a given player's point of view: "My (A. Sunday School teacher, B. seminary teacher, C. religion instructor, D. bishop, E. stake president) said that. . . ." Pawns are easily overcome by more sophisticated stratagems, but they are often useful in confusing the issues enough to work to a player's advantage. For example, when confronted by an opposing opinion, a player may say, "My seminary teacher said that was false." Quite obviously, this will divert the discussion to a consideration of the merits of seminary teachers, and thus avoid the main issues.

The second rank of Mormon chess strategies, the "castles," is a more powerful rank than the pawns, but castles are much more limited in number than pawns, for they are harder to formulate. The castles are formed by making direct statements of logic that support a player's opinion. Castles are very useful, but they have a major weakness: they can only move straight forward in direct logical progressions and are very vulnerable from the sides. A castle can be easily upset with an indirect attack: for example, an assertion that such and such a logical statement is a "worldly philosophy." A skillful player will, of course, counter. He may attribute his line of logic to someone who was quoted in a general conference and thus frustrate his opponent's attack. However, this type of maneuvering is cumbersome and illustrates the vulnerability of castles.

The third rank of chessmen is composed of the "knights." Knights are approximately equal in number and in force to castles, but they are much more evasive. A knight stratagem is formed by paraphrasing a scripture which includes a word or words that might be conceivably construed to relate to a given player's opinion. Knights have the advantage of changing direction in the middle of a move and thus avoiding capture. If, for example, a knight is attacked on the basis that the context of the scripture paraphrased does not support the responsible player's opinion, that player may reinterpret his paraphrase or allude to other passages of scripture which have similar words and which might also be construed to relate to his position. A duel between knights, often referred to by its French name, "biblebash," is a most extraordinary phenomenon of Mormon chess. A biblebash may last almost indefinitely as each player jumps from scriptural

interpretation to scriptural interpretation, never quite able to firmly entrap his opponent.

The fourth rank of players is called "bishops." Bishops are in many ways similar to knights except that they have a greater range of striking distance. Bishops are constructed by adding, "A General Authority said that . . ." to a statement which resembles a given player's opinion. It is not essential that a player remember who the General Authority is, the context of his statement, or even the exact content of the statement. All these things might be helpful, but they can detract from a stratagem as well as enhance it. If, for example, a player says that Brigham Young was the General Authority who said such and such, his opponent may well counter with a different quote by Brigham Young which appears to support a different view.

The most versatile and most devastating of all the Mormon chessmen is the "queen." The queen move, sometimes called the "piousputdown," is made by asserting that the opposing player, his opinion, or his assertions are wordly, unorthodox, or antireligious. Once again, the player need not show how this assertion is true; it is merely sufficient to assert it or to imply it. The queen is a particularly destructive figure because she can be made to attack in virtually any direction. Opposing queens are thus generally obliged to be kept some distance apart since a confrontation of the two generally means a loss of both. A player who has forfeited his queen is usually at a definite disadvantage in Mormon chess.

The final and most essential chessman is the "king," or the opinion of each player. Kings can never be taken; they can only be put in checkmate. Checkmate occurs when an opinion is exposed to an attack for which the defending player can find no defense and is thus made to appear discredited. When either player's opinion is in checkmate, the game ends.

With a basic understanding of these fundamentals, the novice player should be well prepared to play Mormon chess if he just remembers not to commit one grievous error: an experienced player accepts defeat unemotionally since he realizes that the next game may well find him the victor. To display anger or frustration in defeat will identify him as a novice.

Remain calm. Remember, this is only a game.

Remain calm. Remember, this is only a game.

KRIS CASSITY has a diverse background of experience and achievements. Of special note is the fact that he won a posture contest in third grade and was voted Webelos of the week at the age of eleven. Today Kris is a practicing attorney in Anchorage, Alaska.

Campus in Crisis

BYU's earliest conflict between secular knowledge and religious belief.

By Richard Sherlock

"Work hard, learn all you can but don't change," was the unconsciously contradictory departing advice of one well-intentioned neighbor to his college-bound friend in the early twentieth century. The student was among an increasing number of aspiring young Mormons leaving Utah to study at major universities such as Harvard, Chicago, Michigan, and Berkeley, among the first to venture out from their mountain home after the period of political and economic isolation had ended. Those left behind sensed and those going away soon recognized that true education inevitably breeds change. "Modernist" ideas of social gospel, evolution, higher criticism, and pragmatism had to be confronted and reconciled with their religious convictions. However, after prolonged and intense personal struggles, most returned home to Zion, convinced that a religious interpretation of life and the facts of scientific knowledge were not incompatible. Having successfully negotiated the tensions and frustrations of such adaptation for themselves, they were anxious to share their insights, confident that their academic training would be welcomed and valued.

Their return to face a subsequent crisis at BYU in 1911 is the earliest and probably one of the most important examples of a usually private interface erupting into a significant and revealing public debate, one which engulfed faculty, students, administrators, and eventually the First Presidency. Ostensibly the source of the controversy was the teaching of evolution, but the crucial issue was (as mentioned above) the broader question of scholarly endeavor and religious interpretation. The response of the Church in this instance set something of a pattern of responses to other intellectual crises.

1908 found President George H. Brimhall attempting to establish academic credentials for his Brigham Young University by engaging a nucleus faculty of quality professors with advanced degrees. Two brothers, Joseph and Henry Peterson, who had recently completed doctoral work at the University of Chicago, were hired to teach psychology and education, respectively. At the same time Cornell-trained biologist Ralph Chamberlin came from the deanship of the new University of Utah Medical School. Two years later Ralph's brother, William Chamberlin, who taught ancient languages and philosophy, was recruited from Brigham Young College in Logan.[1] Each arrived with a sense of personal mission, convinced that the creation of a first-rate university capable of producing good thinkers and "attracting students of exceptional earnestness and calibre"[2] was imminent. Said Ralph Chamberlin, "Enthusiasm was rife, and it was confidently hoped that early and adequate expression was to be given here to an ideal of education which had been cherished in the Church from its beginning, an ideal involving a harmonious presentation of knowledge in all fields within an institution devoted primarily to religious education."[3]

So each embarked on a rigorous campaign to enliven the students academically by introducing the latest developments in education, psychology, science, and philosophy. At a 1909 memorial service commemorating the births of Darwin and Lincoln, biologist Ralph Chamberlin read an address which recounted Darwin's long struggle to gain acceptance for his ideas. He concluded that Darwin was one of the greatest scientific minds of the age. The following year visiting speakers were invited to discuss eugenics, communism, and the impact of Darwinism on history and education.[5] Courses such as "Ecclesiastical Sociology" and "The Psychology of Religion," which stressed the relationship between scientific principles and Mormon doctrine, were added to the curriculum.[6] The campus was stirring with the enthusiasm infused by the earnest young professors.

In 1909 Ralph Chamberlin published two articles in BYU's student paper, *White and Blue*. In the first, "The Early Hebrew Conception of the Uni-

verse," he emphatically defended the necessity of studying the Hebrew records without reading modern ideas into them. The early Hebrew tribal God and a primitive notion of the universe were consistent with an evolutionary-progressive philosophy of history, he wrote. "For, assuredly, it is only when we perceive the constant growth, constant evolution, in the Bible and recognize in it the progressive unfolding of the Divine Will in the Hebrew race that it has its highest meaning for and can teach and stimulate us . . . its errancy in many matters that represent merely the accepted views of the day and the people do not weaken, but properly understood, should strengthen the value which it should have for us."[7]

In the second, "Early Hebrew Legends," Chamberlin described the tower of Babel story as a legend created by the Hebrews to explain the plurality of languages and peoples in the world. He drew a sharp distinction between history and legend for "history countenances only such reports as are verifiable." Unverifiable, the early Hebrew legends could not be understood as literal historical reports, but they were useful as myths which explain the Hebrew view of the world: "Only the childish and immature mind can lose by learning that much in the Old Testament is poetical and that some of the stories are not true historically. Poetry is a superior medium for religious truth. Everyone who perceives the peculiar poetic charm of these old legends must feel irritated by the barbarian—for there are pious barbarians—who thinks he is putting the true value upon these narratives only when he treats them as prose and history. Only ignorance can regard such a conclusion as irreverent for it is the judgment of reverence and love. These poetic narratives are the most beautiful possessions which a people brings down through the course of its history and the legends of Israel, particularly those of Genesis are perhaps the most beautiful and the most profound ever known on earth."[8]

William Chamberlin, too, was struggling to reconcile evolution and theism in a religious-philosophical system. His theory was a personalistic-idealistic system modeled after the work of his teachers, George Howison at Berkeley and Josiah Royce at Harvard.[9] At a sacrament meeting in 1910 he addressed the need to look at the Bible as wisdom and parable rather than historical fact. Using the Book of Jonah as an example, he said that "regarding the book as a parable does away with the need of believing the fish story—as fact. It also places beyond the reach of petty critics other stories in the book used merely for purposes of illustration."[10]

William and Ralph Chamberlin, as well as the Peterson brothers and other teachers, took every opportunity to lecture on evolution and the Bible: church groups, college audiences, and townspeople heard their message. Students made evolutionary ideas a "hot" topic on campus. Debating societies argued it; evolution was the topic at speech contests; the Chamberlins gave courses on evolution and the Bible to local elders' quorums.[11] A 1911 *White and Blue* article detailed contemporary critical evaluations of the subject: "Darwin and His Mission," in the January *Portal* is a good article. It is not so long ago that religious men branded the theories of Darwin as heresies of the worst sort. It is certainly a work of progress to note a statement like this in a sectarian journal. Undoubtedly among the great men of the nineteenth century the foremost place should be given to the eminent scientist, Charles Darwin."[12]

The Chamberlins introduced the latest developments in education, psychology, science, and philosophy.

Challenging questions which the young professors had first encountered privately at faraway universities thus found a public forum in the Church's own Brigham Young University. University president George Brimhall, though not himself an advocate of evolution, at first seemed to sense the value of open discussion and diversity of opinion though he cautioned students not to ascribe the personal views of those in favor of evolution to the University. Edwin Hinckley, a counselor in the presidency of the school and professor of natural science, had as early as 1903-04 taught a class entitled "Geological Biology." The course description noted that "Special attention will be given to the study of fossil forms, their life history and the evolution of our earth and its organism."[13] Though Hinckley was at least sympathetic to evolutionary ideas, Joseph Keller, Brimhall's other counselor and a professor of commerce, published a strong attack on Darwinism. Most faculty and students, however, seemed sympathetic to the new ideas; the professors who taught evolution and higher criticism were dynamic, articulate and very popular.

A young student later recorded her response to a series of lectures given by Joseph Peterson on the Bible: "How I enjoyed them! . . . I fully believed that the men who had done research on the old Hebrew records were just as honest as any scientist. Why should we turn down their findings? I must say that I was a little shocked, yet my mind consoled itself with the idea that God is our friend. . . . To illustrate, one of my greatest disturbances occurred when I learned that the study of Adam and Eve and the Garden of Eden may not be literally true. Its literal acceptance has been one of the important premises of Mormonism. Too, if the story of the flood came from the legends of a people the Israelites had met in captivity, or if the Book of Jonah was a satire of Jewish self-righteousness and written as a fable to portray that characteristic rather than as history, why accept literally the story of creation as related in the Bible?"[14]

Such searching questions were inevitably threatening to the guardians of Mormon orthodoxy. In particular, Horace Cummings,

Church superintendent of education, was a bitter opponent of evolutionary thought and of modernist religious ideas in general. To teach evolution and critical study of the Bible was to attack the faith of the youth of Zion.

In 1908 the Church board of education, led by Cummings and no doubt sharing his concern, had specifically forbade BYU teachers to use as texts any books about the Bible written by non-Mormons. Such materials could be consulted in preparing lectures but could not be followed as a guide: "the school was established to teach the gospel of Christ and not destroy faith."[15]

Ralph Chamberlin drew a sharp distinction between history and legend in the Old Testament.

In the fall of 1910 Cummings reported to the board that more than a dozen stake presidents had complained to him about the teachings of evolution at BYU. The board appointed him to investigate. To this point, Brimhall had not taken a stand on the modernist controversy and in fact defended the professors in a letter to President Joseph F. Smith in December 1910: "It seems clear to me that the attitude of these brethren ought to be made clear to the President of the Board of Directors. I believe I understand them. While I believe they are from their point of view perfectly right, still I think they are a little over zealous in their desire to bring people to their point of view. As they look at it, their teachings are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Gospel, but there are certainly many who cannot perceive that harmony, and, therefore, it seems to me that a little waiting with their working will be in keeping with greater wisdom on their part."[16] On 7 December 1910 at a faculty meeting, "Superintendent Cummings spoke of the criticisms he heard of the result of some of the teachings here, but was glad to learn through conversation with the Presidency that the matters have been misrepresented."[17]

The complaints, however, continued. So Cummings spent four days at the school talking to faculty, students, administrators, and townspeople to prepare a report for the board of education. In the report, dated 21 January 1911, he stated: "The theory of evolution is treated as a demonstrated law and their applications of it to the gospel truths give rise to many curious and conflicting explanations of scripture. . . . The Bible is treated as a collection of myths, folklore, dramas, literary production and some inspiration. Its miracles are but mostly fables or accounts of natural events recorded by simple people who injected the miraculous element into them as most ignorant people do when things strange to them occur."[18]

Worse, still, he found widespread acceptance of the modernist heresies: "Practically all of the college students whom I met, except one or two returned missionaries, were most zealous in defending the new views."

According to Cummings, "responsibility for this state of affairs seems to rest upon no more than four or five of the teachers." They were all good men, but serving on the same campus they reinforced each other's errors. He recommended that they be reassigned immediately.

Three days later, on 3 February 1911, the board of education met and appointed a committee of five apostles, Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant, Hyrum M. Smith, Charles W. Penrose, George F. Richards, as well as Brimhall and Cummings to follow up on Cummings' report. By that time Brimhall had come to agree with Cummings. According to the minutes, "Brother Brimhall, the President of the institution, expressed himself to the effect that the only thing that he could see was to get rid of these teachers. He had patiently labored with them in the hope that they would change their attitude and abstain from thrusting their objectionable views before the classes but it seemed that they were more determined than ever to teach theology according to their own ideas and theories, instead of according to the revealed truth, and he therefore saw no alternative but to dispense with their services."[19]

The committee met 10 February from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. and the next day from 10 to 3. On the second day the three teachers were present but Ralph Chamberlin claimed that they were not given a chance to defend themselves and that no evidence was presented to prove "that we were disloyal in any way or that we knowingly injured anyone's faith."[20] Similarly, Henry Peterson denied all charges of having corrupted the faith of his students, claiming that "on one or two occasions he had been mistakenly blamed for the teachings of another professor."[21]

Nevertheless, the committee found that the charges contained in Cummings' report were true and recommended that "the services of these three professors be dispensed with unless they change their teaching to conform to the decisions and instructions of the Board of Trustees of BYU and the General Church Board of Education."[22] BYU's board of trustees responded with a resolution that teachers in Church schools must be in accord with Church doctrine.[23] The three professors were given the choice of conforming or resigning.

Already responding to the not unexpected charges, Ralph Chamberlin had published an article entitled "Evolution and Theological Belief" in the *White and Blue* shortly after the Cummings investigation but before the special committee met, stressing that evolutionary theory only concerns itself with *how* the processes of nature worked. It does not attempt to answer the question of *why*: "Evolution does not and cannot give us the meaning of the processes it describes; that question is properly left to religious faith."[24] On 14 February after the ultimatum to conform or resign, William Chamberlin, who had not been threatened with dismissal, also published a lengthy defense of evolution in the *White and Blue*

entitled "The Theory of Evolution as an Aid to Faith in God and Belief in the Resurrection." Evolution, he insisted, does not conflict with faith in God. On the contrary, evolution provides a firmer support for the idea of purposeful design in nature than traditional defenses. Evolution, he wrote, even provides a basis for belief in that most miraculous of Christian events, physical resurrection. The millions of years required to create the human body in the evolutionary scheme implied "a measureless interest in our welfare." To think that death would put an end to God's millions of years of activity in creating his most noble work is absurd: *prima facie* evidence for belief in a resurrection.[25]

Bolstered by the Chamberlin brothers' confidence that evolutionary thought could only reinforce rather than weaken their religious convictions, in early March the students mobilized, petitioning Brimhall on behalf of the threatened professors. They argued for academic freedom and defended the teaching of evolution in Church schools. It is not the purpose of the Church, they said, to pass judgment on scientific questions, but to give theological guidance. The strictly scientific question of evolution should be left open to free discussion and investigation. "We believe that it is not the proper attitude to fight a proposition by ruling it completely out of consideration. We feel that if our gospel is true it will triumph over error without any artificial protection. We understand that it invites us to investigate anything that is praiseworthy or of good report; hence to prohibit the investigation of a scientific theory so well established as the theory of evolution is scarcely living up to our understanding of the Gospel." They denied the teaching of the three professors was destroying faith. The student petition was signed by over 80 per cent of the students at BYU, but it received nothing more than an acknowledgment of receipt from President Brimhall.[26]

Unable to receive a satisfactory response from the administration, the students went public. They sent their petition to all three Salt Lake newspapers. On 16 March the petition appeared on the front page of the non-Mormon *Tribune*. In a lengthy cover story the *Tribune* charged that a conspiracy to suppress the story existed at the Church-controlled *Deseret News*.

Publication of the student petition brought a swift response from the *Deseret News* and the school administration. A *News* editorial reprimanded the students for rushing into print, especially in a paper that could never be a friend to the students. The editorial declared that the Church favored the truth and would not suppress science or learning. In a speech to the student body, Brimhall charged them to have faith in the Lord and his servants who were leading the school.[27]

The next day Brimhall dismissed Henry Peterson, effective at the end of the term. Henry responded immediately through the Provo newspaper: "Readers, don't let people tell you from the pulpit or otherwise that to accept evolution means to forsake your faith or deny God. Evolution is the process by which God works." A member of the Sunday School general board, Henry had deep and genuine Mormon commitments. He was deeply hurt by the accusations that he was destroying faith.[28] Anthon H. Lund recorded in his journal: "At the Sunday School Board meeting I met Henry Peterson. He wanted to resign from the religion class board, saying, 'As I am not worthy to teach in Church schools, I am not worthy to teach religion classes.' I said 'Brother Henry, it is not worthiness that is lacking, it is this, that you should teach the word of God without private interpretation, and not take the bridle bit in your own mouth!'"[29]

Convinced of the importance of unfettered discussion, Milton Bennion, future commissioner of Church education and professor of philosophy and education at the University of Utah, argued in the April issue of *Utah Educational Review* that although religionists may have faith in an unchanging truth, human finite ability to perceive truth fully rendered closed-minded dogmatism self-defeating. He reminded his readers that earlier scientific theories such as the Copernican system had been declared heretical by church leaders. He emphasized the difference between "essentials and non-essentials of faith," and urged the Church "to grant the utmost liberty of belief in respect to the non-essentials without questioning the fellowship of members who exercise this liberty." After all, "is it not probably that any serious attempt on the part of Church officials to dictate the methods and results of science in Church schools would mean the death of higher education in these schools?"[30]

Brimhall, too, saw the crisis in terms of a deathknell but from a different perspective: "I have been hoping for a year or two past that harmony could be secured by waiting, but the delays have been fraught with increased danger. . . . The school cannot go off and leave the Church in any line of activity without perishing in the desert. My mind has been thoroughly made up for some time. . . . I feel now that nothing short of a public retraction should be accepted as a guarantee that these men will preserve an attitude of being in harmony with the spirit of the school and the doctrines of the Church as preached by the living oracles. I do not believe that with the present attitude they can be patriotic—loyally patriotic, to the Prophets in the hour in Israel. . . .

"The going of these professors will perhaps disturb the college and interfere with its immediate growth. They will have a following, but like the Church, in a short time the school will not only retrieve its losses, but out of the accident God will bring glory to the institution until it will be said, 'It is a good thing it happened.'

William Chamberlin, too, struggled to reconcile evolution and theism in a religious-philosophical system.

There are some people who predict the death of the college if these men go. I am ready to say that if the life of the college depends upon any number of men out of harmony with the brethren who preside over the Church, then it is time for the college to die. I would rather the Maesar Memorial remain a sealed tomb containing our college hopes and ambitions until the day of a new educational resurrection than to have its doors thrown open to influences antagonistic to the heroism, inspiration and revelation of those who have made the school and who have the right to say, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.' The school follows the Church, or it ought to stop."[31]

They denied the teaching of the professors was destroying faith. The petition was signed by 80% of the BYU students.

President Joseph F. Smith, too, attempted to shift the emphasis from the specific issue of evolution to the question of Church discipline. Through an editorial in the *Improvement Era* he acknowledged that the three discharged teachers were "eminent scholars, able instructors, men of excellent character." But, "nevertheless, as teachers in a Church school they could not be given the opportunity to inculcate theories that were out of harmony with the recognized doctrines of the Church." The question of evolution was neatly avoided. In the *Juvenile Instructor* President Smith explicitly stated that the Church was not taking a position on evolution itself: "In reaching the conclusions that evolution would best be left out of discussions in our church schools, we are deciding a question of propriety and not undertaking to say how much of evolution is true or how much false.[32]

For the Church leadership the controversy had thus become a question of loyalty and obedience. Avoiding debate, the Church ignored the pleas of the students for academic freedom and open discussion and instead opted for order and "propriety." The debate itself and not the specific question seemed most threatening. Although all Church leaders were not anti-intellectual, the official resolution of the 1911 conflict did reflect a fear of rigorous investigations of doctrinal and philosophical issues in Mormon thought. A gospel grown too complicated and problematic might require a "professional theology" and "theologians" to teach it. "Philosophizing" or "speculating" can only worry immature members and divert attention from the simple and practical saving truths of the gospel.

In a sense, hostility to speculative theology has kept the central theological tenets and symbols of the faith within easy grasp of the common man, anchors in a troubled and changing world. But at what cost? Many of the choice sons and daughters of Zion continue to confront complex intellectual challenges for which simple answers are not enough. They still need the support of like-minded friends and the open forum BYU's earlier student body fought to maintain. The often duplicated official solution to demand obedience and avoid discussion—from the firing of controversial professors, to earlier debates over writings of an Orson Pratt or B. H. Roberts, or to the contemporary deemphasizing of academia in the institute system—never really addresses the problem. We still need the Chamberlins and Petersons. As expressed by Thomas Martin, dean of the College of Applied Sciences at BYU some thirty years after the original controversy at that school: "I feel that we lost much when the Chamberlins and the Petersons left us. If some of the narrowness which caused the upheaval in 1911 could have been prevented from exercising its power, I believe the vision of George Brimhall would have been accomplished; and if we could have had a free hand with these men and their associates people would be singing our praises all over the country at the present time."[33]

FOOTNOTES

1. There are three other treatments of this episode, each written from different perspectives. Ralph Chamberlin's discussion in his *Life and Philosophy of W. H. Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1925), pp. 137-60 is obviously written to present Chamberlin's side of the incident, though it does attempt to be balanced in its treatment. The account contained in Ernest Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1975), 1:412-33 is strong on detail but has an obvious institutional slant and is weak on placing the incident in the larger context of the problem of accommodation in modern Mormon history. The discussion in Glen Leonard and James Allen, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976) is balanced and accurate but very brief. The best and most impressive attempt to treat the general problem of religious modernism in America is William Hutchinson, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

2. Ralph Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy of W. H. Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1925), p. 137.

3. Ibid.

4. The Darwin memorial address is contained in the Ralph Chamberlin papers at the Utah State Historical Society.

5. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, p. 411.

6. Ibid., p. 412.

7. The fundamental issue here is not the conclusion that Chamberlin comes to in any of these essays but his insistence that the study of the Bible must be governed by the same canons of historical proof and evidence that are basic in historical research generally. It was this insistence that made his essays so fundamentally challenging to those who wanted to treat the Bible with a special reverence that would deny the applicability of these critical presuppositions. See Ralph Chamberlin, "The Early Hebrew Conception of the Universe," *White and Blue* 13 (24 December 1909): 85 and "Early Hebrew Legends," *White and Blue* 13 (4 February 1910): 129-32.

8. William Chamberlin, *White and Blue* 14 (15 October 1910) and 13 (16 February 1909).

9. R. Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy*, p. 113.

10. "Professor Chamberlin Talks on the *Book of Jonah*," *White and Blue* 14 (25 October 1910).

11. *Provo Daily Herald*, 5 January 1909 and 18 February 1909; *White and Blue* 13 (12 November 1909) and 13 (29 April 1910) and 14 (31 January 1911).

12. *White and Blue* 13 (16 February 1909): 121.

13. E. H. Anderson to George Brimhall, 14 November 1910; George Brimhall to Benjamin Cluff, 24 December 1900; George Brimhall to Reed Smoot, 4 February 1910; George Brimhall to Isaac Oldroyd, 25 January 1910.

14. Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), pp. 187-88.

15. Cummings' views are found at many places in his unpublished "Autobiography" and his journal, both of which are on file at the Library-Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives.

16. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, 3 December 1910, Brimhall Presidential papers as quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:421.

17. BYU Faculty Minutes, 7 December 1910, as quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:421.

18. The report is contained in the manuscript "History of Brigham Young University" compiled by J. Marinus Jensen, N. I. Butt, Elsie Carroll, and Bertha Roberts on file at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

19. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:426.

20. Ralph Chamberlin, "Evolution and Theological Belief," *White and Blue* 14 (31 January 1911).

21. The information on the committee meetings comes from George F. Richards's journal for the dates mentioned, on file in the Church Archives. The decision that the three professors must go was recorded in the minutes of the Church board of education for 3 February 1911.

22. Ralph V. Chamberlin, BYU Archives Oral History Collection, p. 9.

23. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:425.

24. Ibid., 1:426.

25. William Chamberlin, "The Theory of Evolution as an Aid in Faith in God and Belief in the Resurrection," *White and Blue* 14 (14 February 1911). See also his letter in the *Deseret News*, 11 March 1911.

26. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 March 1911.

27. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 March 1911; *Deseret News*, 17 March 1911. There had been some press reporting of the troubles earlier. See the *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 February 1911, 23 February 1911, 12 March 1911; *Deseret News*, 21 February 1911 and 11 March 1911.

28. George Brimhall to Henry Peterson, 16 March 1911; *Provo Herald*, 17 March 1911.

29. Anthon H. Lund Journal, 21 February 1911, Church Archives.

30. Milton Bennion, "The Evolution and Higher Criticism Controversy at the Brigham Young University," *The Utah Educational Review* (April 1911): 9-10. In 1920 Bennion was the first choice of the First Presidency to succeed Cummings as Church superintendent of education, but they eventually decided that he was needed as a "Mormon spokesman" at the increasingly secular University of Utah, so his brother, Adam, was appointed instead. See Anthun Lund Journal.

31. Brimhall to Bean, 27 March 1912, Brimhall Presidential papers, as quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:430.

32. Joseph F. Smith, "Theory and Divine Revelation," *Improvement Era*, 14 April 1911, pp. 548-51; Joseph F. Smith, "Philosophy and the Church Schools," *Juvenile Instructor*, April 1911, pp. 208-9.

33. Thomas Martin to Heber Snell, 16 March 1942, Snell Papers, Utah State University Library.

Where Are the All-Seeing Eyes?

The Origin, Use, and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism

By Allen D. Roberts

"We cannot argue with symbols; they find their way into our hearts immediately or not at all. Symbols are more powerful than words."[1]

The year was 1852. For the last time William Ward lifted his small finishing chisel to the face of the two-by-three-foot limestone block he had been laboring on for weeks. With a few deft taps of his mallet he coaxed away the final bits of Sanpete oolite and left the crisp edges of a diminutive square, marking a period after the inscription, "DESERET." Rubbing his aching fingers between his palms to ease the stiffness, he stepped back to inspect his work. His eyes traveled from left to right across the finished surface. At the upper left corner, within a triangular recess, were two hands in a shaking grip. In the opposite corner, a similar triangle was overgrown with the luxuriant contents of a cornucopia. Next came the central element of this composition: a large, semi-circular panel which featured under its arch a rope beehive, sitting on a squat bench, and above it, an all-seeing eye. Cutting through the rays emanating from the eye was the motto, "Holiness to the Lord." An assortment of delicately carved flowers, leaves, and vines provided ornamental borders without detracting from the major emblems, nor from the "DESERET" established in bold Roman letters along the bottom of the warm-colored stone. Ward did not bask long in his accomplishment. Covering the stone with a woolen tarpaulin, he sent a young apprentice to fetch President Young.

In a few minutes the president arrived, accompanied by a few of the leading brethren. They formed a tight semicircle around Ward's stone. Slowly lifting the covering from the bottom up, the artisan dramatically unveiled his work. Broad smiles all around immediately rewarded the mason for his untiring efforts. President Young stepped forward and, adjusting his spectacles, thoughtfully fingered the tooling, moving his hand over the beehive, the hands, and finally, the almost real eye. He too smiled and nodded his approval. "Well done, Brother Ward. This suits our kingdom perfectly. See that you put it on the first ox train going east," he remarked. A few days later the carefully packaged treasure began its long journey to the nation's capital where it was eventually laid up in the monolithic shaft of the Washington Monument along with carved stones from the other states and territories.[2]

The fact that Ward's emblematic stone is still extant in the Washington Monument and that his experience as a symbol-maker was not uncommon among the Mormon artisans between 1840 and the early twentieth century raises some interesting questions for Mormons today. What were the major LDS symbols? What were their origins and purposes? What did they intend to signfy in terms of doctrine and values? What role did they play in the formation and understanding of Mormon theology and/or culture? And, most importantly, is there value in symbolism, and if so, how does one account for the seeming absence of significant symbols in contemporary Mormondom?

PURPOSES AND VALUE OF SYMBOLISM

Lewis Mumford has remarked that "by the act of detachment and abstraction, man gained the power of dealing with the non-present, the unseen, the remote and the internal: not merely his visible lair and his daily companions, but his ancestors and his dependents and the sun and the moon and the stars: eventually the concepts of eternity and infinity . . . he reduced a thousand potential occasions in all their variety and flux to a single symbol that indicated what was common to them all."[3] Thus have groups or individuals attempted to invest material objects, emblems,

or designs with a symbolic character, intended by their creators to represent meanings, principles, or ideas not inherent in the things themselves. So, to the early American gravestone artist a trumpet may represent the day of judgment, to the Roman Catholic painter an equilateral triangle may symbolize the Trinity, and to the Jewish engraver the six-pointed star may refer to God's attributes of power, wisdom, majesty, love, mercy, and justice.

Similarly, nineteenth-century Mormons felt the need to express their shared values in iconographic symbolism, ranging from the didactic, institutionally sponsored sun, moon, stars, and all-seeing eye on early temples and ZCMI signs to quasi-religious symbols such as the beehive and clasped hands whose function was primarily ornamental. Early Mormons under Joseph Smith and Brigham Young were a heterogeneous lot. Diverse backgrounds and varying levels of understanding and commitment presented a most perplexing problem: how to make persons who had migrated to unfamiliar surroundings feel as at ease as possible, to feel a part of the whole. One of the most straightforward ways of effecting the desired acculturation was to display instructive visual symbols, so apparent as to be comprehended by everyone, regardless of backgrounds. These symbols, in an immediate and uniform way, conveyed essential messages and reminders of community qualities to all viewers. Said Brigham Young: "I will do my best to break down everything that divides. I will not have disunion and contention, and I mean that there shall not be a fiddle in the Church but what has 'Holiness to the Lord' upon, not a flute, nor a trumpet, nor any other instrument of music."[4]

The symbolic messages conveyed covered the spectrum from implorings to deal honestly with man and God (His all-seeing eye watches everyone) to reminders that the faithful would meet Christ and inherit his kingdom (clasped hands through the veil). One observer aptly summarized the Mormon view of didactic symbolism: "Mormons had a predilection for symbolism. As millennialists, they regarded the visible world as a metaphor for religious truths, and saw in all objects in nature and events in society the workings of divine purpose."[5] Symbolist F. L. Brink suggests that Joseph Smith successfully created an "innovative and intricate symbology" that suited well the psychic needs of his followers.[6] Following Smith's lead, scores of LDS artisans were guided by the principle that "If one is an artist, he is often a symbol maker and uses his talents to propagate his ideas."[7]

A further objective of Mormon symbolism was to express the uniqueness (and, by implication, truth) of the restored Church. The Lord instructed Joseph Smith to build the Kirtland Temple "not after the manner of the world."[8] Truman Angell wrote of the Salt Lake Temple: "The whole structure is designed to symbolize some of the great architectural works above."[9] Clearly Brigham Young and Angell, Joseph Smith and William Weeks understood the dual value of symbols as a means of graphically expressing the distinctiveness of the LDS community while at the same time summarizing certain truths important to Mormon belief.

ORIGINS OF MORMON SYMBOLISM

From the organization of the Church in 1830 through the years in Kirtland, there is little if any evidence in the temple, bank notes, furniture, stationery, publications, and building signs of self-conscious concrete symbolism. Yet clearly the ideas which were to find expression in physical symbols in Nauvoo developed in Kirtland. Among them were the concepts of millennialism and the three degrees of glory. Even more important was the reinstitution of the ancient concept of the temple.[10] As Joseph Smith approached the building of the first Mormon temple in Kirtland he saw his building as a legitimate successor to Solomon's Temple described in the Old Testament. Even his descriptive terminology, perhaps influenced by writings in 1 Kings, linked the building to ancient scripture. Nevertheless, it was a temple without ostensible symbols.

Joseph Smith attempted to restore Masonry in much the same way the gospel was restored.

Why, then, within a space of ten years, was a second temple built that differed so greatly, not only in style, but in the presence of a symbolic decorative vocabulary?[11] It is very likely because in Kirtland neither Joseph Smith nor the temple's principal designers, superintendents, and builders—Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, and Artemus Millet—were yet involved in Freemasonry, an institution which, in Nauvoo, provided the primary graphic language for Mormon symbolism.

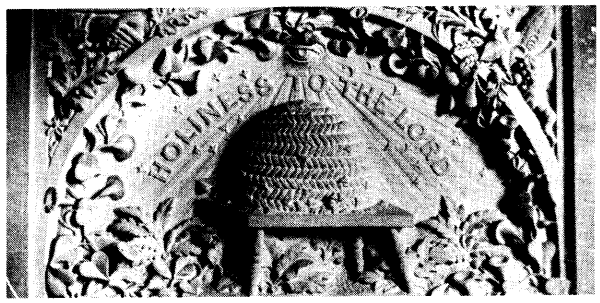
While Mormonism's official connection with Masonry began 15 March 1842 when a lodge was founded in Nauvoo, many Mormons had been Masons before joining the Church. Joseph Smith himself had some familiarity with the society previous to Nauvoo. Hyrum had received the first three degrees of Masonry while the family was living in Palmyra, and Joseph may have known Masonic martyr Captain William Morgan, as he was one of the signers of a petition asking relief for the widow.[12]

Despite this earlier involvement with Masonry, the full impact of the secret society was not felt by collective Mormonism until the Nauvoo period. Within three months after the founding of the first lodge, eleven of the twelve apostles had joined, including Brigham Young. In a short time, five Mormon lodges had been formed, claiming 1366 adherents. By 1844 a three-story Masonic temple had been constructed. About the same time Joseph became immersed in Egyptian and Hebrew studies, both interests of Freemasonry. Even at their martyrdom both Joseph and Hyrum were wearing Masonic jewelry.[13] One Mormon scholar has been moved to make

All photos by Allen Roberts except as noted

All-seeing eye on the Ogden Tabernacle, 1856 (courtesy of Pat King)

Joseph H. Fisher's carved wood pulpit, Meadow Utah, c. 1884



Utah's stone for the Washington Monument, 1852

If there is a uniqueness which binds us, it ought to be expressed graphically.

this controversial assertion: "I believe that there are few significant developments in the Church that occurred after 15 March 1842 which did not have some Masonic interdependence."[14] The remarkable similarities between the Masonic temple ceremony and the Mormon endowment have led others to accuse the Prophet of plagiarism, denying any divine inspiration in his work.

It is true that the artwork, particularly in the literature of the two groups, is sometimes amazingly indistinguishable. Masonic handbooks clearly show that the three most important Masonic symbols (three great lights) are the Bible, square, and compass. Next in importance (three lesser lights) are the sun, moon, and stars.[15] All of these have place in the Mormon symbolic vocabulary as well (although the Bible is rarely depicted symbolically by the Mormons). In addition, the all-seeing eye, clasped hands, and even little-used symbols of Mormondom such as the mitre, crown, clouds, dove and heart, may be found on frontispieces of Masonic books.[16]

Although Joseph Smith freely admitted relating Masonry and Mormonism, to assert that Joseph's Mormonism was simply the direct product of borrowed Masonry is too naive and incomplete a conclusion by itself. Joseph's Masonry was not a conventional one. He attempted to restore it in much the same way the gospel was restored. That is, he saw Masonry, like Christendom, as possessing some important truths which could be beneficially extracted from what was otherwise an apostate institution. Mormons, with the restored priesthood, had the "true Masonry," even "Celestial Masonry." Joseph claimed to have received some of the "lost keys" which would permit him to purify Masonry and return it to its state of ancient perfection. His free use of Masonic symbols, then, reflects the Prophet's feeling that he had a legitimate right to employ these divine emblems of antiquity.[17]

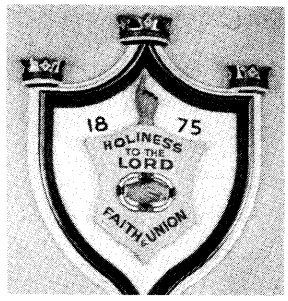
Furthermore, the question of origins is virtually impossible to fathom. The beginnings of Masonry can be traced back to at least the early eighteenth century when several lodges were operating in Europe. Some Masonic historians allege that Masonry was founded by King Solomon about the time his temple was built and that the 133,000 masons who worked on the project later disseminated a knowledge of the brotherhood throughout the civilized world. Masons further claim (obviously without documentation) that Adam created Masonry and that it was modified into its sectarian Jewish form by Moses; that Noah, the Essenes and other important persons and groups of antiquity were Masons; that the Bible was written by Masons and is therefore a Masonic book. Masons especially rely on literary references and art from ancient Egypt for their symbolism.[18] Clearly, the Mormons, too, trace their origins to Adam and the Hebraic nation which for centuries was closely intertwined with the Egyptian race (Solomon and Sheba, etc.). Thus the question of which symbols were created by which groups is indeterminable historiographically.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SYMBOLS

"We see no incompatibility between believing that LDS authorities benefit from divine inspiration and recognizing that they also have their eyes open to what is going on in the world generally."[19] Supplementing revelations with material pulled from his immediate environment, Joseph Smith, through a process we might call *synthetic eclecticism*, created a potpourri of beliefs and practices, accompanied by didactic instruments—symbols—to visibly remind the Saints of their identity, goals, and commitments.

Symbols on buildings, in literature, stamped on manufactured goods, etc. were not endemic to Mormons and Masons but were common throughout all of mid-nineteenth-century American society (as even a cursory inspection of books, posters, buildings, and photos of the period will bear out). So, assuming Joseph felt a need to communicate specific principles to his Saints, he might naturally develop a set of easily understood symbols as were already in familiar use about him. The choice of Masonic references may have been self-conscious, expedient, or may have been a deliberate shunning of Christian symbols. Laurel Andrew explains: "Since Mormons did not embrace conventional Christian theology, normative architectural forms and symbols necessarily underwent some transformation or were entirely supplanted by those having more appropriate associations for Latter-day

Masthead of The Mormon, *with an all-seeing eye, eagle, and beehive, 1856*



St. George Tabernacle plaque, 1875

Eagle Emporium, home of the first ZCMI store, c. 1868

Saints."[20] Unfortunately, the Prophet's appropriation of Masonic designs may have confused both LDS Masons, who had to distinguish between two sets of meanings for the same symbols, and newly arrived foreigners, who hadn't the American background to comprehend them at all.

Symbolism continued in Utah through the efforts of Brigham Young who caused its usage to expand—both as to variety and frequency. While Young had been a Mason and personally owned Masonic handbooks, after Nauvoo troubles with gentile Masons (including their probable participation in the Martyrdom and subsequent persecution and expulsion of the Saints), he had no love for the group. Yet the ornamental trappings planned for the Salt Lake Temple (orginally extensive but much diluted after his death in 1877) demonstrated a continuing implementation of Joseph's selected Masonic symbols. Even more dramatic was Young's extensive use of the all-seeing eye motif on signs of ZCMI stores during and after 1868.[21] Though the parallel with Masonry is obvious, some say Brigham could have obtained his ideas from the Egyptian *Book of Breathings*. Orson Pratt and W. W. Phelps have also been considered possible sources for symbolism of the astrological type.[22] Whatever the actual source, President Young, like Joseph, was open in his use of symbols and did not feel that he was borrowing from Masonry (which did not exist in Utah for several years after 1847) but was rather employing metaphors belonging to the universal body of truth.

Truman O. Angell, in response to an inquiry by Franklin D. Richards as to why the Salt Lake Temple had Masonic symbols on it, wrote that they had nothing to do with the Masons but were derived by President Brigham Young after an intensive study of scripture, particularly the Old Testament.[23] Although many Mormon symbols *can* be related to the Old Testament (see the captions accompanying the photographs) the influences of Freemasonry are clear and were felt in connection with the design of the Salt Lake Temple as late as 1886.

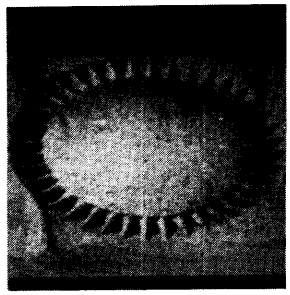
That year as the temple was being pushed to completion, Elder Richards observed two things which disturbed him. First, basic architectural changes had been made apparently without authorization, i.e., leaving out windows which appeared in the original design. More bothersome were certain symbols seemingly of Masonic design. Elder Richards took the matter up with Truman O. Angell, Sr., the original architect, who by then was an old man in failing health. Angell defensively responded that all changes had been authorized by Brigham Young (who had died in 1877). To justify the simplification of certain symbols, he explained that "by order of President Young, the original plan contemplated adobe walls trimmed with freestone (easily carved sandstone), accordingly the plan shows more enrichment in the trimmings than practicable with granite to which walls and trimmings were subsequently changed."[24] He did not explain why certain symbols were left off entirely and denied that Freemasonry had anything to do with the designs. In a letter to John Taylor, Angell then denied even discussing Masonry with Richards, "I made no reference to Free Masonry when conversing with Brother Richards on the subject."[25] Richards, however, mentions in a letter to President Taylor that part of Angell's reason for omitting certain windows was "that it was not Masonic for light to be received from the North."[26] Taylor, upon receiving that remark, clearly expressed his view that Masonic considerations should have no part in the temple's design: "It may be true, as he (Angell) says, that in Free Masonry the light comes from the East, but we can scarcely recognise that as a reason why our Temple built for the administration of the Ordinances of the Most High God should be erected according to its rules."[27] Taylor instructed Richards to instruct Angell to follow faithfully the design in the 1850s steel engraving and not to make changes without prior approval. It was, however, too late to return to the earlier design. Ironically, such a reversion would have resulted in more, not less, Masonic symbolism (compass and square, saturn stones, etc. were planned) and consequently greater confusion as to origins.

The Salt Lake Temple demonstrated a continuing implementation of Masonic symbols.

LATER ATTITUDES TOWARD EARLY MORMON SYMBOLISM

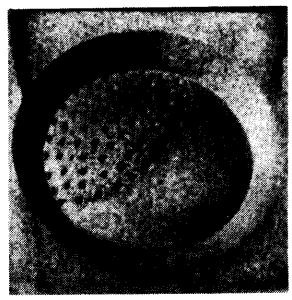
It seems ironic that later Church leaders looked back upon the symbols of earlier generations of Saints with embarrassment, suspicion, even dis-

Manti Taberncacle plaque, 1879



Sunstone, Salt Lake Temple, 1853-93

Cloud stones with ray of light, Salt Lake Temple, 1853-93



Moonstone in one of its phases, Salt Lake Temple, 1853-93

A mysterious symbol—the planet Saturn—was originally designed for the south wall of the Salt Lake Temple. Why?

dain. In this regard the writings of Anthony W. Ivins may be characteristic. In his book, *Mormonism and Freemasonry*, Ivins attacked a book written by a Mason entitled, *Mormonism and Masonry*. His comments are terse and defensive. Of the All-seeing Eye he said: "That the Lord sees us, that his eye is constantly upon us, and to keep us reminded of this, the symbol of the All-seeing Eye was, in certain instances, placed over the doors of business houses, a place, all will agree that it is needed."[25] However, concerning the claim that the symbol appeared "over the doors of several of the business establishments conducted by the Church, and over the entrances of the Church tithing offices, and on (Church) stationery," Ivins responds, "They were at *no time in general use* . . . It (the Eye) was never used generally over the entrances of the Church tithing office houses . . . nor on Church stationery." He continues, "The use of the symbol of the All-seeing Eye and clasped hands, emblems of faith and fraternity which existed among the people at the time when they were in use, have long since become obsolete. They have no other meaning than that stated. . . . There are not in the Salt Lake Temple, or any other temple of the Church, a series of stones in emblematical and significant designs."[29]

Ivins denies the prominence of the eye symbol, fails to explain why the symbols of faith and fraternity could have become obsolete, and makes one wonder if he had ever looked closely at the Salt Lake Temple, close enough to see the still extant clasped hands and all-seeing eye.

Furthermore, Ivins claims that the "astrological figures" represent "groups of heavenly bodies" but that these symbols "are without significance to Church members." If they were meaningless, why were they included in the temple's design for all humankind to see? He concludes, "While these are small matters, and of no real importance, the fact that they are so misrepresented in 'their' relationship to Mormonism makes reference to them necessary. They may be similar to Masonic symbols; if so the writer is not aware of the fact."[30]

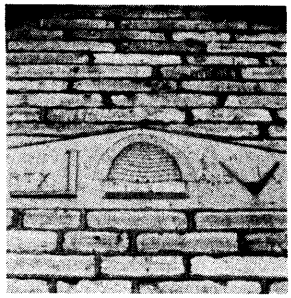
Ivins's mildly paranoiac attitude is not isolated, and other attempts to disassociate Masonry from Mormonism are not wanting. In front of the restored Masonic Hall in Nauvoo is the inscription, "Cultural Hall," an attempt to conceal the original use of the building. Leaders had the symbols of the square and compass defaced from the Spring City "Endowment House," a building not owned by the Church.[31] On a model of the Nauvoo Temple in the Nauvoo Visitor's Center, a weathervane depicting an angel, holding a square and compass in Masonic fashion, was removed the day after the Center opened (although the bronzed version on the temple grounds, constructed by the late T. Edgar Lyon, faithfully displays the controversial emblems).[32] Guides on Temple Square, when asked to explain the meaning of the star of David in the east wall of the Salt Lake Assembly Hall, respond that the star has no significance. All-seeing eyes have been painted out of the St. George Tabernacle, Salt Lake Assembly Hall, and other Church buildings.

Mormon ambivalence toward symbolism has penetrated the intellectual community as well. In his booklet, "What is a Temple?" Hugh Nibley suggests that the purity of temple rituals is dependent on the fact that "no moral, allegorical, or abstruse symbolism has been read into these rites."[33] Yet in the same document he uses the reverse argument by insisting that, on the exterior of true temples, symbolism is essential. Equally confusing is his statement that the architecture of the world is "an exotic jumble, a bewildering complex of borrowed motifs, a persistent effort to work back through the centuries to some golden time."[34] Observers familiar with the evolution of LDS architecture and Mormon/Mason connections have used language very similar to Nibley's in describing Mormon temples.

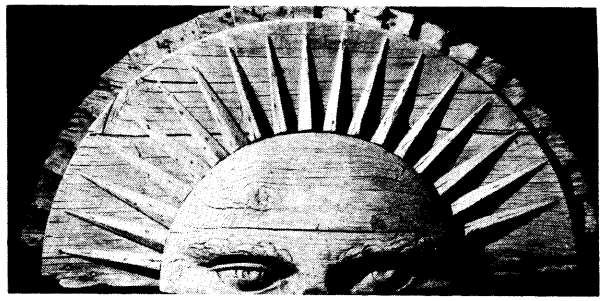
DISAPPEARANCE OF SYMBOLS

Although conscious attempts to eliminate graphic symbols undoubtedly contributed to their demise, no single cause can be held responsible for the loss. For despite early efforts to phase them out, Mormons continued to employ symbols until the early twentieth century. Their disappearance occurred gradually, and roughly corresponded to such historical events as the death of Brigham Young, the end of Mormon isolationism and the beginning of standardized architectural plans. Symbols were absent in St. George, Manti, and Logan temples, for example, but continued to appear on tabernacles and meeting

Clasped hands and rays of light, Salt Lake Temple, 1853-93



Square, compass, beehive on Spring City Endowment House, 1876



Sun face, once over the entry to the old Sat Lake Taberncacle, 1851

houses until modern styles and the new church building committee caused their discontinuance after about 1910.

With the decline of the ZCMI movement in the 1870s, the all-seeing eye signs were removed from storefronts in downtowns of LDS communities. The 1921 policy of housing all Church organizations under the roof of one multipurpose meetinghouse ostensibly did away with Relief Society halls, tithing offices, stake office buildings, granaries, prayer circle buildings, social halls and other early types of Mormon buildings which had frequently displayed decorative symbols.

The funerary use of symbols continued but with designs of a more contemporary nature. Of the many original symbols, most have totally disappeared. The beehive has best been able to survive as a symbol and, though used ubiquitously on signs, stationery, flags, bedsteads, building plaques, logos, newspaper mastheads, governmental seals, ad infinitum, its symbolic message has changed from a religious to a secularized or popular one.

Perhaps the most convincing reason for the disappearance of symbols relates not to pressure from Church leadership nor to changes in architectural policies, but rather to the overall changing needs of the Mormons as a group. Klaus Hansen has observed that the twenty years after 1900 "marked Mormon history . . . conclusively and permanently because they witnessed the decline and virtual disappearance of the idea of the political Kingdom of God."[35] An original purpose of symbolism was to achieve community solidarity in the kingdom through a sense of shared values. A second objective was to demonstrate that the kingdom was unique and otherworldly as expressed by its distinctive means of decorating buildings and other elements in the Mormons' manufactured environment. Thus, as the initial survival needs of the kingdom were met, and its philosophical basis was forcibly altered in the post-isolation years after 1890, the perceived need for symbolism diminished. With the gradual integration of the Mormon and American societies, newer church men looked to new media of communication to express emerging needs and challenges associated with their times.

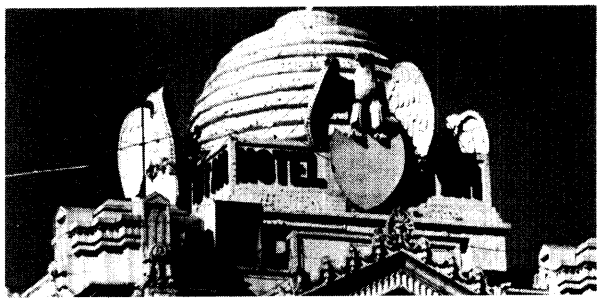
THE VALUE OF SYMBOLISM TODAY

Though it was claimed that Brigham Young developed his symbolism through a systematic study of the Old Testament, no uniform, internally consistent system of symbols emerged. Instead we find an odd assortment, gathered, as suggested previously, from Masonic and other sources by a method of synthetic eclecticism. If there were a method involved in the collection, it is not readily apparent. For example, why were traditional Jewish and Christian symbols, e.g. geometric shapes (triangle = Trinity, circle = eternity), numbers, the cross, fish, and others passed over?[36] And why were theologically obscure motifs such as the mitre, compass, and square included? With the exception of the sun, moon, and stars and beehive, most early symbols had little basis in LDS theology. Considering their significance and excellent possibilities for graphic imagery, why were the liahona, iron rod, olive tree, rainbow, Urim and Thummim, and tree of life not employed symbolically? One wonders what may have resulted had a uniform approach to developing a program of didactic symbols been attempted. If, for example, using all scriptures and the corpus of authoritative teachings, the most important Mormon doctrines, practices, or events had been identified and a symbol developed for each, what legacy of graphic imagery would we be left with today?

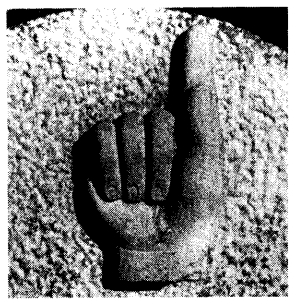
It is futile to look back with an eye to what might have been. We may more profitably look to our present symbols and examine their successes or failures. First, it is apparent that we have few visual symbols today. The Salt Lake Temple, depicted either in elevation or perspective, is the most prominent image identified with Mormonism.[37] Along with the trumpeting Angel Moroni, mini-models of the temple have found their way into stationery, Church pamphlets, Christmas cards, retail packaging, and tie tacks. The bas-relief worlds on the mammoth Church Office Building may also be considered symbols of the burgeoning international Church.

All of these symbols, however, seem intentionally naive, safe, and lack depth and vitality when compared to the theologically provocative

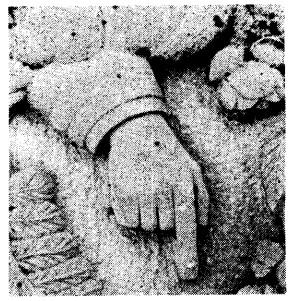
Contemporary symbols seem intentionally naive, safe, and lack depth and vitality when compared to earlier symbols.



Beehive and eagles atop the Hotel Utah, 1909-11



Gravestones in Manti cemetary with hands pointing up



and down

The most convincing reason for the disappearance of symbols relates to the changing needs of the Mormons.

all-seeing eye, clasped hands, and sun, moon, and stars, all of which, scripturally founded, beckon us to search for truth and to improve the quality of our lives. Our symbols of today are not intended to remind fellow Saints of our common worship and heritage as much as to display a particular image to those outside the faith. Our art, music, architecture, graphics, books, periodicals, advertisements, and television spots are programmatically designed to put forth a corporate image of Mormons as clean, happy, unique, superlative, "all-American" yet "worldwide." The attempt is to underscore Mormon orthodoxy and inspire conformity.

Saints of 1979 have needs quite different from those of a struggling colony of kingdom-builders. Mormonism is an established religion; we are greater in number and are geographically diverse. Yet if there is a uniqueness which binds us, it ought to be expressed graphically. A symbology based on LDS scripture, history, beliefs and practices, and directed towards the actual needs of present Latter-day Saints holds promising possibilities. How better might we encourage faithfulness and personal inspiration than through the liahona symbol, or trueness to the word of God than through an iron rod symbol? The depth of our spiritual heritage could be well represented by the olive tree; Joseph Smith used his ring to signify eternity and the rainbow to symbolize our covenantial relationship with God. The Urim and Thummim point to divine insight. The tree of life, seagull, and appropriate older symbols from pioneer times could be called upon.

As long as collective Mormonism has need to improve and beautify itself, symbolism will be valuable as it has been from the beginning of recorded history. It will be there, trying to turn man to God.

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The following capsules give brief historical and interpretive overviews of several important Mormon symbols. Except as noted, quotations are largely taken from the reference books on symbolism listed at the end of this article.

SUN, MOON, AND STARS

Hugh Nibley is among the proponents of the idea that Mormons created for their early temples an integrated system of cosmological symbols. The "cosmic plan," i.e., the symbolic concept that the earthly temple is an "intellectual image of the celestial pattern, the earthly exemplification of celestial regions in their revolutions, the supernal Jerusalem," is to Nibley essential to the true "temple idea."[38] The Salt Lake Temple, says Nibley, "perfectly embodies the temple idea" because of its three levels, orientation as the center of Zion, monumental battlemented architecture, the North Star, font on the back of twelve oxen, and series of sun, moon, and star stones. As Solomon's temple presented "a rich cosmic symbolism which was largely lost in later Israelite and Jewish traditions,"[39] so must the valid temple of the restoration by requisite provide sun, moon, and stars, etc.

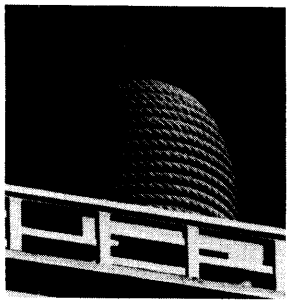
To Mormons, the sun, moon, and stars together represent the three degrees of glory in the resurrection.[40] The individual symbols also have didactic meanings of their own, the sun, for example, signifying the celestial kingdom. The sun has universally represented God, and to Christians, both God the Father and Christ the Son.

In Mormon rhetoric, the moon stands for the terrestial kingdom. The moon was one of two primary deities worshipped by the ancient Egyptians and also played an important role in Hebrew festivals and holidays. By withdrawing its light, the moon presages important events. In some cultures, the moon has figuratively represented mothers or the passage of time.

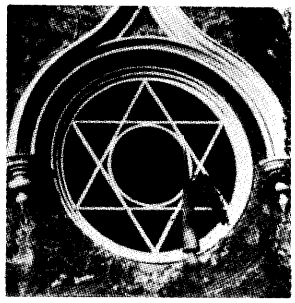
Stars have signified children, and, to Mormons, the telestial kingdom. The stars forming Ursa Major on the west central tower of the Salt Lake Temple represent the prieshood. Why the five pointed stars point downward on the east and west facades and upward on the north and south walls has has never been explained.

EARTH, CLOUDS, AND SATURN

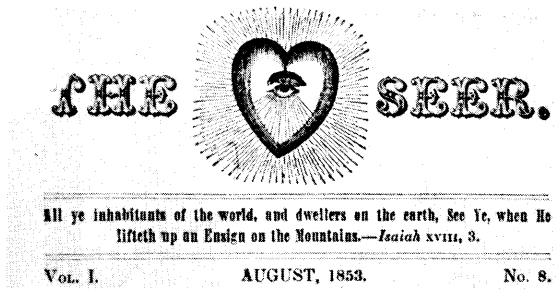
Other cosmological symbols occupying key positions on the Salt Lake Temple are earth and cloud stones. In 1874, Truman Angell offered that the earth stones reflected that "the Gospel has come for the whole earth,"[41] a noncosmological explanation that seems unrelated to the religious meanings associated with the other planetary symbols. From their positions in the lower buttresses, the earth stones seem more a reference to the lowly, unglorified state of our worldly realm. The cloud stones (with what appears to be rain beneath) are said to actually represent "rays of light streaming



Beehive on cupola of Beehive House, 1854-56.



Star of David, Salt Lake Assembly Hall designed by Obed Taylor, 1876



The Seer *with heart, all-seeing eye and emanating light, 1853*

from the midst of clouds, indicating gospel light dispels the clouds of error which had enshrouded the world."[42]

Clouds are mentioned frequently in scripture, usually symbolizing an obscuring veil of some type. Two principal ideas conveyed by clouds are: (1) the presence of God who, not showing himself fully, meets man or converses with him from a hidden medium between the terrestrial and celestial realms (thus we are told the Lord will come in clouds, the Saints will meet him in clouds, angels and Christ have descended and ascended in clouds, and clouds came into the temple); and (2) the dark veil of ignorance, sin, disbelief and disobedience which covers the mind of man. The Salt Lake Temple clouds seem to depict both of these meanings.

As originally drawn in 1854, Truman Angell's clouds were shown with emergent hands holding trumpets, a feature also associated with sunstones in Nauvoo.[43] It is believed that the trumpets signify the day of judgment.

A mysterious symbol—the planet Saturn and its rings—was originally designed to occupy a high position on the buttresses above the sunstones on the south wall of the Salt Lake Temple. These stones were never implemented and we are left without information as to why. Saturn has no apparent significance to Mormon theology. It was, however, an object of great interest to Thomas Dick, a philosopher contemporary with and possibly influential on Joseph Smith. Why were the Saturn symbols planned to occupy places higher on the temple than the other symbolic stones? Laurel Andrew conjectures that Saturn may have been intended as a reminder of "the ultimate destiny of man, which was to become a god himself and rule over his kingdom."[44]

COMPASS AND SQUARE

The compass and square, particularly as shown together in Masonic fashion, were infrequently used by the Mormons and then mostly in connection with exterior temple decoration. Early elevational drawings of the Salt Lake Temple show that Masonic arrangements of compass and square were planned to appear along the lower sides of the elliptical windows along the second and fourth floors.[45] The same symbols appeared on part of Joseph Smith's temple robes in Nauvoo and were prominently displayed on the angel weathervane on the temple's tower.[46] The Utah use of the compass and square is nearly nonexistent, the Spring City "Endowment House" providing a rare example, albeit one wherein the two symbols appear separately and on opposite ends of the carved stone inscription plaque.

Masons relate their derivation of the compass and square symbol to Solomon's temple where architect Hiram Abiff employed the instruments to exact accuracy in masonry craftsmanship. The tools also point allegorically to God, "The One Great Architect of the Universe," to the act of creation, and the building principles of geometry and architecture. To Masons, the square and compass as describers of lines and implements of proof also stand for morality and judgment. The square teaches Masons to "square our actions and to keep them within bounds." The compass, which draws a perfect circle, also serves to remind that the passions should be bound. The circle, long a symbol of divinity, also suggests eternity without beginning or end, and the infinite, perfect, limitless mind.

Thousands of years ago the square represented the "seat of Osiris" in the Egyptian Judgment Hall. It reminded the judges "to bring the material into perfect form, and to reject that which was not perfect." It also signified Ptah, the great Egyptian mason-builder. Paul speaks of the Church as a building and metaphorically compares the apostles to the foundation and Jesus Christ to the "chief corner stone" of the Church (Eph. 2:19-21).

Mormon literature about temples and physical symbols leaves us guessing as to the meaning of the compass and square to Latter-day Saints. The endowment ceremony and temple garment, however, still symbolically apply the compass and square as separate elements, each reminding the devout Mormon of gospel principles.

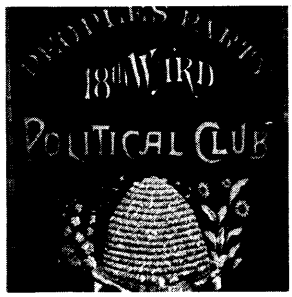
The compass and square were prominently displayed on the angel weathervane of the Nauvoo Temple.

CLASPED HANDS

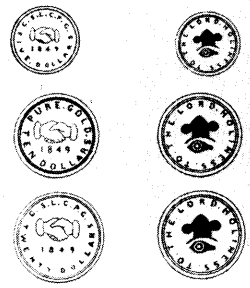
Abundant mentions of hands are made in the scriptures. The "hand of God," "right hand," "clean hands," "putting on of hands;" each has its own symbolic meaning. Shaking hands or hands clasped in particular grips are also described.[47] Among the most archaic symbols, joined hands have come to suggest union, virile fraternity and solidarity in the face of danger. Friendship, trust, and, in theological contexts, the leading of the righteous by God, are also common meanings.

Truman O. Angell's 1854 description of the Salt Lake Temple explained that the linked hands located in a first-floor archway on the eastern wall represented the "extending of the right hand of fellowship."[48] Said Joseph F. Smith, "The clasped hands are emblematic of the strong union and brotherly love characteristic of Latter-day Saints, through which they have been enabled to accomplish so much both at home and abroad."[49]

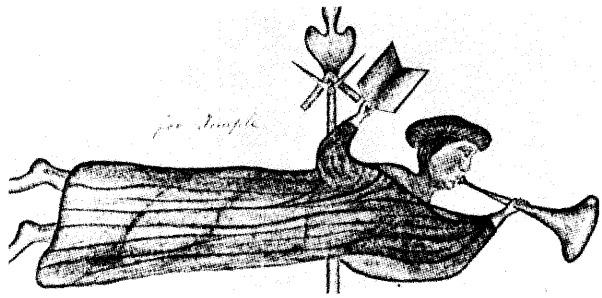
The shaking hands symbol also appears on an old banner of the second and third, fourth and fifth wards, with the inscription, "Union is Strength." Artist Dan Weggeland featured the same symbol, connected with the words, "Blessings follow sacrifice" on a painting of the pioneers of 1847. Hands gripped in a handshake were featured on the obverse sides of all Mormon gold pieces starting in 1849 and, in 1852, William Ward placed a pair of shaking hands on his carved stone for the Washington Monument. The symbolic hands were



Salt Lake 18th Ward Political Club Banner, c. 1890s



Mormon gold pieces, 1849 (top), 1860 (bottom)



Drawing of Nauvoo Temple weathervane with angel dressed in temple clothing, with a trumpet and open book. Note compass and square motif on pole, c. 1846

The mitre, a tall, flat cap with two points, appeared on all Mormon coins beginning in 1849.

a favorite motif of Meadow woodcarver Joseph H. Fisher and are also found on the carved stone plaque in the tower of the Manti Tabernacle. These latter hands appear to extend from the arms of temple garments.

While joined hands are hardly endemic to Mormons, their dressing in funerary art is unusual. As found on old gravestones in the Mormon cultural region, clasped hands often portray one person in temple clothing (the Lord) and the other in ordinary popular clothing (the deceased). Sometimes the hands are reaching through the veil, represented in stone as a parting curtain. Of significance is the fact that although shaking hands, as well as hands linked in certain grips, were used by all Freemasons, and were freely illustrated in their literature, few if any old Mormon tombstones depict anything other than the predictable handshake grips.

Individual hands often appear alone in Mormon funerary art, usually signifying the recieving or instructing hand of God, or reunion in the next life. In the Manti cemetary, one stone displays an undressed hand with its index finger pointing heavenward, while another gravestone has a hand, apparently in temple clothing, with its index finger pointing downward. One is left to conjecture as to possible meanings.

ALL-SEEING EYE

Holy writ is replete with references to the eye of God which is described as "pure" and "piercing." The idea that his eye is all-seeing or "all-searching" is well expressed: "The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good" (Prov. 15:3). Power is also implied: "With one glance of His eye he can smite you to the dust" (D&C 121:24). God's meting out of salvation or judgment, and his communication with man are other scripturally derived meanings related to the eye. In the scriptural writings of Joseph Smith, another dimension is added—that of the eye surrounded with light or flame, an image portrayed in LDS-made all-seeing eyes (D&C 110:3).

The all-seeing eye has been in popular use for thousands of years. From the Egyptians to the Masons and Oddfellows, it has represented the omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent nature of God. An eye enclosed by a triangle is a symbol of the Trinity and originated in sixteenth-century Christendom. On the Great Seal of the United States, the all-seeing eye appears as a reminder of the many times Providence has come to the aid of the American people.

Because the all-seeing eye depicts certain aspects of God's character, as well as an actual part of his physical person, the symbol proved useful to the Mormons. LDS symbolists created imposing eyes on early ZCMI signs, gold pieces, Nauvoo Legion flags, *The Mormon* and *The Seer* (newspapers), diplomas and certificates, Salt Lake Temple platters, plaques on the Manti, St. George, and Ogden tabernacles, and the Washington Monument Stone. Mason W. H. Cunningham has described the eye as "sovereign inspection whom Sun, Moon, and Stars obey, and under whose watchful care even comets perform their stupendous revolutions, pervades the inmost recesses of the human heart, and will reward us according to our merits."[50]

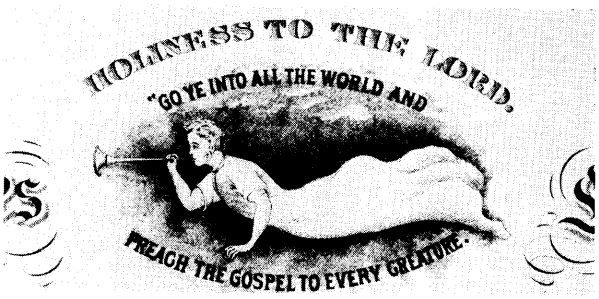
BEEHIVE

The beehive is undoubtedly the most enduring of Mormon symbols. Mormons point to a single verse in the Book of Mormon as reason for their use of this symbol: "And they did also carry with them deseret, which, by interpretation, is a honey bee; and thus they did carry with them swarms of bees" (Ether 2:3). Consequently, the word "deseret" is generally associated with the beehive symbol. D. F. Nelson has documented scores of uses of the beehive and "deseret" in connection with company names, buildings, songs, associations, societies, clubs, an alphabet, and so forth.[51] Hugh Nibley has offered that "deseret" was an Egyptian word, transcribed without vowels, but represented phonetically by sounds corresponding to our *d*, *s*, *r*, and *t*.[52] The word referred to the "Red Crown," a symbol of the bee which itself was considered too sacred to be written or described literally. To the Egyptians and the nations they influenced, i.e., the Hittites, Assyrians (and perhaps Jaredites), the bee represented "the agent through which the dead king or hero is resurrected from the dead." Thus royalty and the resurrection were characterized by the red crown and honey bee or "*dsrt*," all interelated symbols.

Among the Greeks, the bee was a symbol of obedience and purity. In Orphic teachings the bee also represented the soul of man. The Hebrews also utilized the beehive symbol, according to the Mishnah, including it in the design of the vestments of Jewish priests. Too, bees and their hives have come to represent such diverse ideas as the laws of nature, farsightedness, receiving the word of God, eloquence and exaltation.

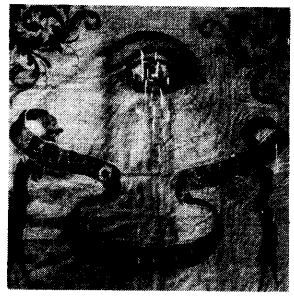
The less mystic idea of industry and diligence now associated with bees is a relatively recent concept, one that may have been developed by the Christians during the Romanesque period. The same meanings, along with connotations of regeneration, are expressed in Masonic ritual and literature.

In Utah, Mormons also applied their "deseret" symbol to industry and related pioneer virtues of thrift and perseverance. Usually pictured on a small bench or stool, the beehive or skep was chosen as emblem of the State of Deseret in 1848 and was maintained on the seal of the State of Utah at its creation in 1896. An official pronouncement later explained: "In founding this state,



Seventies License with prone angel and trumpet, 1885

Eagle Gate, eagle perched on beehive, original built in 1856



Nauvoo Legion Flag with all-seeing eye

the pioneers, encompassed by a desert, had very few implements with which to work, but had unlimited industry coupled with their faith. The honey bee seeks its maintenance from the air, soil, and water; so likewise our pioneers took from the resources around them material with which to build their homes and villages. Utah is called the 'Beehive State' (meaning industry)."[53]

Brigham Young made extensive use of the beehive symbol. It appears on the cupola of his "Beehive House," on his French-made mirror, bedstead, on the Eagle Gate and Utah's stone in the Washington Monument. He may have been aware of another meaning connected with the symbol, one held by general Christendom, that of community, obedience, and unity. To a man responsible for the lives of thousands, these principles were essential and needed to be emphasized continually.

Visual reminders on Church buildings (Spring City Endowment House; Levan, Providence, and Provo sixth ward meetinghouses; St. George Temple; Logan Tabernacle; Ephraim United Order Co-op and Relief Society Hall, to name a few) had a utilitarian value beyond the surface of the decoration. Territorial certificates, stationery, newspaper mastheads, Salt Lake Temple platters, political banners, streetmarkers, book covers, the top of the Hotel Utah, ad infinitum—the beehive was found everywhere a person turned. Although its deeper symbolism (i.e., resurrection, the word of God, exaltation, and so forth) is lost on contemporary Mormons, we are still subtly cajoled to good works by ever-present beehive symbols.

MITRE AND CROWN

Mormons today may be surprised that the mitre, a tall, flat cap with two points, was ever an important LDS symbol. Yet it appeared on the reverse sides of all LDS coins minted in Salt Lake City beginning in 1849. In each case, the mitre appeared above an all-seeing eye.

The mitre played an important role among the Hebrew priests of the Old Testament and was sometimes connected with a crown (Lev. 8:9). At his ordination, Aaron wore the "Urim and Thummim, breastplate and . . . [Moses] put the mitre upon his head; also upon the mitre, even upon his forefronts did he put the golden plate" (Ex. 28:36-37). On the plate was inscribed "Holiness to the Lord." This motto appears with the mitre in Mormon usage also, and appears in a variety of ways with several other Mormon symbols.

If Brigham Young extracted his system of Mormon symbols from the Old Testament as Angell suggested, Mormon usage of the mitre would appear essential, particularly because it links the priesthood of the Old Testament with that of the current dispensation. Mormons view the Presiding Bishopric, overseers of such temporal affairs as minting mitre-faced coins in pioneer times, as roughly equivalent in priesthood authority and role to the bemitred Aaron and the ancient priests of the tribe of Levi.

Other religions have also utilized the mitre symbolically. Roman Catholic bishops wear the mitre, believing its two points suggest the two rays of light that reputedly appeared from the head of Moses when he received the Ten Commandments.

Generically related to the mitre, the crown is a common Christian emblem of victory, honor, human sovereignty, royalty, and victory over death. Although the crown is frequently mentioned in scriptures, it was rarely used symbolically by Mormons. The best example features three crowns in a plaque on the western interior wall of the St. George Tabernacle.

ANGELS

A church which was ushered in amidst angelic visitations, received its new scriptures through an angel and its priesthood authority through angelic representatives would likely make good use of the angel symbol. Angel symbols are rare among Mormons, however. While there is a statue of Angel Moroni on Temple Square, it is more referential than symbolic, intending to remind viewers of the angel mentioned by John in Revelation 14:7. Two angels found by this author—the horizontal angel weathervane on the Nauvoo Temple and a similarly prone angel on an 1885 Seventies license are both blowing long trumpets and are wingless. If they are not Moroni, they may stand for the other angels in Revelation which announce the Second Coming and Day of Judgment. They also imply that contact with divine beings is an important reality in the Church.

Angels are symbols of great antiquity and are represented in the artwork of virtually all historic nations. They appeared, for example, in Solomon's temple. Traditionally shown with wings, angels are messengers, bearers of tiding, supernatural beings which provide a link between God and man.

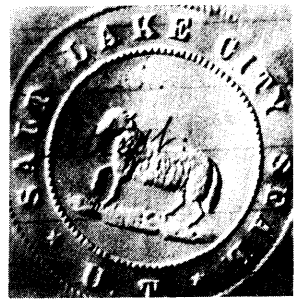
EAGLE

The eagle was an ancient military ensign, having served emblematically for the Roman, Persian, and Assyrian armies. A symbol of Jupiter, employed personally by Napoleon, the eagle signifies victory, authority, and power. The majestic bird aptly represents early Mormonism, a revolutionary movement which had many militaristic aspects. Considering its generals, legions, battlemented temple architecture and Old Testament-inspired militaristic terminology, it is not surprising to find eagles on Nauvoo Legion drums, the logo of *The Mormon* (an 1850s newspaper), the Eagle Gate, the top of Hotel Utah, the territorial and state seals of Utah, the logo of Zion's First National Bank, and even on Brigham Young's carved bedstead.

The positioning of an eagle (the national symbol) on top of a beehive (the Mormon symbol) is ironic.

Lion reposing over the entrance of Brigham Young's Lion House, 1856. Note the signature of William Ward

Oak cluster on Levan Ward chapel, 1904 (courtesy of Pat King)



Salt Lake City Seal with standing lamb, 1850s

It is surprising that the lamb symbol does not occur more frequently among the Mormons.

For many governments, ancient and modern, the eagle has been a nationalistic symbol. After becoming the official symbol of the United States in 1782, the eagle appeared on many state seals and certificates, including those of the State of Deseret and Utah. Remembering the tremendous conflicts between Mormondom's theocracy and the federal government, the frequent positioning of an eagle (the national symbol) on *top* of a beehive (the Mormon kingdom symbol) in preaccommodation years is ironic. Perhaps the eagle was perceived as a dual symbol, representing the Kingdom of God on earth and only incidentally the faraway, unprofitable national government. The earthly Kingdom of God has been viewed by many Christian groups as having militaristic qualities (even responsibilities). In this role, the eagle may have been apropos.

Mormon symbol makers may have been aware of some of the biblical passages referring to eagles in literal and figurative ways. Significantly, the eagle is one of the four beasts or "living creatures" (along with the ox, lion, and man) mentioned in Ezekiel 1:10 and Revelation 4:7, and interpreted in Doctrine and Covenants 77.

In reality, the eagle of the Bible was probably a griffin vulture. Nonetheless, in Christian art the eagle became a symbol of St. John, denoting "insight into heavenly truths . . . because he was allowed to mount in spirit into heavenly places." The soaring bird has also come to represent the Resurrection among some Christian groups. Although no mention of eagles appears in the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith appreciated the bird in a metaphorical sense (D&C 124:18).

LION

Best known as the "King of Beasts," to John, the Lion represented Christ (Rev. 5:5); and for Mormons, Brigham Young was "the Lion of the Lord.' The lion, with its majestic bearing and qualities of strength, fortitude, valor, and courage may be considered the early counterpart of the eagle. Lions are thought to be always on guard; vigilant protectors as expressed in statuesque symbols at entrances to public buildings, churches, and, in a Mormon usage, Brigham Young's Lion House. When seated, the lion suggests that the "King is in," an idea perhaps appropriate to Brigham Young.

For the Egyptians, the lion was the "natural lord and master," and was used to represent those "in possession of strength and the masculine principle." The context was important in terms of whether the lion was young, old, bold, or tame. An old or infirm lion represented one's "setting sun." The Greeks, Assyrians, Hittites, and Chinese in various ways used lions as symbols of power, superiority or glory.

In addition to William Ward's carved lion couchant over the Lion House entry, Mormon gold pieces featured a reposing lion on their reverse sides in 1860. The idea of the lamb and lion lying peacefully together is not represented in LDS symbolism.

DOVE

The dove was in wide use among those of Judeo-Christian persuasion long before its adaptation by the Saints. The mild-mannered bird was commissioned by Noah to find land after the flood and returned with the proverbial olive leaf. Representing the purity of the future Messiah, the dove has been offered in sacrifices by the Jews for millenia. It was "like a dove" that the "Spirit of God" descended upon Jesus following his baptism (Matt. 3:16). The dove has been associated with the Holy Ghost, as well as the human soul and the spirit of the body leaving at death. In this last sense, the dove is frequently found in early American funerary art and on Mormon gravestones, sometimes flying horizontally, other times pointed directly downward, and sometimes fallen and crumpled. As a symbol of peace and love, doves were employed, along with roses and shaking hands, as an emblematic motif in pulpit fronts and plaques made by Mormon woodcarver Joseph H. Fisher in Meadow, Utah.

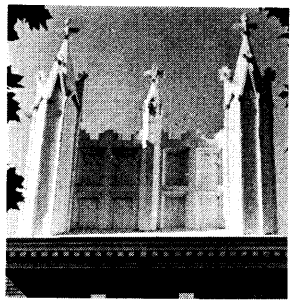
LAMB

Considering the profuse references to lambs in the Bible, it is surprising that the lamb symbol does not occur more frequently among the Mormons. The ideal Christian symbol, spotless young male lambs were used as sacrificial offerings in the Old Testament and represented Christ and his sacrifice. Christ was "the lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). **In Christian symbolism, the reclining lamb represented wounded flesh. This usage appears frequently on Mormon gravestones. Symbolic of the death of an innocent one, this emblem usually marked the departure of a baby or young child. The lamb has also come to represent innocence, docility, temperance, charity, and providence. It may be in connection with one of these principles that the lamb became the central symbol in the seal of Salt Lake City.**

WHEAT SHEAVES

A sheaf of wheat, bound and falling, was a common symbol in America during the placid Victorian era. Although rarely seen in Mormon country, two interesting extant examples are the cornerstone of the Levan ward meetinghouse (1904) and the tombstone of Jane Rice (1896). In the first instance, the sheaf seems to signify the bounty of the earthly harvest and, implicitly, God's goodness to man. In funerary use, the sheaf is depicted in a fully fallen position and represents the divine harvest of mortals, and in a broader sense, the passage of time.

Falling wheat sheaves on Levan Ward chapel cornerstone, 1904



Stylized Salt Lake Temple atop the Logan 6th ward chapel, 1906

Logo of Zion's First National Bank with eagle and beehive, 1916

Bread, produced from wheat, has not proved artistically suitable as a symbol. Thus, wheat has become a substitute symbol for the Body of Christ. Figurative metaphors such as Christ's "I am [the] bread of life" (John 4:48) would seem to endear the wheat symbol to Mormons. Aside from the use of bread in sacramental rites, however, little symbolic use is made of wheat.

To the Jews, unleavened bread signifies sincerity and truth.

MISCELLANEOUS SYMBOLS

Symbols which appear infrequently in Mormon cultural art include the rose (and other flowers), open book, temple, cornucopia, heart, oak cluster, and the tree of life. Most of the symbols are in universal use outside of Mormonism and are more ornamental than didactic. Their meanings are quite transparent and, because their existence is incidental to Mormonism, appear to convey no religious precepts unique to the Saints. The possible exception is the temple symbol. Models or depictions of temples, however, are symbols of symbols. They serve to remind the Mormon viewer of the value of the temple idea and its concomitant principles of salvation. To the non-Mormon, the Salt Lake Temple represents Mormonism itself. A most interesting mimic is the stylized Salt Lake Temple atop the truncated tower of the Logan sixth ward meetinghouse.

Among the reference books on symbolism are:

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FOOTNOTES

1. Steven G. Covey, *The Revelation Monument Building: A Proposal* (Salt Lake City, 1960), p. 18.

2. A letter from Brigham Young to John Bernhisel in Washington, D.C., read in part: "We expect to send by the Elders who go down to the states a block of Sanpete stone to the Washington Monument, engraved 'Holiness to the Lord,' with a Beehive, Horn of Plenty, and the Word Deseret in letters across the base. The stone will be 3 ft. long, 2 ft. broad and 8 inches thick." Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Church Archives), 28 August 1852.

3. Lewis Mumford, *The Conduct of Life* (London, 1951) (as quoted in *Symbols, Signs, and Their Meaning* by Arnold Whittick [London, 1960]).

4. *Women's Exponent,* 12:57. The idea of imprinting didactic messages on goods was also reiterated by this statement of Brigham Young: "We will build a city of righteousness where even the bells on the horses shall bear the inscription 'Holiness to the Lord.'" (*Messenger and Advocate,* 1836).

5. Laurel Blank Andrew, "The Nineteenth-century Temple Architecture of the Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1973), p. 176.

6. T. L. Brink, "The Rise of Mormonism: A Case Study in the Symbology of Frontier America," *International Journal of Symbology* 6 (1975): 4.

7. Carl Landus Christensen, "History of Symbols" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), p. 87.

8. D&C 95:13.

9. *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 17 August 1854.

10. A thorough explanation of the historic concept of the temple is given in Hugh W. Nibley's *What Is a Temple? The Idea of the Temple in History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1970).

11. Good descriptive accounts of the various Mormon temples are found in four traditional works: James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971); N. B. Lundwall, comp., *Temples of the Most High* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968); Wallace A. Raynor, *The Everlasting Spires* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Information, Temple Block, 1912). Two recent scholarly analyses by non-Mormon authors are: Dolores Hyden, "Eden versus Jerusalem," in *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1976); and Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978).

12. Reed C. Durham, Jr., "Is There No Help for the Widow's Son?" address delivered 20 April 1974 to the Mormon History Association in Nauvoo, Illinois, recorded by Mervin B. Hogan as "An Underground Presidential Address" (Salt Lake City: Research Lodge of Utah, F. & A. M., Masonic Temple, n.d.). See *Mormon Miscellaneous* (Nauvoo: The New Nauvoo Neighbor Press, 1975), 1:11-16.

13. At Carthage, Joseph wore a Jupiter Talisman, an emblem of significance to Masons (see Lewis Spense's *An Encyclopedia of Occultism* [New York: Strathmore Press, 1959]) and Hyrum wore a Masonic lapel pin. He also had a dagger, pouch, and three parchments, all inscribed with Masonic symbols (see Pearson H. Corbutt's *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), p. 453. See also photographs of the talisman in *Mormon Miscellaneous*).

14. Durham, "Widow's Son," p. 4.

15. Andrew, "Temple Architecture," p. 85.

Contemporary symbols seem intentionally naive, safe, and lack depth and vitality when compared to earlier symbols.

16. Among the Masonic handbooks and reference works consulted were: Joshua Bradley, A.M., *Beauties of Freemasonry* (Albany, 1821) (this was one of Brigham Young's books on Masonry); A. T. C. Piersen, *Traditions of Freemasonry* (1865); William T. Anderson, 32d, *The Masonic Token* (New York, 1868); Albert G. Mackey, M.D., *The Book of the Chapters on Monitorial Instructions* (New York, 1865); Will M. Cunningham, A.M., 33d, *Craft Masonry, Ancient New York Rite* (New York, 1874); J. Finlay Finlayson, *Symbols and Legends of Free Masonry* (London, 1910); Daniel Sickels, 33d, *General Ahiman Region and Freemason's Guide* (New York, 1868); Charles W. Moore, *New Masonic Trestle-Board* (Boston 1870); Robert Macoy, *Masonic Manual* (1861).

17. Andrew, "Temple Architecture," p. 175.

18. Dr. Albert Churchward, *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man: The Evolution of Religious Doctrine from the Eschatology of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1910).

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

20. Andrew, *Early Temples of the Mormons*, p. 175.

21. Brigham Young, for example, directed that ZCMI bylaws require signs which contained the legend, "Holiness to the Lord" arched over the all-seeing eye of Jehovah. See Journal History, 29 October 1868, and a letter from Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, Journal History, 18 November 1868.

22. Orson Pratt's lecture series in the 1850s and his designs for the Salt Lake Temple's moonstones based on the phases for the year 1878 reflect his propensity for things astrological. The Deseret Almanacs, published annually in the 1850s and 60s by W. W. Phelps, are replete with cosmological references and charts.

23. Truman O. Angell to President John Taylor, April 1886, John Taylor Letter Book, Church Archives.

24. Truman O. Angell to President John Taylor, 29 April 1886.

25. Ibid.

26. Truman O. Angell to President John Taylor, 23 April 1886.

27. Truman O. Angell to President John Taylor, 16 April 1886.

28. Anthony W. Ivins, *The Relationship of "Mormonism" and "Freemasonry"* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1934), p. 91.

29. Ibid., p. 92.

30. Ibid., p. 93.

31. Allen D. Roberts, "The 'Other' Endowment House," SUNSTONE 3 (July-August 1978): 9-10.

32. A drawing of the angel weathervane, with Masonically arranged compass and square (probably drafted by William Weeks) is in the Nauvoo Temple Drawings collection, Church Archives.

33. Nibley, *What Is a Temple?* p. 247.

34. Ibid.

35. Klaus J. Hansen, "The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God: Toward a Reinterpretation of Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Autumn 1966).

36. An attempt to demonstrate that numbers are of symbolic importance to Mormons is found in Kenneth M. Sundberg: "The Morning Star, A Study of the Symbolism and Design Inherent in the Holy Priesthood as Administered in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," unpublished manuscript, 1972, Church Archives.

37. In analyzing the meanings and uses of several "pilot symbols," Christensen concludes that in Mormon publications, the most frequently used are the eye, stars, dove, Star of David, and (surprisingly) the beehive. Also see Monte B. DeGraw, "A Study of Representative Examples of Art Works Fostered by the Mormon Church with an Analysis of the Aesthetic Value of the Works" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).

38. Nibley, *What Is a Temple?* p. 230.

39. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1942), pp. 154-55, 88-99, 167 (as quoted in Nibley, *What Is a Temple?*).

40. 1 Cor. 15:40-42; D&C 76:70-71, 81.

41. Journal History, 1874, description of the Salt Lake Temple.

42. Joseph F. Smith, *The Great Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Information, Temple Block, 1912), p. 10.

43. Salt Lake Temple and Nauvoo Temple Drawings collections, Church Archives.

44. Andrew, "Temple Architecture," p. 171.

45. Salt Lake Temple and Nauvoo Temple Drawings collections.

46. Ibid. Also see weathervane drawing in the Nauvoo Temple Drawings collection.

47. "Stretch forth thine hand unto thy brethren, and they shall not wither before thee" (1 Ne. 17:53). "But his hand is stretched out still" (2 Ne. 15:25). "When a messenger comes saying he has a message from God, offer him your hand and request him to shake hands with you. If he be an angel, he will do so, and you will feel his hand" (D&C 129:4-5). "I took them by the hand" (Jer. 31:32).

48. Angell, 1854.

49. Smith, *The Great Temple*, p. 10.

50. W. H. Cunningham, *Cross' Masonic Chart*, p. 69, as quoted in McGavin's *Mormonism and Masonry*, p. 62.

51. Daniel F. Nelson, "Deseret," *Mormon History* 1 (1969): 7-8.

52. Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), pp. 184-90.

53. *Seal of the State of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1960).

On Going Home Teaching

The Quest for that Magical Number—100 percent

By Paul Simmons

I am writing this article for a very simple reason. It was this or go home teaching. I know what you are thinking, but it's not true. Home teaching was my first choice. There are few things I would rather do than to go home teaching. Perhaps I should say that there are few things I would rather have done than to have gone home teaching, but you know what I mean. Tonight, however, home teaching was not to be. I am not worried, though. I have every confidence that we will yet visit our families this month. After all, we have until midnight tomorrow.

It is not that we (my companion and I) have put off going home teaching, I want you to understand. Rather, it is that we have been put off. No, not by the thought of home teaching nor by our families, but by matters not within our power to control. Our good intentions, as so often happens, were defeated by cruel circumstance. Oh, do not be deceived, gentle reader. Circumstance is cruel. She is a subtle slavemaster. She comes to you innocently, in her child's frock, in pigtails and pug nose. But underneath she is an insidious siren, a temptress, an entrancing enchantress who would rule your life. Let her once into your life, and she will make it hers. She will abuse your agency, make you do that which ye fain would not, and provide a ready excuse to any who would rebuke you and set you back on that strait and narrow way leading to eternal life, of which the scripture truly says, "Few there be that find it." And why do they not find it? Circumstance! that tool of the devil, by which he cheateth our souls and leadeth us carefully down to—

But this article was to be about home teaching. The point I wish to make is that, I have found (and I believe my experience is not unique), circumstances too often prevent us from going home teaching, much as we would like to go. The circumstance that prevented us from going home teaching tonight was that tonight is Wednesday, and Wednesday nights my companion works. I should have known that he would have to work tonight. He always does on Wednesday nights. I don't know why it should have momentarily slipped my mind. But for one brief moment I had visions of completing our visits before the month's end, of reporting, with a clear conscience, with head erect, with an unwavering voice, with clean hands and a pure heart, that we had reached that magical mark—100 percent. But alas, tonight was Wednesday, and Wednesday nights my companion has to work.

Last night my companion was all set to go home teaching, but last night we had company drop in unexpectedly. The night before that, of course, was family home evening. Before that was Sunday, and—well, you know how Sundays are. In the years B.C. (Before Consolidation), Sunday was one continuous meeting, although it went under a variety of guises: elders quorum presidency meeting, priesthood meeting, Sunday School, ward council meeting, prayer meeting, sacrament meeting, fireside—there was barely time to read the Sunday comics and watch *Mork and Mindy*, let alone go home teaching. Day of rest? It was a day of everything but. Now that meetings are fewer and Sunday has begun to earn its ancient epithet, it seems a shame to spoil it by going home teaching. With our meetings not starting till one o'clock, Sunday is the one day I can sleep in. I don't get up till eleven now, and then it's the usual hurry to get the children bathed and dressed and to church on time. Even if there were time to go home teaching before church, it somehow doesn't seem right to go in the morning. Sort of like eating leftover anchovy pizza for breakfast. After church, I feel I owe it to my family to be with them. After all, isn't that why they consolidated meetings, so we could have more time for our families? So Sunday nights we spend together as a family, except, of course, when we cannot agree on what show to watch.

Last Saturday I had to weed the garden, take the boys to their soccer game, and watch the game of the week. That night was our anniver-

sary, so I had to take my wife out to dinner.

The night before that, I had a basketball game. Of course I could not miss that. I never know when our team might get a thirty-point lead and I might get to play.

Thursday night I watched the children while my wife went to her aerobic dance class. The night before that was Wednesday, and Wednesday nights—But it seems we've been through this all once before.

But tomorrow night we cannot fail.

In theory, home teaching is a simple activity. I call my companion, we call our families, we go and visit them. In theory simple. Like changing a tire. Or fixing a leaking faucet. Or deriving the quadratic equation. But, I have found, in this less-than-perfect world things are rarely as simple as they seem. The logistics of home teaching, in theory quite simple, in actuality often overwhelm me.

I wonder that military commanders, who have to coordinate the activities of even more individuals than a home teacher does, ever accomplish anything. But, then, they do not have such forces to contend with as we do. How would it be?

General Eisenhower runs into General Bradley leaving the officers' club in London.

"General Bradley!" he exclaims. "Just the fellow I've been looking for. How have you been? About that little invasion of France we were discussing. When could we get our men together to carry it off?"

"Oh, I'm afraid it's quite impossible this week," General Bradley replies. "Tomorrow we have our officers' training class, or had you forgotten? The next day is that twenty-mile march. Got to keep in shape. This war's not for sissies, you know. Thursday is the football game. We play the RAF for first place. Wouldn't miss that for all the sauerkraut in Stuttgart. Besides, all work and no play make Jack—"

"A dull boy."

"Exactly. And oh yes, Friday we have war games all day, and they're showing that new Betty Grable movie Friday night. Saturday I've just got to let the men have some time to write their families. No other success can compensate—"

"Yes, yes, I know."

"And of course Sunday is a day of rest. No, there'll be no invasions on Sunday around here. So as you can see, this week is entirely out of the question. We'll just have to try again next week."

No, it never would have done. The French would still need liberating.

But tomorrow night we cannot fail. My companion has assured me he has no other commitments. My wife has agreed to stay home and watch the children all evening. There are no meetings, parties, work, or sports events to get in our way. Only one thing could possibly go wrong. And the chances of it happening two months in a row surely must be slim. Besides, it was only a coincidence last month. And it is only a coincidence that we are going home teaching on the same day of the month this time. If we were to have the same results this month—No. That would be too many coincidences.

Nevertheless, the circumstances are uncannily similar. You see, last month, through no fault of our own, we could not go home teaching till the last day. We dutifully made our visits, but one man after another was not at home. It was not till later that we discovered the reason. They had all gone home teaching.

Some Concepts of Divine Revelation

A Personal Promise, a Personal Challenge

By Lorin K. Hansen

Since the beginning of the Restoration many Mormons have been led to believe that their position on the principle of modern divine revelation was nearly unique in the Christian world. Reactions from other Christians have been sufficient to leave that impression. Very early, for example, Joseph Smith related his First Vision to a Christian minister and received this first taste of prevailing opinion: "He treated my communication not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying it was all of the devil, that there were no such things as visions or revelations in these days, that all such things had ceased with the apostles, and that there would never be any more of them" (JS-H 2:24). Such reactions have been common in Mormon experience. This is not surprising since the belief in the cessation of modern revelation has been a dominant view throughout most of Christian history, the origin of the doctrine dating back to the second century. At that time the early church struggled desperately to protect the faith from the divisive influence of professed gnostic revelations. In self-defense, in the face of waning authoritative guidance, the church of that day enunciated the principle of "revelation given once for all in days long gone and never to be added to or altered."[1]

But much has happened in Christian thought since Joseph Smith's day. There has been the rise of Protestant liberalism, the brief flourishing of the Catholic modernist movement, the reaction of Protestant fundamentalism, the influence in this century of neo-orthodox (crisis) theology, and a host of other theological expressions. As part of these theological movements there have been major changes in the general Christian view of divine revelation.

The awakening concern with revelation began first within Protestantism. In retrospect Carl Braatan observes: "Every modern Protestant theology, regardless of which category shapes its thinking, has felt obliged to establish itself as a theology of revelation, as if thereby it has achieved all that matters or what matters most."[2] James Barr speaks of the uniqueness of the present situation: "It is equally clear that the dominance of the concept of revelation is modern, and has caused this term to acquire a function which it never had in the whole previous history of the church."[3] A veritable flood of literature has appeared on the subject. The doctrine of revelation has been called "the most frequented hunting ground of theologians."[4] Intense interest has been felt by Catholics as well as Protestants. One of the two most important documents to come out of the latest Vatican Council was the document on divine revelation. Karl Rahner explains the present situation in the Roman Catholic Church: "Quietly and almost unnoticed, an answer is being given at the present time to the question of a correct and full understanding of the concept of revelation, the question to which the Church at that time [during the Modernist Movement] had no clear answer."[5]

What are these new concepts of divine revelation? And why have they taken on such importance in our day? A concise statement on such a flurry of new thought is difficult. It is helpful, however, to realize that there are only a few basic recurring themes which dominate this new revelation-literature. In the following discussion four basic categories will be described briefly, put in historical perspective, and related to the Mormon experience.

REVELATION AS COMMUNICATION

The most common concept of revelation through the Christian centuries has been revelation as communication. Revelation, in this view,

is the divine process of unveiling, making known objective truths that before were hidden. By the incarnation, by vision, by voice, or by the inner promptings of the Spirit, God conveys to man objective truths important to his salvation.

It is this concept of revelation that has so long been coupled with the idea that revelation was complete and closed. The incarnation was God's complete self-revelation to man. The Bible, as a depository of propositional revelation, was complete with Christ and the apostles. The immediate source of man's knowledge from God was no longer the present prophetic gift but rather the inspired, inscriptured truths of a closed canon. The scriptures themselves became God's revelation.

The doctrine of revelation has been called the most frequented hunting ground of theologians.

Again, this view of revelation—complete and with the canon closed—dates back to the struggles of early Christians. In fact, this concept has been at the center of Christian controversy ever since. It was a central issue in the Reformation when Protestants claimed not only the completeness of scripture but also the sufficiency of scripture. It was hotly debated during the Enlightenment when Deists claimed that there had been no special communication from God. Belief in the closure of revelation has also been challenged. Scattered Spiritualists or "enthusiastic" sects such as the Montanists, the Quakers, the Quietists, and the Moravians have claimed the immediacy of the Spirit, the indwelling light, the openness of revelation.

The greatest challenge to this conservative, narrow view of revelation, however, came in the nineteenth century when many Christians became deeply influenced by the new historical and scientific criticism of the scriptures. In spite of an onslaught of skepticism, the conservative view survived. A stream of orthodoxy, weakened but determined, continued down even to the present. In fact, orthodox views of revelation are now being reasserted with new force by a rising group of modern evangelicals. Carl F. H. Henry, a strong advocate in this movement, expresses this view concisely: "The Bible is no mere record of revelation, but is itself revelation. Revelation is inscriptured. Scripture is a mode of divine disclosure, a special written form of revelation. God speaks to us today by the scriptures; they are the trustworthy and adequate bearer of His revelation."[6]

When the scriptures thus become objectified, propositional revelation, the next step is to regard God as the literal author. "Biblical-inspiration," in the view of strict orthodoxy both Catholic and Protestant, is said to be "verbal" (extending to the very choice of words) and "plenary" (extending to all parts equally).

The overriding concept of revelation in Mormon thought is also that of divine communication. The communication may come through vision or through voice. Sometimes the communication comes by the direct influence of the Spirit on the consciousness of man (D&C 8:2-3). Whatever the means, the revelation can be verbalized and recorded and added to the canon of scripture.

The Mormon concept of revelation, therefore, is similar to the orthodox view in that revelation, at least in part, is communicated propositon. But even in this respect there are obvious differences. The most obvious is that, in the Mormon view, revelation is continuous, the canon of the scripture is never closed. An article of Mormon faith is that God "does now reveal, and . . . will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God" (A of F 9).

Revelation can become scripture, and here also there are parallels and contrasts in the Mormon and orthodox views. In orthodoxy verbal inspiration of the Bible is not considered to be equivalent to a mechanical dictation, but in some way there is a confluence of the wills of God and man. The words of scripture reflect the styles and cultures of the writers yet are authoritatively the *very word of God*. The inspiration is plenary; one cannot call some parts of the scriptures inferior or allow for errors in so-called unessential matters.

In addition to the Bible there are modern accounts and testimonies that contribute to the Mormon concepts of revelation and of the interplay of the divine and the human in revelation. An attempt should not be made to reduce these accounts to some universal formula, but to the extent that these testimonies are representative, revelation that is the basis of scripture is a cooperative experience between man and God. Joseph Smith once stated, "All things whatsoever God in his infinite wisdom has seen fit and proper to reveal to us, . . . are revealed to us in the abstract . . . revealed to our spirits as though we had no bodies at all."[7] The prophet apparently gave expression to these abstractions in his own language and received confirmation concerning these expressions (D&C 9:7-9). Whatever the precise nature of this process, it was God's way of giving authoritative revelation to man "after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding" (D&C 1:24).

This confluence of God and man produces a correct message; in this respect the Mormon position is also one of scriptural inerrancy. In the words of Joseph Smith, "there is no error in the revelations which I have taught."[8] In contrast to Christian orthodoxy, however, a clear distinction has to be made between a correct teaching and a perfect and full expression of that teaching. The process of revelation is not mechanical, involving the very choice of words. The human element is there too. For this reason Joseph Smith and the Church after him have felt justified in editing and improving the wording of modern scripture, that it might better convey the intended message. The message is divine, the words are of man, and the text is sufficient for the purposes of God.

In orthodoxy, the human element in the scriptures must be circumscribed with great care. Verbal, plenary inspiration is the critical link to communication from God. In Mormonism the human element in scripture is also a sensitive issue, but there is not the urgency found in Christian orthodoxy. There is more allowance for the human element within the bounds of scriptural inspiration. As vital and cherished as the scriptures are in Mormonism, it is the personal witness and the present prophetic guidance which are deemed most vital as a foundation for the faith.

HISTORY AS REVELATION

In the mid-nineteenth century, about the time of Joseph Smith, intellectual forces were surfacing in Western thought which were to bring sweeping changes in Christian theology and a major reaction against the rationalistic, proposition-centered religion of orthodoxy. A revolution was occurring in men's view of history. Historians were attempting a strict scientific approach to their work. Men were deeply influenced by such men as Hegel and Darwin. Ideas of progress, development, and evolution were coming into vogue. History was now being viewed not merely as a sequence of events but as an organic development.

These changes had far-reaching effects on Christian theology and particularly on the concept of divine revelation. The critical, skeptical eye of the historian now shifted to the Bible. Eventually, little of the Bible was not called into question. As a result Christianity began to lose faith in the inerrancy of the scriptures and began to see the Bible as a very fallible, human book. This struck at the very heart of orthodox religion, leaving many, especially Protestants, to wonder where they were to turn for the foundation of their faith, where they were to find the locus of divine revelation.

Men of that day were very much in the spell of historical and evolutionary thought, and many came to regard history instead of scripture as the locus of divine revelation. The scriptures were no longer the inspired recordings of once-delivered propositions but a human record of man's upward, spiritual evolution. The revelation was not in the words of the book but in the divine process of historical, progressive redemption that the book described. Thus it could be said that the Bible itself was not revelation but that it "contained" revelation in the sense that it described or represented the historical revelation.

The relating of history to revelation has been touched on in various ways down through the centuries. But it was in the nineteenth century that the categories of history, evolution, and progressive redemption had their full impact on the Christian theology of revelation. At that time the view of revelation-in-history came to be associated with liberal theology, but even then uses made of the idea were quite varied. The naturalistic thinker, the liberal, and the conservative all used the category of history to convey views of divine revelation, each in contrast to the view of traditional orthodoxy. The debate among these various views has continued to our own day.

The enthusiasm with which this concept of revelation-in-history has been embraced, in whatever form, was noted by James Barr:

No single principle is more powerful in the handling of the Bible today than the belief that history is the channel of divine revelation. Thus the formula "revelation through history" is taken to represent the center of biblical thinking, and the interpretation of any biblical passage must be related to this historical revelation. . . . These ideas today are not only common, but they enjoy almost unqualified acceptance. . . . Historians of theology in a future age will look back on the mid-twentieth century and call it the revelation-in-history period.[9]

The message is divine, the words are of man, and the text is sufficient for the purposes of God.

It should be noted that the theme of history-as-revelation has been used explicitly by one Mormon author, Heber C. Snell, to relate the story of ancient Israel. To quote Snell:

God was making a special revelation of himself and his will through ancient Israel. It was not a revelation embodied in words but in life. What happened to individuals, to communities, and to Israel as a whole, which led in the direction of the highest values we know, is the proof of the revelation. In this sense the greatest persons and events were the revelation. That is what is meant by the revelation of God in History.[10]

Snell's work was received with mixed feelings by his Mormon audience. Some saw his book essentially as a document of Protestant liberalism. Others thought it addressed a definite heritage in the Mormon concept of history. Perhaps it was some of both.

In any case, the concept of revelation-in-history has made its contributions. It was a challenge to an abuse that treated the Bible merely as a textbook of doctrinal propositions. It brought into relief the key biblical theme of what God was accomplishing in history. The historical context in scripture gained new importance. But the revelation-in-history concept has also had its difficulties. It too has been involved in distortions of the scriptures. Preconceived notions of evolutionary history have been used to reconstruct and reorder biblical events. The revelation-in-history concept has also been used to displace or downplay the concept of direct, divine revelation. When God recedes behind the scenes of history, in the writings of many, he recedes too far. God no longer speaks. Prophets become mere gifted philosophers giving expression to the religious consciousness of the age rather than chosen emissaries announcing, "Thus saith the Lord!"

The revelation-in-history concept, in many of its expressions, is foreign to Mormon thought. It

is a Mormon belief, however, that history does have meaning and direction. God, according to Milton R. Hunter, has been "the center, the principle, motive force of human history."[11] Salvation is not just a matter of lifting men out of a meaningless sea of events. There is also a divine "plan of salvation" for the human family as a whole.

This view of God working through history is often found in Mormon literature which deals with the principles of revelation-accommodation and progressive preparation. A prophet or a Savior can be sent to men, but unless men are sufficiently prepared in their cultural and spiritual situation, little is accomplished. Christ came in the meridian of time, but for centuries there had been a schoolmaster. As man progresses he receives divine revelation conditioned to his present situation. In the words of Brigham Young: "I do not believe there is a single revelation, among the many God has given to the Church, that is perfect in its fullness. The revelations of God contain correct doctrine and principle, so far as they go. . . . He [God] has to speak to us in a manner to meet the extent of our capacities." (*Journal of Discourses*, 2:314.) Thus, the Lord tells the Church today, "ye are little children . . . ye cannot bear all things now; nevertheless be of good cheer, for I will lead you along" (D&C 78:17-18). Here a little, there a little, hopefully man progresses in spiritual vision.

Man, in despair, uncertainty, estrangement, guilt, or dread, is grasped by the mystery of revelation.

While Mormons generally believe in a divine influence and some sort of progression in history, they do not ordinarily use the term revelation in reference to it, particularly since this term seems to raise the specter of nineteenth-century Protestant liberalism. Nevertheless, at least one Mormon author has so named it by using a convenient metaphor.[12] The usual sense of revelation as direct communication from God has been called "vertical revelation." The disclosure of God's purposes through development in history has been called "horizontal revelation."

REVELATION AS PERSONAL ENCOUNTER

Protestant liberalism has had a major impact on Christianity. Early in the twentieth century, however, it began to slip from its central position on the theological stage. One reason for this was the position of liberalism on the nature of man. After a world war and a depression it no longer seemed so evident that progress was inevitable or that man's unfolding nature was altogether good. The mood was changing from one of optimism and hope to one of crisis and despair.

In this new context, after the First World War, neo-orthodoxy or crisis theology developed. The movement began in Europe under the leadership of Swiss theologians Karl Barth and Emil Brunner but quickly gained an extensive following, influencing even British and American theologians. This movement has been most influential in bringing into relief within Protestantism still another view of divine revelation.

Instead of a theology of the immanence of God, as found in nineteenth-century liberalism, in neo-orthodoxy emphasis shifted to a theology of the complete transcendence of God. Instead of man's being able to gradually create a kingdom of God on earth, man was held to be sinful, depraved, and hopelessly lost. Salvation was not in history but by a timeless, eternal God breaking into history and lifting men out of it. Within liberalism there had been a shift to the message of the social gospel; within neo-orthodoxy there was a return to an emphasis of personal redemption. Man's predicament was not to be solved by evolution through time or even by striving for adherence to presumably divinely disclosed propositional truths. Not rational knowledge and progress, but faith and the grace of reconciliation were man's dire needs. And this came through personal encounter between man and God. In the words of Karl Barth: "Revelation—that which came to apostles and prophets as revelation—is nothing less than God himself."[13] In other words, God himself in personal encounter. The supreme revelation occurred when God was incarnate in the Christ. But this revelation is not complete for an individual until he too encounters the very presence of God in his own soul. This occurs as one recognizes the Christ in the man Jesus.

The divine-human encounter, the unveiling and the response, involves also the awakening of man to the reality of his justification and election with God. Quoting Barth: "This is what revelation means, this is its content and dynamic: reconciliation has been made and accomplished. Reconciliation is not a truth which revelation makes known to us; reconciliation is the truth of God Himself who grants himself freely to us in his revelation.[14] For Barth, revelation is a matter of redemption and exclusively a matter of redemption. The encounter, the faith, and the reconciliation are all one revelation event. Finally it is important to note that the testimony, the justification, and the reconciliation are *not* communicated propositions. Rather, through this encounter with God and the outpouring of the Spirit, man is changed, finds himself in a new position.

Neo-orthodoxy, in a sense, is a return to reformation themes. But (on the question of the historical and scientific criticism of the scriptures) it is not entirely in the tradition of the reformers. It accepts with liberalism the critical approach to the Bible. In Protestant liberalism this led to the shift of the locus of revelation from scripture to history. The key to the neo-orthodox accommodation, however, is a shift of the revelation concept from objective, communicated propositional truth to personal encounter. Revelation, it is claimed, is completely devoid of propositional truth. There can be truths about revelation, man's response in retrospect, but the revelation itself is pure encounter. For orthodoxy the Bible

was revelation; for neo-orthodoxy revelation was the encounter that came while man was reading the Bible. The Bible was merely the stepping-stone to revelation. Thus, in neo-orthodoxy criticism of the Bible can be accepted and yet divine revelation itself remains beyond the reach of destructive criticism.

This accommodation to scriptural criticism is shown in the interpretation given to many biblical accounts. Reference is made by Barth and Brunner, for example, to the Fall of Man. But for them there is not actually a man named Adam. Brunner considers the theophanies of the Old Testament to be a "relic of popular mythology." Such "naive and childlike stories" indicate not the physical presence of God as a person but only the "personal" presence of God through the "Spirit."

In comparison, revelation in Mormon literature is often defined as divine communication, and emphasis is placed on the "knowledge" that comes from revelation. "By the power of the Holy Ghost ye may know the truth of all things" (Moro. 10:4-5). But there is another dimension to the Mormon concept of revelation. The Holy Ghost is also the Comforter. Revelation is also communion. It involves not only proposition but also a deep feeling of the nearness of God. In the words of David O. McKay: "Never forget that great events have happened in this Church because of such communion, and because of the responsiveness of the soul to the inspiration of the Almighty. I know it is real! . . . the greatest comfort that can come to us in this life is to sense the realization of communion with God."[15]

This aspect of revelation is important in the Church today, evident not so much in theological descriptions and definitions or even in the recorded propositions of the Restoration. It is to be experienced oneself or sensed in the personal testimonies of the members.

While there are some similarities between neo-orthodox and Mormon concepts of revelation in that revelation is thought of as personal communion and a present reality, there are also fundamental differences. In neo-orthodoxy, for example, the encounter is one of reconciliation between the wholly transcendent, absolute God and depraved man. The encounter is a moment in which man becomes aware of his election and justification to which he contributes nothing. In Mormon thought God is not so distant nor man so depraved; neither is revelation subsumed in the concept of redemption. After receiving the testimony of Jesus, the witness of the Spirit, one's ultimate salvation most likely is still in the balance. There is the Holy Spirit of Promise, but this is God's affirmation to those who receive the testimony of Jesus, who are baptized in his name, and who at long last overcome by faith (D&C 76:50-53).

Mormonism, of course, differs as well in its estimate of the Bible and to an extent stands in a position between orthodoxy and neo-orthodoxy. Mormons do not accept the concept of strict verbal, plenary inspiration (as in orthodoxy) nor do they accept at the other extreme that God speaks only in subjective truths (as in neo-orthodoxy). From this middle ground it would seem that orthodox theologians are trying to preserve their faith and protect the scriptures from the critics by exaggerating them and that the encounter theologians have unnecessarily conceded the scriptures to the critics and have sought haven in an untouchable world of subjectivity.

EXISTENTIAL EXPERIENCE AS REVELATION

We have seen in neo-orthodoxy how modern theologians have turned away from the nineteenth-century concepts of salvation and revelation-in-history and turned instead to a subjective interpretation of revelation along the lines of reformation themes. In this century, we also find another closely related development, another thread in this fabric of subjective interpretation. Many modern theologians have adopted the approaches of existentialism in their statements of faith, rejecting not so much nineteenth-century liberalism as the positivistic approach to knowledge that lies at the basis of it. Passionate involvement rather than dispassionate observation, reflection, and speculation is claimed as the key to man's personal "existence." This existential approach has had its effect on recent views of divine revelation, expressed in the writings of such theologians as Rudolph Bultmann, Paul Tillich, and H. Richard Neibuhr.

The encounter is one of reconciliation between the wholly transcendent, absolute God and depraved man.

In the existentialist view, as in neo-orthodoxy, revelation could be described as encounter. But now the encounter is not with a divine, transcendent being. Revelation is rather, as Tillich would say, an encounter with "Being Itself." The revelation is the manifestation of God only in the sense that "God" is another name for the "ultimate ground of being," and the encounter is with the personal only in the sense that God, though not a person in any sense, is the "ground of all that is personal." According to Tillich: "A revelation is a special and extraordinary manifestation which removes the veil from something which is hidden in a special and extraordinary way. This hiddenness is often called "mystery." . . . Here [in revelation] the mystery appears as the power of being, conquering nonbeing. It appears as ultimate concern."[16] Man, in despair, uncertainty, estrangement, guilt, or dread of nonbeing, is grasped by the "mystery" of revelation. His mind transcends to a state of ecstasy and illumination. There is a disclosure of what ultimately concerns him, the Ultimate Ground of his Being. In the miracle of this mystery-ecstasy encounter he achieves his inner integrity, his meaning and authenticity.

Like Barth, these theologians give no place to objective knowledge or doctrine in what they mean by revelation. There can be statements made about revelation, but the "true" knowledge

of revelation is subjective and cannot be verbalized and separated from the revelation event itself. Truth is found only in the depth of inward experience. To quote Bultmann:

What, then, has been revealed? Nothing at all, so far as the question concerning revelation asks for doctrines—doctrines, say, that no man could have discovered for himself—or for mysteries that no man could have known once and for all as soon as they are communicated. On the other hand, however, everything that has been revealed, insofar as man's eyes are opened concerning his own existence and he is once again able to understand himself.[17]

There are simple, vital, objective truths which can be known, can be expressed, and have been revealed by God.

What is received is existential knowledge or what Bultmann calls "not-knowing knowledge."

Again, it follows that the objective statements of the scriptures have no divine sanction. They represent merely the crude attempts by the ancients to express themselves. The extraordinary events of the scriptures (the Fall, the Resurrection, etc.) become the myths (Bultmann) or symbols (Tillich) employed to allude to the truths of revelation, that is, the existential truths behind the myths.

Let it be said in passing that the God in this existential concept of revelation is in great contrast to the God of Mormon testimony. Revelation for Tillich and Bultmann is said to be an encounter with the Divine, but still the focus is on man. In their writings the personal God who is a loving Father seems to fade away into esoteric abstractions.

These theologians also speak of the dread and uncertainty of life. Yet they give no place to the possibility of objective, revealed truths which could relate to these feelings. According to Mormon scripture there are truths which cannot be known except by the Spirit. There are also truths that defy verbalization "neither is man capable of making them known" (D&C 76:114-18). But still there are simple, vital, objective truths which can be known, can be expressed, and have been revealed by God. It is these truths of the gospel, the Good News, the "peaceable things" (D&C 39:6; 42:61) of joy and eternal life that are so addressed to man's situation.

The importance of the inner man was not an original discovery of modern existentialism. This has been God's message throughout the centuries. Superficial assent and outward show are not sufficient. "Saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people" (Jer. 31:33). Man must be deeply affected by the gospel message; he must be born of the Spirit into a newness of life.

The testimony of a life touched by the Spirit of God has been told so often. That touch is often a delicate touch, but at times it has been very dramatic. The classic example from Mormon scripture, of course, is the experience of Alma the younger. Alma made a transition from a soul racked with torment to one filled with marvelous light, exceeding joy, and consuming purpose. Without retelling that story, it can be said that whatever modern theologians could mean by such words as "encounter," "reconciliation," or "authenticity," the meanings could hardly indicate more than the overwhelming reality of the transformation in the life of Alma.

Another dramatic example, more modern, illustrates another important point. Lorenzo Snow tells that he had expected some manifestation at his conversion and baptism into the restored Church—as a confirmation of the truth of his actions. None came. His feelings became gloomy and depressed, and he decided to pray about it. As he began to pray he immediately became enveloped and filled with the Spirit of the Lord: "O the joy and happiness I felt! No language can describe the almost instantaneous transition from a dense cloud of mental and spiritual darkness into a refulgent of light and knowledge, that God lives, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and of the restoration of the Holy Priesthood, and the fulness of the gospel."[18] Lorenzo Snow describes several aspects of this experience: despair, encounter with the Spirit, and ecstasy. Finally, in contrast to the "not-knowing knowledge" of Bultmann, he speaks of propositional testimony. Thus, it would be the Mormon view that when we speak of revelation, we are speaking of the ways of God and, therefore, that we should approach the subject with humility and openness. We should take care not to think that the ways of divine revelation can be reduced to overly simple formulas. In particular, we should not imagine that the importance of existential knowledge in revelation precludes the concurrent reality of objective knowledge in revelation.

CONCLUSION

In summary, looking at ourselves in comparison with others, we could say that the Mormon concept of revelation is that of communication, without revelation being completed or without the heavens being closed. God's subtle influence is in history, but revelation also comes to man at a point of history and in a manner accommodated to his conditions. Revelation is existential or subjective without thereby being devoid of propositional content. And it is encounter without the person of God being lost in superlatives and vague philosophical abstractions.

From the Mormon viewpoint, however, the most striking of the concepts used to describe divine revelation in modern theology is the new emphasis among Christians of revelation as a modern, personal experience. It seems the logic of the position has become most compelling. The Swedish theologian, Nathan Soderblom, echoes the feelings of many others when he concludes "how impossible it is to maintain that there is a true revelation unless we assume it continues in the present time."[19]

It is also interesting that for all the modern

emphasis on revelation as a present, personal experience, there seems to be little discussion on the role of the prophet for modern times. Revelation is often said to be subjective only; there is no objective, prophetic message. But even on this point, there are signs of change.[20]

In Mormonism, by way of contrast, the president of the Church, as prophet, and other spiritual leaders provide ever present guidance from God. The importance of the role of the prophet, however, in no way diminishes the importance in Mormon thought of each person receiving revelation. Mormons feel that to each person is given the opportunity for inspiration within the sphere of his own affairs and responsibilities. And to each is promised the confirming witness that the guidance from spiritual leaders is inspired.

Thus, even with the emphasis in Mormonism on prophetic revelation, there is a shift of responsibility to the individual.[21] In a sense, all must be prophets of God,[22] each must seek his own communion. The promise of Brigham Young is typical: "When you have labored faithfully for years, you will learn this simple fact—that if your hearts are right and you still continue to be obedient, continue to serve God, continue to pray, the Spirit of revelation will be in you like a well of water springing up to everlasting life" (*JD*, 12:103). Whoever the person and whatever the faith, there is the personal promise and the personal challenge of divine revelation. Revelation is now. So we must ask: Can we live the precepts of God? Can we draw near to him? Can we serve him in righteousness? Can we be sensitive to the Spirit and responsive to the Spirit?

LORIN K. HANSEN received his Ph.D. in physics from UCLA. He is a research physicist in Sunnyvale, California.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: Scribners, 1950), p. 164.

2. Carl E. Braatan, *New Directions in Theology Today, volume II: History and Hermeneutics* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), p. 12.

3. James Barr, *Old and New in Interpretation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 83-84.

4. John Baille, *Revelation* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. x.

5. Karl Rahner and Joseph Ratzinger, *Revelation and Tradition* (New York: Herder, 1966), pp. 10-11.

6. Carl F. H. Henry, "Divine Revelation and the Bible," in *Inspiration and Interpretation*, ed. J. F. Walvoord (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), pp. 256-57.

7. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932-51), 6:312; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*.

8. Ibid., 1:104-5.

9. James Barr, "Revelation through History in Old Testament and Modern Theology," in *New Theology*, no. 1, ed. Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman (New York: Macmillan, 1964), p. 61.

10. Heber C. Snell, *Ancient Israel—Its Story and Meaning*, 3d ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1963), p. 280.

11. Milton R. Hunter, *Gospel through the Ages* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, 1945), p. 52.

12. George T. Boyd, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Spring 1968): 56.

13. Karl Barth, *God in Action* (Manhasset: Roundtable Press, 1963), p. 56.

14. Ibid., p. 17.

15. David O. McKay, "Consciousness of God: Supreme Goal of Life," *Improvement Era* 70 (June 1967): 80.

16. Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 1:108-10.

17. Rudolf Bultmann, "The Concept of Revelation in the New Testament," in *Existence and Faith* (New York: Living Age Books, 1960), p. 85.

18. Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, p. 5, as quoted in Preston Nibley, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), p. 140.

19. Nathan Soderblom, *The Nature of Revelation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. 121.

20. Gabriel Moran, *Theology of Revelation* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966), note especially chapter 6; see also Louis C. Midgley, *Improvement Era* 73 (August 1970): 68.

21. See J. Reuben Clark, *Speeches of the Year*, 7 July 1954, Brigham Young University.

22. See Brigham Young, *JD*, 3:192; Heber C. Kimball, *JD*, 5:88.

Whoever the person and whatever the faith, there is the personal promise and the personal challenge of divine revelation.

A Religion of Clerks

Or, I've Got Those Stuffing, Stapling Blues

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 mailbox, sent it off to SUNSTONE. Equally delighted, we called the epistle's author, Randal K. Quarles, then 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 had been graciously handled by the Presiding Bishopric's Office. And so the letter, dedicated to Quarles's fellow membership clerks "in a religion of clerks":

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.

Sincerely your brother,

Randal K. Quarles
Membership Clerk

Knowing, Doing, and Being

Vital Dimensions in the Mormon Religious Experience

By Arthur R. Bassett

Joseph Smith, in his famous letter to John Wentworth of the *Chicago Democrat*, maintained that for the Latter-day Saints the first principle of the gospel is faith in Jesus Christ. For purposes of this paper, I would like to extend that concept and suggest faith or trust in Christ and his approach to life is not to be viewed simply as the first link in a chain of gospel principles, but rather as the central hub around which all other principles revolve—first therefore in order of importance.

I am currently of the opinion that what Thomas a Kempis called the imitation of Christ is what the gospel or good news is all about, that it is the bond that binds together all of the teachings of the prophets from Adam to the present,[1] and that the ultimate purpose behind all the organizational and sacramental phenomena associated with the Church is simply to help bring everyone involved to a lifestyle similar to that of Christ.

However, I personally am uneasy about the term "imitation of Christ" because it has always connoted to me a partial loss of one's individual initiative. So with apologies to the a Kempis followers, I will use a different terminology and speak rather of a "knowledge of Christ." I have chosen this phraseology following the lead of scriptural passages similar to John 17:3, in which Jesus states, "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."

Since this passage is central to the thrust of this paper, I would like to point out that salvation and exaltation in the Mormon sense of those terms are based upon our acquiring this knowledge of Christ. According to the Doctrine and Covenants (19:6-11) "eternal" is another name for God. Hence eternal life is God's life, i.e., life with God or celestial life. Thus, according to the passage in John, entrance into the celestial kingdom is predicated on one's coming to know God and Christ.

This same point, it seems to me, is made in other scriptural passages. I will simply cite two others to illustrate my point. One of these comes from the Sermon on the Mount delivered near the beginning of Christ's ministry and one from the parable of the ten virgins near the end. Both passages were directed specifically to the membership of Christ's church rather than to the world in general.

First from Matthew 7:21-23: Speaking to some who had prophesied, exorcized, and done many wonderful works in his name—members of the priesthood of his Church, according to President John Taylor[2]—the Savior informs them at the time of their judgment that they must now depart from him, according to the King James Version, because He never knew them. However, Joseph Smith in his translation of the Bible significantly renders the passage to read: "And then will I say, Ye never knew me; depart from me ye that work iniquity." (JST, Matt. 7:33).

In the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. 25:1-13), again directed to the members of the Church,[3] the same phraseology is used. The five foolish virgins are refused entrance into the presence of the bridegroom (Christ) because they lack knowledge of him. Again Joseph Smith changed "I know you not," to "Ye know me not" (JST, Matt. 25:11).

These scriptures point emphatically to the conclusion that entrance into the presence of God or the celestial kingdom in the life beyond this is predicated on one's coming to know him.

But how is the word "know" used in this context? Obviously there are several possible levels of meaning. "Know" might describe a casual

acquaintance or at the other end of the spectrum connote complete empathy, literally an "in-feeling," a sense of total oneness with the individual involved so that in thinking and feeling like him one understands him completely. I believe that the latter condition is what Jesus was talking of when he prayed to the Father that his disciples might be one with him as he is with the Father: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us" (John 17:21).

Empathetic knowing involves being like Him in thought and character.

Ultimately this type of knowing, which I will call empathetic knowing, involves one's being like him in thought and character as nearly as possible given that individual's potential. When this oneness has been achieved then the purpose for the Church will have been accomplished. That is what I understand Paul to be saying when he writes concerning the organization of the Church, that it is to remain until "we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the fulness of Christ " (Eph. 4:11-13). This type of knowledge of Christ represents for me the apex of faith in him.

Now, having laid this initial premise, I would like to shift my focus slightly to address the problem of how one comes to know the Savior empathetically: (1) through knowing, in a cerebral sense that I will later distinguish from empathetic knowledge; (2) through doing; and (3) through being. Using this trifurcation of the larger principle, I hope to illuminate some possible areas of concern for Latter-day Saints in our quest for life with God.

The first part of the triad is knowing in a cerebral sense, and acquiring the factual information concerning the life and teachings of Jesus. Obviously one must first know *about* Christ before he can how *him*. I think no one would argue with Paul when he states, "And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?" (Rom. 10:13). There are, it seems to me, at least two important considerations: (1) What type of information are we seeking? and (2) How does one seek this information?

One comes to know Jesus by studying *the man* himself rather than *the teachings* he espoused isolated from the facts of his life. My own experience has led me to the conclusion that we should do more to make Jesus the man a central focal point in our meetings and lessons. Theological principles become much more meaningful when viewed in the context of a life. People inspire us much more than principles do.

I suspect that is why Jesus used himself repeatedly as a visual aid of sorts. Rather than engaging in extended polemic, he often would simply remind his disciples that his lifestyle was what they needed to know most. A brief reminder was sufficient: "I am the way; I am the truth; I am the light." Perhaps that is why in the sacramental prayer we are instructed to "always remember *him*" rather than to always remember his teachings or his commandments. Recalling his life calls to mind his teachings, while the opposite is not always true. I am of the opinion that no lesson or sermon in the Church should be given that is not anchored firmly in the concreteness of the life of the Master.

I also believe that no study of Christ is complete without an accompanying study of mankind, his major project. I suspect that no one comes to know the Master until one comes to understand what he was attempting to do, and no one understands what he was attempting to do until he understands the problems of mankind which he addressed. For example, after reading the writings of Sartre and Camus on absurdity, despair, and alienation or apathy, I think I understand much better the Savior's urgency in stressing the antithetical principles of faith, hope, and charity.

Through a study of man we discover the problems (and often the joys) of life; through a study of Christ we discover the answers to these problems. Neither is fully understood without the other. All of which leads to my major concerns, students who come into my classes in the humanities feeling that no one outside the Church—especially those who deal with the suffering of life—have anything to teach them. Far too often we as a people become insular and talk only to and about ourselves. No one will begin to approach a measure of the stature of Christ in this life or the next until he makes an honest effort to understand the dimensions of life's problems.

As to *how* one seeks the cerebral knowledge of Christ the man I would suggest four major avenues: (1) through personal conversation with God in prayer; (2) through guidance from those who have in this life come to some knowledge of him; (3) through participation in the ordinances of the Church; and (4) through a careful and constant study of the scriptures. I will just pass over the first two and comment briefly on the latter two.

We can better prepare our people for participation in the ordinances of the Church by talking more about the value of symbolic communication. To those students in my classes who complain about poets communicating indirectly through the use of metaphor and simile, I keep emphasizing the fact that the Savior was perhaps the greatest indirectionist of all. It was his style of teaching, even though it brought his disciples to a point of frustration at the last supper, for example, when they asked him to speak plainly. It is a style of teaching that goes far beyond what can be done through more direct styles of discourse. I think we could all work more toward discerning the deeper truths that God has couched in simple ceremony.

I am also deeply concerned that our people seem so indifferent to the value of scriptures as means of communication with God. Frankly I

worry when I work with some of our returned missionaries in religion classes or adults in Gospel Doctrine classes who have been exposed to scripture all their lives, and I note the level of their perception. It seems to me that we of all people have been given an excellent opportunity to pursue knowledge through this channel; I wish we made better use of these opportunities than we do.

Some of the scriptures we know rather well. Scriptures used in defending the position of the Church on authority or Church organization, for example, are thoroughly familiar to our returned missionaries. And some among us, those I call the Carnivorous Christians because they seek a steady diet of meat with no milk, to use Paul's metaphor, go beyond the mark in their desire to master all the esoteric doctrine unique to Mormonism and spend long ponderous hours poring over scripture of that genre. There are other scriptures, however, that I feel we neglect more than we should. The neglected scriptures often teach the simple basics or milk of the gospel, those first and last principles such as faith, hope, and charity that to me are the things that really matter in an eternal sense. Simple they may be, but at the same time they contain the most profound insights God has given us in our search to understand him. And with apologies to my Orthodox Jewish friends, I submit that God has served us milk and meat in the same dish, and I feel we can do much more in seeking a knowledge and understanding of these.

I have listed "doing" as the second dimension in our quest to know the Savior. It is in this aspect of the Christian experience that one comes closest to what I would feel good about calling an imitation of Christ. Existential involvement adds depth to cerebral activity. I think I need not belabor this point. All of us have experienced the fact that reading or thinking about an activity is a very different phenomenon from actually participating in the same activity. Reading a romantic novel is never a fitting substitute for being in the arms of the one you love.

James has dealt with this point at great length in his general epistle. According to James, works are an integral aspect of the principle of faith. Works are the outward manifestation of the inward faith. Faith and works are not separate aspects of the gospel; they are two sides of the same phenomenon.

Religious activism has thrived in the soil of Mormonism. We have been kingdom builders from the first and are proud of ourselves for molding out of the sun-baked soil of the wilderness and carving out of the great granite of the mountains that socio-political phenomenon called the Great Basin Kingdom. That struggle against the wilderness has given us the focal point for our activity.

The mythos that a people weaves about itself tells much about the self-image of the group. We have enshrouded ourselves with the mantle of ancient Israel and taken upon our shoulders the task of kingdom building. We have filled our hymns with the metaphors of labor and battle, even though these have mellowed somewhat with time. We no longer sing of treading on the necks of our foes, but we still envision ourselves as the hope of Israel, Zion's army. Last year I was with a group of Saints at a sacrament meeting in Jerusalem, and we were singing the hymn, "Hope of Israel." Suddenly I started to listen to what I was singing, and the words took on a new meaning in that setting. As we sang of sounding the war cry and flashing the sword and rising in might to disarm the foemen, I thought of the Arabs passing in the street, and I suddenly got chills down my back, wondering what they would think of the hymns coming fom our place of worship.

No study of Christ is complete without an accompanying study of mankind.

In these hymns we are continually putting our shoulders to the wheel or sowing, daily sowing, or doing some good in the world today. Our arts in general have until recently glorified the pioneer heritage. We have had very little art commemorating the New York, Ohio, Missouri, or Illinois periods of Church history. Some of our art has been centered in the First Vision and the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood, but primarily we have built monuments to the memory of the pioneers—families at gravesides at Winter Quarters, bedraggled soldiers of the Mormon Battalion, handcart companies, seagulls. We have chosen the beehive as our symbol, and much of the pioneer syndrome is still with us. When we talk of a person's spiritual well-being, we speak of his being active or inactive.

Perhaps some of that is changing with the worldwide expansion of the Church. The pioneer metaphors do not work as well as they once did when the Church was primarily a Utah phenomenon. The hymn "I Am a Child of God" may be replacing "Come, Come, Ye Saints" as the way we choose to sing about ourselves. At the BYU Mormon Arts Festival last spring, the pioneer theme was noticeably absent. If these casual perceptions are accurate, then perhaps that in itself says something about what may be happening to us as a people.

It will be interesting to see how we view ourselves as doers in years to come, for it seems to me that we are headed in two different directions currently. Ironically, as our field of operation as a church enlarges from the Great Basin Kingdom to the world, our focal point of emphasis as a people is contracting from the world or Church as a whole family setting. Does this mean that in the future the bulk of our people will become more cosmopolitan and urbane in their outlook or more insular and provincial?

One of the most important questions one must ask concerning the stamp of activism, however, centers in what is happening internally as a result of all our doing.

This brings me to the third point of the triad, which frankly concerns me most because it receives so little attention. That is the principle of "being," what we become as a result of our cerebral knowledge and our activity. Far too often we work on the assumption that if we continue with the externalities of religious activity all will be well with us.

We always ask, "What must a person *do* to enter the celestial kingdom?" when we catechize our youth. The answer comes back, "Be baptized, and married in the temple." While this response is accurate as far as it goes, I think the implications our young people draw from this type of question are clear. I would like to see us rephrase the question to ask, "What must one *be* to enter the celestial kingdom?" I think the discussion this question would generate might be far more profitable in terms of our ultimate quest.

Whereas in the hymn "I Am a Child of God" we used to sing, "teach me all that I must *know* to live with Him someday" (which I would suggest in passing raises some extremely interesting questions), now we sing, "teach me all that I must *do* to live with Him someday." We have three verses in "I Am a Child of God." I would like to see us keep the first chorus as it was and sing "teach me all that I must *know*." The second chorus we could sing "teach me all that I must *do*," and then with the third sing "teach me all that I must *be* to live with Him someday." And then I think we will develop the full picture of our goal.

Our attitude toward *doing* is perhaps based on the well-established fact that we will ultimately be judged by our works and the term "works" has come to connote only external activism. But it seems to me that the Lord judges on the internal climate of an individual as well as on the external activity. When we judge an act as good or bad, like Samuel seeking David, we often judge solely by externalities.

The Lord, however, looks upon the heart; if the character that motivates the action is not good, then the work, by definition, is not good. Mormon writes, "By their works ye shall know them. . . . For behold, God hath said a man *being* evil cannot *do* that which is good." Note that he does not say they cannot perform what outwardly seems to be a righteous act, but rather that the act is not counted as a good work in the eyes of God. He continues, "If he offereth a gift, or prayeth unto God, except he shall do it with real intent it profiteth him nothing. For behold, it is not counted unto him for righteousness. . . . wherefore he is counted evil before God. And likewise also is it counted evil unto a man, if he shall pray and not with real intent of heart." (Moro. 7:6-9). That is an interesting concept, praying oneself into hell.

It is not my intent to belabor this point because I think it is the same one made by Paul in his famous epistle on love (1 Corinthians 13). According to Paul, a person may have all knowledge and give everything he has for the building up of the kingdom, including, ultimately, his life. However, if he has not acquired the attribute of love as the dominant aspect of his personality, he remains a cipher so far as the celestial kingdom is concerned.

Love is our ultimate goal, love and its many subdivisions. In his second epistle Peter, who knew Christ well, writes, "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity."

Then note carefully the following verse. "For if these things be *in you*, and abound, they will make you that ye shall be neither barren nor unfruitful in the *knowledge* of our lord Jesus Christ." (2 Pet. 1:5-8). Here then is the ultimate definition of what I have been calling empathetic knowledge, the quality of becoming more like Christ. Into the hands of such a person God can deliver all that he has, including the sword of his power for he knows for certain that it will be sheathed in the scabbard of gentleness and understanding and forgiveness.

It is relatively simple to gain knowledge of the cerebral variety. It requires more effort, perhaps, to perform as we ought. However, restructuring the human personality is the most difficult of all tasks. Some of you have read Ben Franklin's account of his experiment in this realm. He isolated one attribute of character to work on each month, but finally gave up his project of self-improvement in discouragement. He tried to do it on his own, as some of us do, by a sheer display of will.

I do not believe that we can change our character totally by ourselves no matter how many goals we set nor how strong our will power. That appears to come as an act of grace, as a gift of God. We seldom talk about grace in the Church except to use it as a foil in a discussion of salvation by works. Still the Book of Mormon, like the writings of Paul, is filled with such doctrine.

I do not mean to imply that we can do nothing about aiding in this dispensation of grace into our lives. I am emphatically not a Calvinist. But I believe we change only when we reach the point that we have "a broken heart and a contrite spirit," to use scriptural terms, when we reach the point that we realize we can do nothing on our own and then surrender our pride and yield ourselves to God's direction. William James was right when he locates such phenomena at the edge of our extremity. In conditions of financial and social success, such a surrender is obviously difficult for most of us.

Whereas we now pray like Augustine of old—"Give me virtue and deliver me from concupiscence, but not yet, not yet"—we learn in our Gethsemane to pray to Christ in his. We will probably not receive angels to strengthen us, but

I believe that we will receive strength beyond our own, for I am not speaking of a stance which is totally passive. For the Christian the surrender of one's own will is the most courageous act possible, involving as it does not a surrender of effort but a redirecting of will that requires far more effort, thought, and creative energy than the old stance. It seems to me a frightening thing to kneel before God and ask for your assignment as a Christian rather than presenting him with a list of things you want done that day.

The qualities of character we seek in the climate of our inner souls as Christians are few in number. Paul's list of the fruits of the spirit by which a Christian is known includes the following: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance (Gal. 5:22-23). Note that the list is almost identical with Peter's. Ten small words, but in them resides eternal life. These are the inward core of good works; the outward manifestations are legion.

Joseph Smith lists these same qualities as the prime motivations from which all priesthood activity should flow. Let me conclude with a statement from that same letter from which the section on priesthood (D&C 121) was extracted, written by the prophet from Liberty Jail. I wish that it also had become part of our scripture.

The things of God are of deep import, and time, and experience, and careful and ponderous and solemn thoughts can only find them out. Thy mind, O man! if thou wilt lead a soul unto salvation must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and search into and contemplate the darkest abyss, and the broad expanse of eternity—thou must commune with God.

And then he concludes, "How much more dignified and noble are the thoughts of God, than the vain imaginations of the human heart!" (*History of the Church*, 3:296.)

It is there, in the human heart and its feelings, that we should look ultimately for our record of achievement as a people and as individuals. It is there that we develop our knowledge of Christ and come to understand the meaning of faith in Jesus Christ as the first principle (the prime principle) of the gospel from which all other principles flow. It is there ultimately that we qualify, with the help of God, for eternal life.

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FOOTNOTES

1. John the beloved (Rev. 19:10) defines the spirit of prophecy as the testimony of Jesus. I interpret this to mean that the motivating spirit behind all that the prophets had to say was their testimony of Christ and his mission.

2. From a sermon at a conference of the Salt Lake Stake, 6 January 1879. See Hyrum Smith and Janne Sjodahl, *Doctrine and Covenants Commentary* (Salt Lake City, 1957), pp. 462-63.

3. Harold B. Lee in *Conference Report*, October 1951, pp. 26-27.

Worship through Music Nigerian Style

An Mormon musicologist identifies our cultural blindspots.

By Murray Boren

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 different 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 Pentecostal (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 comfortable. 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 nonexistent 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 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 accede, 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 acceptance 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 okay 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.

Our insistence on particular music forms has led to an underground Mormon church network in Nigeria.

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 Mormon and Wilderness

The Saga of the Savages

By Levi Peterson

My mother has just published a book about her ancestors, the Savages. With this book my mother, now in her mid-eighties, culminates twenty years of research. The book has the usual content of amateur genealogy: long columns of names and dates, traditions gathered from family lore, anecdotes conveyed in the letters of aging uncles and aunts, minor biographical essays written by this cousin or that. For most readers, it will not be vital or dramatic or beyond the ordinary. But for me, raised on the saga of the Savages, having seen it daily in the face of my mother when I was a child and seeing it yet among the living Savages, this book is tense with emotion and conflict. I am drawn to the Savages by the fact that they suffered and survived the American wilderness. They were a part of that historical phenomenon called the frontier experience. From 1759 until well into the present century, the Savages were at the periphery of American settlement. It is no accident that my love for wilderness and my love for my ancestors are inextricable. In the image I carry of the American wilderness, I find a color, a trace, a scent of the Savages.

The first Savage was named John. He was a private soldier in the army of James Wolfe. Family tradition says that he stood near Wolfe when the general was mortally wounded at the battle of Quebec in 1759. After the battle, John Savage deserted from the British army and went into western Massachusetts. He married a red-haired Irish woman, fathered four children, quarreled with his wife, and escaped by the skin of his teeth when his wife betrayed him to British officers. He fought in the war of the American Revolution on the side of the patriots. He made his living as a common farmer, and he signed his documents with an X. He was born an Englishman; every other fact about his origin has been swallowed by the Atlantic Ocean. I do not mind that he was illiterate, common, and obscure. I like the sharp, clean beginning he gives our family: we spring to life in the New World and know nothing of the Old. I also like the fact that John Savage always lived in backwoods places. When I travel in the East and drive among farms bordered by brush and woodlots, and when I pass through the residual forests of the Appalachian mountains, I think of John Savage. While he lived, America was still a continental wilderness.

The migration of the Savages went on. John's son, Daniel Savage, went into western New York around 1790 and settled down to raise a family. One of the sons of Daniel Savage, Levi Savage, Sr., moved to Ohio where he married Polly Haines in 1817. Shortly afterward, Levi and Polly migrated to Michigan. They had eleven children, of whom five died in childhood. In 1840, Levi and his family heard the restored gospel and believed in it. When the exodus from Nauvoo began, he took his family from Michigan and joined the Saints on the Iowa plains. Polly Haines died in camp during the winter of 1846. Levi made the crossing of the plains in the summer of 1847, bringing with him a young woman named Jane Mathers, who helped care for his motherless children. She would later marry his son. In the Salt Lake Valley, Levi married plural wives, built up several farms, and participated respectably in the community of Zion. He died in old age at the home of a son in Willard, Utah. My home in Ogden is twenty miles from Willard. I take comfort in knowing that the bones and dust of Levi Savage, Sr., lie near me.

The second Levi was a Mormon Odysseus. Levi Savage, Jr., joined the Mormon Battalion on the Iowa plains in 1846 and participated in the Mexican War by marching with the battalion to

Santa Fe, Tucson, and San Diego. He arrived in Utah in October 1847. In 1848 he married Jane Mathers. Jane bore a son in early 1851 and died before the year was out. Brigham Young called Levi on a mission to Siam. He began at this time to keep the journal which he wrote intermittently for the rest of his life. He left his infant son with a sister and departed on a journey that led him to a complete circumnavigation of the earth. He embarked from San Francisco and sailed to Calcutta. From there he found passage to Rangoon, but he never reached Siam. He spent depressed months living as a dependent upon kind English colonials. He converted no one. In fact, he rarely preached the gospel and at last considered himself fortunate merely to receive passage on a vessel bound for America. From New York he made his way to Florence, Nebraska, the marshalling point of the Saints for the crossing of the plains. It was August of 1856. He had been gone from the Saints for four years. He found them moved by a new enthusiasm. It was the Lord's will that the handcart be used to transport immigrants to Zion. Levi warned the members of the Willie company that the season was too far advanced, but when he was shouted down, he joined their fated trek, earning himself a place in Bancroft's *History of Utah*. Bancroft quotes him as saying, "Brethren and sisters, what I have said I know to be true; but seeing you are to go forward, I will go with you. May God in His mercy preserve us." There is nothing of such eloquence in his journal, but his entries nonetheless record the worsening circumstances of the company stranded by early storms on the high Wyoming plains:

October 24, 1856. Friday. This morning found us with thirteen corpses for burial. These were all put into one grave. Some had actually frozen to death. We were obliged to remain in camp, move the tents and people behind the willows to shelter them from the severe wind which blew enough to pierce us through. Several of our cattle died here.

Levi Savage, Jr., married a widow whom he met during the plains crossing. She had two teenaged daughters. When they reached maturity, he also married them. He migrated southward from Salt Lake City and at one point pioneered in Kanab. Fearful of Indians, he retreated to the barren soil of Toquerville where he lived out his days. In late 1887 and early 1888, he served six months in the Utah penitentiary for illegal cohabitation with his plural wives. He was not a prominent man nor, if I believe his sparse and ungrammatical journals, was he educated. But he was a representative Saint. He went through it all: the march of the Battalion, a circumnavigation of the globe for the purpose of preaching the gospel, the handcart passage, pioneering in southern Utah, imprisonment for the peculiar institution of Mormonism. I am proud of his endurance. I am also proud that he lived close to the wilderness during most of his life. He gave no indication in his journals that this fact was important to him, but it explains a great deal about me.

The infant son whom Levi Savage, Jr., left behind when he went to Asia was named Levi Mathers Savage. He grew up to be an intelligent man, and he took life very seriously. In an early journal, he recorded that a little girl at play in Toquerville shouted at him, "Cousin Levi, come help us dingburst these boys." Levi considered such language a mark of degeneracy. Having gone with his father to Kanab and Toquerville, Levi returned to Salt Lake City as a young man and got a little education at a business college. He taught school at Coalville and married a temperamental wife there. He yearned for a mission, and when a call came to go to Arizona, he was ready. He went first to Sunset, a United Order village under the direction of Lot Smith. One day Wilford Woodruff sat with Levi on the banks of the Little Colorado and persuaded him to obey the principle of plural marriage. Levi took my grandmother, Lydia Lenora Hatch, to St. George by wagon and married her. His first wife, pregnant with her third child, rampaged. Lot Smith had her bound to a chair, and when a wagon going to Utah came by, he put her and her children into it. That was the end of my grandfather's first family. He grieved all his life for the three children he never raised. Later he married Hannah Adeline Hatch, sister to my grandmother. He moved his two wives to Mexico for a while, came back to Snowflake to teach briefly in the stake academy, and went finally as a bishop to the new colony of Woodruff at the confluence of the Little Colorado and Silver Creek. He remained as bishop of Woodruff for twenty-seven years. He was released only after his son informed the General Authorities of the Church that his father was kept a prisoner to duty by a stake president who could not dispense with his leadership in Woodruff. Woodruff was a bleak, windblown, impoverished hamlet. Levi Mathers Savage superintended the building of thirteen dams on the Little Colorado. All of them washed out. He spent his last days doing temple work in Salt Lake City. He daily walked seven miles each way to and from the temple until he died of pneumonia at eighty-three. He said he never wanted to see Woodruff again.

He was not a prominent man nor, if I believe his ungrammatical journal, was he educated. But he was a representative Saint.

Levi Mathers Savage lies by the side of Lydia Lenora Hatch in the cemetery on the avenues in Salt Lake City. But his return in old age to the city is deceptive. Most of his life he was a groundbreaker. He too was either in wilderness or at its edge.

Hannah Adeline Hatch lies in the red, windstirred soil of the Woodruff cemetery. In one respect, Adeline was more fortunate than my grandmother: four of Lenora's seven children died in childhood; none of Adeline's five children died. Otherwise Adeline had a difficult and handicapped life. She was seven years younger than

my grandmother, and she married my grandfather four years after my grandmother's marriage to him. Adeline was passionate, intense, and intelligent. I conclude this from observing the lives of her children and from reading her unusual journal. She badly needed a settled, structured society. She would have done well, perhaps even brilliantly, in Salt Lake City. Instead she had Woodruff. She was bedridden during most of her married life. She suffered from a bad back, from dizzy spells, from vague internal pains. Her compensation lay in spiritual gifts. Her journal alludes to her illnesses and briefly records births, missions, marriages, and deaths. But principally it is an account of her touches with divinity. She knelt in prayer circles with Sisters, she anointed and administered, she prophesied, she spoke in tongues and interpreted them, she received miraculous healings, she received portentous promises for herself and her children. Nothing elevated her so much as the visit of these favors from God. She tabulated them, remembered them, recorded them in vivid detail. This passage from her journal radiates her hope and ecstasy:

Yet now I am moved to an enlarged admiration for humanity itself because of the ripening of spirit I have seen in my mother.

January 16, 1898 I also received a blessing . . . at the hands of my much beloved Sister M. J. West wherein she made these promises that my children would grow up without sin and that when my hairs were white my eyes would beam with brightness even the Spirit of God would shine through them and those who knew me would be surprised and also myself at the great labor I had performed and the children I had brought forth with my weak body, that I should accomplish a greater work than thousands because their minds would not be so enlightened and that I would receive a most glorious crown whose brightness would be dazzling, and that the promise made to me by my sister May would be so that the fruit of my womb would come forth perfect in form and feature.

Adeline's journal has inspired her descendants. Some of them characterize it as informal scripture, as a family revelation. It is also tragic. There is a disparity between her fervent belief in "a glorious crown whose brightness would be dazzling" and the actualities of her life in Woodruff. Within a day or two of the blessing quoted above I know her life subsided to its drab, impoverished, bedridden routine. I see in Adeline's journal how compulsively a person to whom health, status, and an amplitude of things are denied turns inward and beyond, seeking in the spirit the fulfillment she cannot find in the world. The wilderness was not a fit habitation for Hannah Adeline Hatch. I am desolated by her lonely, barren grave in the Woodruff cemetery.

Observing Adeline and observing my grandmother who also was often ill, my mother made a decision that she would not be an invalid. Lydia Jane Savage still lives at Snowflake, twenty miles south of her birthplace in Woodruff. She keeps her own house and bakes her own bread. Her house is not elegant. Colors and laces, draperies and fixtures, appliances and furniture have not been within the range of things her conscience could easily allow. But within her possibilities her will has been direct and determined. Growing up, I knew unquestioningly the behavior she expected of me. Sometimes I have judged her to be too stern and unrelenting toward duty. Yet now I am moved to an enlarged admiration for humanity itself because of the ripening of spirit I have seen in my mother. No other person I know feels such compassion for errant and sinful people, nor so insistently overrides her impulsive indignation. She converses daily with God. She is strongly dependent on him and strictly heeds his commandments. She doubts her salvation yet hopes for ultimate forgiveness. She is passionately familial. Her love spreads out to include every new generation of grandchildren and great-grandchildren without retracting in the slightest from those she loved first. Beyond this, her great trait is work. Work is the center of her life, an end in itself. As I grew up, it was a usual thing for my mother to go to bed at one or two o'clock in the morning and to arise at four or five. My father was aging; my brothers and I were small; neither house nor income allowed for conveniences. After my father died, my mother added to her other duties those of teaching school for a living.

With so many other things to do, why has my mother been a genealogist? Surely because of duty. My mother belongs to the era in which it was seen as the direct, personal duty of all Church members to discover their ancestors who had died without the ordinances of the true gospel and to provide their names to the authorities of the temples, where rituals of salvation are performed for the dead. For twenty years, Mother kept doggedly at her work, although at best genealogical work is a tedious, sterile business. Observing my mother, I saw that she departed on hunches and arrived by luck. Most of the time during her twenty years of research, she was looking for a needle in a haystack. She perused books of genealogy, local histories, wills, deeds, census reports, church registries. She was plagued by unpredictable variables. If she could not find facts and verifications for a given ancestor, it might be because he had never lived where she was searching, or because he never got into the records, or because the right records were not accessible. When she found what she was looking for, it always seemed pitifully little to me: places and names and scanty dates for birth, baptism, marriage, and death—abstract, bonehard facts from the dusty past.

Perhaps my mother's sense of duty alone would not have kept her at this unrewarding business. She had another motive to quicken her search for the Savages. She has always had a need to reunite the family, to find lost loved ones. It is an actual, passionate need: mythological and irrational perhaps, but strong, pulsing, moving. One of the archetypal impulses in humanity is

the search for lost generations—for the dead parent, for the dead child. It is an impulse arising from that part of the human spirit that disowns time and disregards space. However mature we become, we cannot entirely forego our need for the nurture and comfort those dead parents gave us; we cannot accept our adult children as an adequate replacement for those little boys and girls we once had.

My mother had a vocation to hunt for lost loved ones. She was conditioned by the longing of her mother for her four dead children, and she responded to her father's grief for the three living children he failed to raise. In her many years, she has seen families evaporate. Happy clusters of people around her have faded into insubstantial ideas and fervent memories. Brothers and sisters, father and mother, husband and son, cousins, uncles, aunts: by the dozens she saw them go, melted like snow in the spring wind. Genealogical research has been a ritual for my mother, a prayer and an incantation for the resuscitation of those dead. The biographical notes of her book show this. She cannot stay for long by simple facts. She elaborates her own personality into the narratives about her dead ancestors. She projects into their historical acts, their participation in the American Revolution, their epic pioneer marches, their losses and loneliness. The passage below shows how she feels. It comes at the end of her account about Sally Parish, the woman who married Daniel Savage and became the mother of Levi Savage. My mother halts her narrative and addresses her dead ancestor with an immediacy that is not mere rhetoric:

Do you know me and do you love me, Sally, as I love my great grandchildren? Already I am a great-grandmother, and before long I might be a great great grandmother. I am your great great grandaughter, Sally. Can you feel as tender as I do for these that are mine in this mortal world; or is your capacity far in advance of mine so that you can love me ever so much more? No matter, I shall always love you and bless your name.

I have come to the end of the stanza in the saga of the Savages. If I live long enough, time will give me another installment. While I wait, I ask what attraction the saga has had for me. I think that I too have the archetypal impulse to find my lost loved ones. I have an upwelling urge to go where I last saw my father, to go where my mother still sits at her sewing machine and bends down to me with tenderness on her face. When I think of the Savages, I want to go where they walked and worked. But perhaps I want more. Perhaps my mother, too, and all other human beings who search for their roots and branches want something more. I think we have, all of us, an unrecognized mysticism, an impulse to join ourselves to a great parent, to the universe, to nature, to life. I am a mystic of sorts. I have very little sympathy for rapturous mysticism, for the trances and hysterias of individuals who believe they have been inexplicably subsumed into God. But I do believe in a quiet mysticism arising from the recognition that humanity is part of a whole, that our being is part and parcel of total being. When I look for the Savages, I am seeking my place in nature.

Where will I find the Savages? Certainly in my mother's book and in the old journals. But I also find the Savages in wilderness. I cannot dissociate their image in my mind from the image wilderness has left there. I hear my ancestors in the surf breaking on the Plymouth shore. I walk with John Savage along the trail from Canada to Massachusetts. I pass over the mountains and enter the forests of western New York and Ohio. I winter at Council Bluffs. I choke on the dust of the Platte Trail. I see the valley of the Great Salt Lake from Little Mountain. I herd sheep on the red cliffs beyond Kanab. I weather the winds of spring on the Little Colorado.

Genealogical research has been a ritual for my mother, a prayer and an incantation for the resusitation of those dead.

Sometimes when I visit my mother at Snowflake, we drive to the farm she and my father bought, and we climb a small steep hill. Around us, the open Arizona land rolls away to meet the sky on a vast, circumferential horizon. We can see the winding strip of green fields, trees, and houses where Silver Creek flows. We can see the sage plains and the juniper-covered ridges and great outcroppings of gray sandstone and a multitude of distant knolls, buttes, and mesas. We stand and look for a while. My mother is at one with what she sees. She loves intensely, reverentially, the land she was born into. She has no words, no fine distinctions, no recognition of possible disparities between her heavenly faith and her love for this earth. I know how she feels. I recognize that at least in part I absorb my love for wilderness from her.

This is why I have to have wilderness. This is why wilderness is more important to me than paintings, sculptures, cathedrals, and museums. From that swirling mixture of facts, words, places, of ideas, image, and emotions that filled my childhood, the primitive reason of my child-mind assembled strange and paradoxical equations. Among the equations which continue to assert their validity is that which makes my ancestors and the wilderness one. To grow up in Snowflake meant that I saw myself and those who preceded me underneath a sky or on an open ridge or among the junipers. Even in a house I was never more than a step from wilderness. I cannot divest myself of wilderness because I cannot divest myself of my ancestors. That is one reason why I resent the great growing world city. There is nothing in a city to remind me of the Savages. None of them, my mother included, ever existed for long in a city. When the wilderness is gone, half of my identity will be gone with it.

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Crisis in Zion

Heber J. Grant and the Panic of 1893

Ronald W. Walker

In late June 1893 a man pale with anxiety sat in the personal office of New York businessman, John Claflin. From his vest pocket he pulled his gold watch. It was 2:46 P.M. For three hours now he had waited for Claflin, and each minute increased his tension. His nervous energy demanded that he do something. He picked up some paper and began a letter. "I can prevent myself from thinking so hard by writing to you," he wrote his correspondent. "We are living years in a few months."[1]

The writer was a pencil-thin and bewhiskered Heber J. Grant. Dressed conservatively, he looked like either a clergyman or a businessman. In fact he was both, member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles and also president or director of at least a dozen major Salt Lake City-based business enterprises. As a self-made man of thirty-six, who had read and come to personify Samuel Smiles's popular Victorian books on *Self-Help, Thrift, Duty,* and *Life and Labour,* he was terrified to think he might soon lose his financial honor. But even more troubling to the Apostle was the fear for the fate of his beloved Mormonism, then listing dangerously in heavy financial seas.

His frantic day had started before 5:00 A.M. after just a few hours of fitful sleep. He had been in Hartford where he had tried to wring one last loan from his insurance friends. Without success and with only days and perhaps hours left to secure relief, he had boarded a New York train to appeal to Claflin.

John Claflin seemed an ideal candidate. By extending credit daringly to his customers, he had expanded his family's wholesale concern, H. B. Claflin Company, until it became the largest mercantile institution in the world. While others at the close of the nineteenth century thought the Mormons in far-off Utah were slightly bizarre if not disreputable, the New York merchant, interested in both the exotic and the profitable, invested in them. In 1889 he loaned the Saints $40,000, and two years later another $100,000. In 1892 he offered them a $200,000 standing or perpetual credit but was declined.

Grant had previously dealt with Claflin who knew and trusted him. In normal or even slightly difficult times, the Mormon might have expected the merchant's aid. But this summer was hardly normal. On May 4 the National Cordage Company, one of Wall Street's high flying favorites, suddenly went into receivership. The following day the New York Stock Exchange broke. Cordage plummeted twenty points—one-third its value. Three brokerage houses in New York and another in Boston closed their doors. The Panic of 1893 had begun.

Wall Street was less a cause of the maelstrom than a barometer. The wisdom of the time blamed the 1890 Silver Act for the Panic. This act required the Treasury Department to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of "white metal" monthly and to use silver as well as gold to back the American currency. The result, according to Eastern financiers, was monetary instability, a dangerously depleted U.S. Gold Reserve—and panic. But even before the monetary panic struck, American foreign trade had declined, falling wheat and iron prices had hinted of general contraction, and business activity itself had turned downward. The stock market only ignited a smouldering flame.

The Panic of 1893 was among the most disastrous in American history. Stocks tumbled throughout the summer, and an unprecedented 15,252 businesses went into receivership. By the winter of 1893 about 18 percent of the national work force was without jobs. Those who remained employed found their wages slashed by almost 10 percent. The financial storm struck the West with particular fury. As Eastern money contracted, the normally cash-starved banks of the debtor West collapsed. Of the national bank failures in 1893, only three institutions in the Northeast suspended operations, while thirty-eight closed their doors in the South. In the West, however 115 banks went into receivership—sixty-six in the Pacific states and Western territories alone.

Even before the panic, Utah had experienced hard times. During the territorial boom of 1889-90, the value of land and of business and residential property had skyrocketed to as much as ten times pre-1889 prices. Speculators reaped enormous paper profits, and real estate transactions in Salt Lake City alone reached an unprecedented $100,000 daily. To meet voracious demands for credit, nine new banks opened in the city. Then, in December of 1890, shockwaves from the collapse of London's Baring Brothers burst Utah's speculative bubble, and Utahns numbly reaped the harvest from their craze: depressed prices, lowered profits, over-extended credit, and tight money. "The neighborhood seems to be infested with thieves," one diarist wrote in 1891 of the prevailing want, "as coal, wheat, lumber and many other things have disappeared."

Mormondom's economic fortunes smiled no brighter. A drop in Church tithing revenue, from $878,394 in 1890 to $576,584 in 1893, charted the general economic decline. But churchmen had to cope with more than diminishing revenue. The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 had financially crippled the Church. The law stripped Mormonism of its legal standing and hindered Church management, especially the ability to secure loans. By disenfranchising many Saints and placing election machinery in the hands of their opponents, the act enabled non-Mormons to gain political control to transfer city, county, and territorial funds from Mormon to Gentile banks, further undermining the Church's ability to obtain local loans. Moreover, by demanding the surrender of all Church assets in excess of $50,000, the law deprived the Mormon community of property worth over $1,000,000, as well as revenue and possible loans derived from Church property.

Initially, LDS officials attempted to defuse the Edmunds-Tucker Act by selling or giving in trust Church property to faithful members who would act as stewards for the religious community. The combination of government officers, the courts, and court-appointed receivers, however, proved too powerful for the Mormon leadership. By the early 1890s, receivers controlled most of the Church's marketable property, including some $500,000 deposited largely in Salt Lake's non-Mormon banks. Meanwhile, lawyers' fees, lost revenues, and property manipulation due to the Edmunds-Tucker Act plunged Zion $300,000 in debt. Denied legal standing and the use of its own resources, Mormondom stood virtually defenseless before the coming panic.

Obviously the early 1890s demanded retrenchment. However, the venerable and other-worldly Wilford Woodruff, who from boyhood had avoided debt as "the rule of my life," pursued a different course as Church president. For thirty-five years he had quietly cherished the knowledge, given in visions of the night, that he would dedicate the monumental Salt Lake Temple. To that end the octogenarian proceeded vigorously. When President Woodruff dedicated the temple in April 1893, his administration alone had spent over $1,000,000 on the $4,000,000 project. Woodruff's social conscience, moreover, led to other ambitious enterprises financed largely by borrowed capital. As his second counselor Joseph F. Smith explained: "We began to feel that there was a responsibility resting upon us which required something to be done, in a small way at least, in the direction of giving employment to our people." As a result, $1,000,000 was invested in public works projects such as the Saltair Pavilion on the Great Salt Lake shoreline, the Saltair Railway Company (later known as the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railway), and the Utah Sugar Company.

The New York merchant, interested in the exotic, invested in the Mormons.

The Church's growing debts demanded a loan broker, and leaders increasingly turned to Heber Grant. During his short business career, he and his companies had promoted vinegar, insurance, machines and implements, newspapers, soap, and even horses and carriages; now he found that he could also promote loans. During the autumn of 1890, almost three years before the panic hit, the dangerously overextended Salt Lake banks demanded payment on outstanding loans, and Grant scrambled not only to meet his own heavy obligations but also to rescue the two banks which discharged the Church's interests—Zion's Savings Bank and Trust and the State Bank of Utah. Grant had founded the latter and was now its president.

Desperately needing $100,000, Grant grasped "at a straw" and traveled east in the late fall of 1890. Omaha and Chicago bankers smiled at his audacious request for a low-interest loan, pointing out that short-term interest rates on the New York Stock Exchange had risen to one-half of one percent a day—or 182 percent per year. In New York, however, Grant played several trump cards. He not only insisted that bankers consider the Utah State Bank's past and future business, but offered as security the highly regarded notes of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI), Utah's multibranched department store.

In the end, Grant's grit and aplomb won over the New York bankers. When J. H. Parker, vice-president of the National Park Bank, received him coolly, Grant addressed a personal message to the bank's directors:

I am offering you four notes of $12,000 each of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution. These notes are guaranteed by thirteen Directors and also by the State Bank of Utah, which has a capital of half a million dollars . . . These endorsers are worth at least a couple of million dollars. If two million dollars of personal endorsement, together with the endorsement of a half a million dollar bank, with the note of an institution that has never failed to meet its obligations, is not considered good I will telegraph and secure you some additional endorsement. If you do not care to cash these notes take my advice and stop doing business with people so far away from home as Utah.

The National Park Bank extended the loan and became one of Grant's warmest New York contacts. Within two weeks after his arrival in the East, the Mormon businessman turned the key to a total of eight New York and Hartford banks, wired $240,000 to Salt Lake City, assisted in another $60,000 loan, and secured the promise of yet another $36,000. "I think I can say," he wrote one of his daughters in early January of 1891, "that the past seven days have been as successful as any in my life."

But the new and ever larger loans were robbing Peter to save Paul.

Grant's spectacular success catapulted him into the center of LDS finance. When he returned to Salt Lake City in January 1891, President Woodruff asked him to raise money for the floundering Sugar Company. Sugar financing in turn led to his appointment as the Church's chief loan agent. By January 1892 his San Francisco loans netted $232,000. Four months later he was back in New York for $260,000. But the new and ever larger loans were robbing Peter, as Grant phrased it, to save Paul. A Mormon Cassandra was not required to foresee the possible results. The Church's short-term and constantly maturing debts were a precarious foundation which the slightest financial tremor could reduce to rubble.

Church authorities considered several solutions. Grant himself hoped to attract eastern or British capital to Utah by greatly increasing ZCMI's capitalization. The money from new investors would eventually flow into Mormon banks, which could then lend to the Church. When ZCMI's directors, fearful of losing control to new stockholders, refused to cooperate, Church leaders in July of 1891 suggested an alternative plan: they asked Grant to proceed to London or Paris and secure a $500,000 long-term, low interest loan. Due to the serious illness of his wife Lucy, however, Grant repeatedly postponed the long trip.

Formation of the investment firm of Cannon, Grant & Company (CG&Co.) provided a stopgap remedy for Mormon financial problems. Leading Church businessmen had for some time discussed such an enterprise; but to get them to agree, Grant complained, was like "the pulling of a cat by the tail over a carpet." Finally, in December of 1891—only hours before he was to leave Salt Lake City on one of his money-raising missions—Grant organized the firm. He and George Q. Cannon, first counselor in the Mormon presidency, became senior partners, with thirteen prominent Mormon financiers serving as associates in the venture.[2]

CG&Co. sought to strengthen the credit of the Church-related business by endorsing their financial paper. With the partners' pooled stock as collateral, the signature of CG&Co. could place a gilt edge on even an unattractive Utah Sugar Company note. The partners, however, pledged more than a few securities from their portfolios. In order to secure maximum leverage, each agreed to assume if necessary the entire surety of the firm. Consequently, both R. G. Dun and John Bradstreet believed CG&Co. worthy of a $1,000,000 Double-A rating.

Like the legendary Hudson's Bay or East Indian Companies, CG&Co. mixed private and public affairs. The partners did not blush at the prospect of personal profit, and much of their business fit harmoniously into the Age of Enterprise. However, as the Edmunds-Tucker Act forced the Church to conduct its business informally through intermediaries, the investment firm also became a semi-official agency. During its brief prosperity in the early nineties, the company often held its meetings in President Woodruff's office and under his supervision. It signed Church-related loans, which Eastern financiers considered morally binding the Mormon community. Its directorship interlocked with most other Mormon businesses. Indeed, had its directors voted in concert, they might have controlled the Sugar Company, the State Bank, and probably ZCMI. The firm's relationship with the two Mormon banks was especially close. CG&Co. advertised itself as "Financial Agents, with State Bank of Utah" and, using money borrowed from Zion's Savings, bought over half of that bank's stock and heavily invested in the State Bank and ZCMI as well.

But as events during the 1893 Panic would prove, the investment firm's power was illusory. Instead of a bulwark, it became a breach in the wall. As CG&Co. foundered during the summer of 1893, it threatened in turn to bankrupt much of the LDS financial community.

II

Late in December 1893, the signs were already ominous. Heber M. Wells, cashier of the State Bank, Grant's brother-in-law and soon to be the state of Utah's first governor, confessed "trepidation." A stringency seemed to be approaching, and the bank carried a large and troubling amount of past due paper. Besides the bank itself had borrowed large sums payable "on demand." In a word, its cash reserves were precarious. Two months later Grant found an unsettling pall hanging over the New York money center. Even small loans were difficult to obtain. "I am good and nervous over the present," he acknowledged.

There were reasons for jitters and fright. The Church owed at least $500,000 in short-term, rapidly maturing notes and hadn't the slightest prospect of paying. Moreover, the insatiable Sugar Company, on which the Church had staked its reputation, continued to devour cash. The only available relief was to dip the bucket once again into the financial well. On April 25, 1893, Church leaders authorized the First Presidency and Heber J. Grant to "raise means & handle stock of the Sugar Co. . . . whether in the States or in Europe." A week later, only two days before the New York stock collapse, the Cannon,

Grant and Company partners found it was "imperatively necessary to look hurriedly to our business lest we be submitted to disgrace and serious loss." Again the only answer seemed Heber J. Grant and more loans.

By the middle of May, Grant was aboard a Denver and Rio Grande train bound for New York. He carried $300,000 in notes to be renewed, $200,000 bearing the CG&Co. signature. A single defaulted note could destroy the Mormon credit rating and make impossible further renewals and loans. Neither he nor his associates were optimistic. "This is the most difficult mission bro. Heber has ever undertaken," Francis Lyman wrote on May 10, "now that financial affairs are tumbling in all directions."

Two weeks later Grant was exultant. Although finding the loan market much worse than during the previous crisis and moneymen "frightened half to death," he nevertheless had renewed almost $150,000 of the most pressing loans and had secured an additional $25,000. The devout Grant saw in this the divine hand. Before leaving Salt Lake City, President Cannon had pronounced upon him an electrifying blessing which promised success. "I hope and pray that I may never forget . . . the blessing promised me before I came away from home," Grant wrote in his journal. "Without the blessings of the Lord . . . I could not have succeeded with the market in the condition that it is in."

Outwardly, events in Salt Lake Valley were also encouraging. Bank clearances in May slightly increased over the previous year, business failures were relatively low, and newspapers guardedly hoped that the Panic's destroying angel might pass Utah by. Church leaders, meanwhile, continued their policy of enterprise to aid the region's economy. On June 1 they decided to sponsor—but not underwrite—a $75,000,000 railroad from Salt Lake to Los Angeles. To finance the project and secure long-term loans for the Church itself, Mormon officials revived their plan to obtain British capital. To this end, George Q. Cannon was given a power of attorney over all remaining Church assets and was instructed to join Grant in New York. From there, the two churchmen hoped to proceed to London.

Obviously, neither the elated Grant nor the business-as-usual Utahns understood that the 1893 crisis was only building steam. But by the first week of June local bankers—and especially Mormon bankers—were beginning to understand. Depositors were making a run on the banks! "Never while reason lasts or immortality endures do I wish to have repeated the experiences I have undergone the last two days," a thoroughly agitated Heber M. Wells informed Grant. "Our deposits melted down over $25,000 and our available resources have reached the minimum of 22%. All day long I have sat and smiled and acted (thanks to my stage experience) as if nothing unusual was happening. . . . You cannot realize what a plight we are in—it is simply terrible."

Grant immediately understood. Wells' graphic prose hardly overstated things. Within a year, the bank's ratio of cash reserves to deposits had dropped from 65% to 22%, and the 22% was artificially high. Several years earlier the State Bank and Zion's Savings had agreed to share the same quarters and customers. The State Bank had surrendered its savings accounts and the Zion's Savings had given up its commercial business. Also as part of the agreement, Zion's Savings had deposited its cash reserves—almost $125,000—with the State Bank. Now, with a run on both banks, the State's melting reserves had to supply each. Conceivably, several large withdrawals from either bank could sink both. "Such a condition," Grant confessed, "is enough to make a man wild with the blues."

"You cannot realize what a plight we are in—it is simply terrible."

Grant had long understood that the Church finances were jerry-built, but perhaps only at this time did he fully realize how wobbly the structure actually was. Everyone intimate with Mormon finances understood that a single defaulted note endorsed by CG&Co. could spell the end of Church credit. Now it was suddenly apparent that CG&Co.'s shadow fell ominously over the two Mormon banks as well. Because of the interlocking directorates, the collapse of CG&Co. would ruin the reputation of the leading men connected with the banks—especially since the CG&Co.'s partners were individually responsible for the firm's debts. Predictably the current run would become a panic. Moreover, the Mormon banks had loaned CG&Co. at least $350,000. If the company went to the wall, the banks' uncollectable loans would surely force them to follow.

The dominoes could also fall in the opposite direction. Bank failures would probably destroy CG&Co., which had heavily invested in the State Bank and Zion's Savings and had used securities from these institutions as collateral in securing loans. Although the Mormon banks' assets outweighed their liabilities, even a temporary suspension due to the lack of liquidity would send shivers up the spines of Wall Street capitalists, causing them to demand additional security for their past and future loans—security that the stretched-to-the-limit CG&Co. could not provide. In short, LDS finances seemed assaulted from both directions, and vulnerable at both points.

The only recourse was another loan,and on June 7, 1893, Grant reappeared at the National Park Bank of New York. In just ten days the hard-pressed New York bankers would begin issuing clearinghouse loan certificates, rather than money, to their depositors. Not surprisingly E. K. Wright, the bank's president and chief stockholder, flatly refused a loan. Undaunted, Grant expressed regret that the State Bank's

business would have to go elsewhere and asked Wright permission to appeal to the bank's vice-president and cashier. "I feel to thank the Lord that I captured them completely," Grant wrote in his journal. "They put their heads together as to how to capture Mr. Wright and while they were chatting together Mr. Wright stepped up and said, 'Mr. Grant if those men are favorable I shall say yes.'" Grant got $50,000.

For a moment Grant enjoyed his triumph. The National Park money seemed an ample transfusion for the hemorrhaging Mormon banks, and on June 8 Grant wired his plural wife Augusta to join President Cannon's London-bound entourage. Relaxation might now be mixed with business. But even before the Cannon party arrived at New York, Grant had concluded that he could not desert his post. The Church notes in Hartford were soon maturing and the Panic was now raging in full force. On June 17 Cannon's party sailed without him.

The season demanded that ice flow in the veins of even the most generous merchant.

Grant's decision to remain in New York was providential. Four days after Cannon departed for England, the Damoclean sword poised over Mormon finance fell. For months Church leaders had feared that W. S. "Mack" McCornick, the friendly non-Mormon banker, would request payment on his "demand" loans. On June 22, he demanded CG&Co. pay $20,000 and two days later, in another transaction, required and received $37,500 from the State Bank. "Shakespeare says 'Macbeth doth murder sleep,'" Wells mordantly wrote Grant. "If he had lived till this day he would have made it a different scotchman. . . . 'McCornick doth murder sleep.'"

The situation was critical. Even before McCornick's payment demands, the run on Salt Lake City's banks had accelerated. The banks in turn had slammed down the windows of their loan cages and tightened credit. When Apostle Abraham H. Cannon, a director of both the State Bank and CG&Co., sought a loan, he found cashier Wells flint-eyed and without mercy. Stringent banking, however, proved counter-productive. By forcing business to a standstill, it caused deposits to decline even faster. By the end of June, the State Bank had lost $125,000. "To those who knew the facts," Wells wrote, "apprehension and dread of direful consequences have been plainly discernible in every feature and every look, like the faces of attendants in a sick room in the presence of death, but as stated our outward demeanor has been full of buoyancy and cold bluff."

The crisis was two-fold: the Mormon banks' waning reserves and CG&Co.'s past-due $20,000 debt to McCornick. The Church provided brief, thumb-in-the-dike relief for the former by borrowing $25,000 from the Brigham Young Trust Company and lending the sum to the State Bank. Wells in turn delayed McCornick with subterfuge. He coolly informed the banker that the $20,000 was deposited in New York but that Grant was using the money as leverage to renew the firm's notes. The tactic won a few days' postponement.

The Salt Lake news almost overwhelmed Grant. His nerves had already pushed him to his physical limits. Expecting to be absent three weeks from Utah, he had now spent six weeks in the East, and he wondered whether his strength would allow him to continue his efforts. Each Salt Lake letter and telegram had a bluer cast. The Mormon bank vaults were emptying. Grant Brothers' Livery Company, unable to meet its notes, was threatened with bankruptcy. McCornick had stayed CG&Co.'s execution four times but was growing ever more impatient. Gladly, Grant thought, he would trade higher finance for a bookkeeper's ledger—anything would be better than having once again "to get down on one's knees" before the bankers. Besides, he had no idea where to kneel. The State Bank's New York correspondent had already refused his demand for special consideration. "I think that I would almost be wild tonight," Grant wrote George Q. Cannon in England, "did I not know that the Lord has helped me in the past and I have faith that He will do so in the future."

As a last resort, Grant now turned to John Claflin, but he did not come empty-handed. He held as possible collateral $100,000 in ZCMI notes—the best security Utah could offer. These had come from Thomas Webber, ZCMI's manager and an unpublicized CG&Co. director. Believing the times required that "we must help one another," Webber, without consulting his directors, had made the loan to the Church. Grant hoped these securities would fortify his main argument: that the State Bank-CG&Co. directors were also the leading men in ZCMI, the company which bought Claflin's goods. Their ruin—or even disfavor—might destroy H. B. Claflin Company's Mormon business.

While Grant waited in Claflin's office through the long afternoon of June 27, the fate of both the Church and his businesses weighed on his shoulders. Finally, after 4:00 P.M., the merchant listened to Grant's impassioned appeal. In response, Claflin informed the Mormon that a loan was "utterly impossible." The season demanded that ice flow in the veins of even the most favorably disposed merchant. Claflin softened the blow by promising his good offices. The next morning he personally escorted Grant to several banking firms, including the high-risk and high-profit Blake Brothers. When they offered to purchase a single $5,000 ZCMI note at an exorbitant 18 percent Grant grabbed the chance. But the two men raised only an additional $5,000. After visiting the banks Claflin penned a strong letter in behalf of ZCMI's notes ("If the Z.C.M.I. is not good the merchants of the United States generally might as well go out of business"), whereupon Grant pointedly asked his friend to express

his ringing verbal faith more tangibly. Claflin himself reluctantly purchased the other $5,000 note.

Events in Salt Lake City, meanwhile, seemed to climax. Grant's efforts in New York left McCornick only half mollified—he still demanded the $10,000 outstanding on his $20,000 loan to CG&Co. On June 28, Zion's Savings cashier, George M. Cannon, privately feared catastrophe "to many of our institutions." When Heber Wells closed shop on Saturday, June 1, he gloomily surveyed the debris. The Mormon banks had begun the day with $40,000 and ended with $10,000. That same day two Provo banks collapsed and Salt Lake's Bank of Commerce escaped failure only by securing aid from the bankers' clearinghouse. "Before you receive this," Wells wrote Grant, "it is possible—nay probable you will hear of our suspension."

Despite Wells's dire prediction, the Mormon banks weathered this wave of the storm. Beginning on Monday, July 3, Zion's Savings Banks, along with Salt Lake City's other savings institutions, required a thirty-day notice of withdrawal for deposits of less than $100 and a sixty-day notice for larger sums. Although extraordinary, the action was legal. "At first there was a lull," Wells remembered, "then the storm broke in all its fury. Depositors swarmed around Zion's side [of the bank]. . . . Some went out sullenly muttering that something was wrong, some said they expected it, some stormed, demanded their money and said the bank must [be] shaky; but the medicine worked." No one suspected that the problems of the city's savings banks touched the State Bank, which was actually able to increase slightly its reserves.

Wells enjoyed his success only for a moment. Then the terror of McCornick's unpaid $10,000 struck him. He remembered dolefully twirling his moustache—"the only remnant of hair I have left"—when he opened Grant's latest telegram and saw the words "GLORY HALLELUJAH." Grant had raised $20,000!

On Monday morning the apostle resolved to secure money at whatever the cost. First he appealed to his insurance friends. He then called at two banks. Next came W. H. Coler, who for several days had considered making a $100,000 loan. No one was in the New York Life's offices because of the approaching July 4 holiday. Finally Grant tried Blake Brothers again. "I begged of them to find one of their customers who would purchase the notes I had to offer at some price." A few moments later he secured $20,000 at a whopping 24 percent discount. After writing Salt Lake City, Grant related his success to the National Park's E. K. Wright who heartily commended him his pluck. Two days later Grant and some friends were still celebrating—with the popular nineteenth-century dessert, water ice, at Delmonico's.

III

Grant's personality was forthright and his mind not given to irony and subtlety. Otherwise he might have sensed the personal contradiction of his New York mission. His business career had been a footnote to Brigham Young's preaching on Zion's self-sufficiency and independence. Each of the young apostle's schemes and projects had sought to build God's kingdom—a unique religious commonwealth apart from mainstream America. Yet his New York loans wrapped the cords of American finance around the Utah Zion as surely as a Lilliputian net fastening Gulliver. Hereafter Church leaders would not only feel increasingly at ease with the ways of American capitalists, but they would be beholden, at least for the short run, for their services. Within another decade these influences would go so far that muckraking journalists would begin to cast the Mormon Church in the role of a Wall Street plutocrat. Along with other economic forces working to nationalize America, the Panic of 1893 changed not only the economics of Mormonism but also indirectly its public image.

"From every side arises the cry of hard times," wrote one diarist.

During the summer of 1893 the needs of the moment, still not solved, concealed this long-range vision. The crisis of July 3 had passed, but LDS finances continued to sink. True, from May through July Grant renewed all of the Church's pressing obligations and secured an additional $150,000. However his tour de force only postponed Armageddon. The new loans were of the shortest duration—two, three, at best four months. Grant knew that additional renewals were probably impossible. Like Zion's Savings' delayed deposit payments, the New York loans were a short-fused time bomb set to explode at the end of August.

For a while, Mormon fortunes seemed to rest with George Q. Cannon's English mission. On July 3, the day on which Mormon finances were barely salvaged, Cannon had talked at Whitehall with the Earl of Roseberry, the British foreign secretary. Although twenty years had passed since their last meeting—apparently while Cannon was serving as Utah's territorial delegate in Washington—the foreign secretary, soon to be prime minister, cordially received the Mormon emissary and wrote a letter of introduction to Baron Rothschild. On July 7 a tersely worded cablegram—"UNSUCCESSFUL"—dashed Mormon hopes for a long-term loan. Cannon had met with Rothschild, his brothers, and other leading financiers, but the prevailing American panic and the European ignorance of Utah affairs made a loan impossible.

Utah, meanwhile, was slipping into a severe depression. Banking contraction was only partly to blame. A late winter had heavily damaged local agriculture, particularly the important cash-producing wool clip, making 1893 Utah's worst sheep year to date. Even more disastrous for the local money supply, the plummeting price of

silver forced the closing of many mines. By the end of June, Utah businessmen began to lay off workers and reduce wages. Such prominent citizens as John Morgan, Abraham Smoot, and Ben Rich were bankrupt. Real estate speculator George A. Mears committed suicide for the lack of $1,000. "From every side arises the cry of hard times," wrote one diarist. "I have never witnessed a greater stagnation in business enterprises than has manifested itself during the last month. Money is not to be had, confidence seems to have disappeared, and credit is denied by nearly all tradesmen. Public works are stopped, and . . . thousands of men are out of employment."

There now seemed to be no solution, only a gaping crevasse.

A kaleidoscope of personal, human acts reflected the hard times. A needy seamstress, fearing starvation for her children, appealed to the patriarchal Franklin Richards. "I encouraged her the best I could," the elderly apostle remembered, "& she wiped away her tears & went with apparently increased bravery." The Salt Lake County's tax collector—also an LDS bishop and a CG&Co. director—mismanaged $32,000 in public funds and then asked protection from the General Authorities to avoid embarrassing the Church. Discovery of his theft would have weakened both the credit rating of the CG&Co. and Church attempts to recover their confiscated property. Apostle Francis M. Lyman spent one August morning in his bed, immobilized by the awful prospect of bankruptcy and regretting his debts to family and friends. George Q. Cannon, back from England, abandoned his multi-family communal kitchen, kept his boys from school to do the work of released hired hands, and transferred his few unencumbered assets to his wives. By contrast, during the State Bank's desperate days in July, young George F. Richards bolstered its reserves with $1500—the bulk of his savings.

The depression paralyzed the Church. By late June cash donations had almost ceased. On July 1 the Church failed to meet its payroll, forcing General Authorities to draw their living allowances in tithing commodities. In Salt Lake City, mission president J. Golden Kimball described himself at "the *end* of the rope" and pled for "*anything*" to aid him in returning to his Church assignment in the southern states. Appropriations for Church education were halted, twenty schools were closed, and the opening of the new Church university in Salt Lake City postponed indefinitely. Clerks struggled to pay the low-priced fares of returning missionaries, and sometimes failed. "Every day urgent demands for cash are made of us, which we cannot meet," wrote the First Presidency, "for the simple reason that we have no money. . . . We never saw such a time of financial stringency as there is now."

Endeavoring to maintain the Church's balance, Mormon leaders sent letters to local congregations directing that tithing commodities or other property be cheaply sold and the cash hastily sent to Church headquarters. Buyers were few, however, and local charity consumed most of the money raised. During a prosperous year, over 50 percent of all tithing flowed from local congregations to the general Church offices; in 1893, headquarters received only 19 percent. For several weeks the General Authorities considered borrowing over $100,000 from 126 wealthy Saints, but they evidently realized that the plan would cripple the Mormon banks. There seemed to be no solution, only a gaping crevasse.

On August 2 the leading LDS money men met to take "stock." The weary Grant had returned the previous day from New York, and at an 8:00 A.M. CG&Co. meeting he reported on his New York labors. "We only live now on sufferance of those we owe such large sums to," Francis Lyman summarized after Grant's narration. But the investment firm had larger problems than note renewals in the Eastern market. It had endorsed the paper of Burton-Gardner Company, and the latter's recent bankruptcy seemed a mortal blow. The directors decided to transfer the Sugar Company's indebtedness elsewhere—perhaps, somehow, to the Church itself. A joint meeting of the directors of the two Mormon banks that afternoon was equally grim. Cashier Wells revealed that without new deposits the banks would close within several weeks. He dispiritedly wondered whether an earlier closing might be the wisest course.

The Lord giveth and now he seemed ready to take. The Mormon leaders solemnly entered their new temple and prayed for relief. "All the Lord requires of us," President Woodruff exhorted, "is to do the very best we can, and he will then take care of the remainder." On August 12 the Mormon president took his last public action to resolve the crisis. At a meeting attended by the First Presidency, seven Apostles, the Presiding Bishopric, and nineteen stake leaders, Woodruff reviewed the emergency and urged an increase in donations. When possible, the Church would also borrow from the Saints at 10 percent. Participants remembered little talk and no comprehensive plan of action. Two weeks later, sublimely unmoved by Mormondom's crumbling finances, Woodruff appropriated $15,000 recently found in the Church's accounts in England and Hawaii and led the rest of the First Presidency and the Tabernacle Choir on a long-planned public relations tour of the World's Fair in Chicago. Before leaving Utah, President Woodruff nominated Grant and George Q. Cannon somehow to resolve the crisis. Since Cannon was part of Woodruff's party, the responsibility fell to Grant.

Again, Grant's mission was critical. Within two weeks, Zion's Savings must begin paying the large withdrawals requested sixty days earlier. And at about the same time, the Church's many loans would start to mature. Meanwhile, Wells Fargo had unexpectedly demanded that the Church reduce its $25,000 overdraft privilege at the bank by $10,000. When, on August 24, the

Brigham Young Trust Company failed to pay $50,000 owed Wells Fargo, Heber Wells tried to resolve the problem with a new loan from Mack McCornick. "Yesterday we bearded the former lion in his den," Wells related. "We told him everything; pleaded, entreated, cajoled, warned, threatened, and afterwards damned him. He was callous, obdurate, unyielding." Finally, with an eye on future Mormon business, McCornick yielded $10,000 as a temporary sop. Toward the end of August the Church notified Wells Fargo in San Francisco that it would probably default on its September 2 loan payment.

By August 24, Grant was back pounding the streets of New York in search of a large, long-term loan. This time, he realized, a pound of flesh would be necessary to save Mormon finances. With margins of reserves to assets in New York banks at 20.5 percent in mid-August—their lowest point of the crisis and well below the 24 percent legal limit for national banks—nothing less than a huge bonus would entice bankers into risking a long-term loan. But even when he promised a 20 or 25 percent commission, Grant found no takers. "I am getting blue by the hour," he informed Wells. "I wish that there was something bright in the distance that I could look forward to."

In Utah the final crisis was at hand. On Friday, September 1, the Mormon banks held only $20,000, a scant 3 percent of deposits. By closing time $5000 had been drained from the vaults, and Wells frantically wired Grant that the State Bank could not survive another two days. Earlier that same day the Mormon Apostle had finally wrangled a promise for a $100,000 loan. But he had pressed too hard, and the frightened banker had delayed payment until Wednesday, September 6. Now Grant learned that Mormon banks could not last that long. He had come so close!

Since arriving in New York, Grant had tried to follow President Woodruff's counsel to neither worry nor complain about the financial crisis. But as events pounded down upon him, he again wondered whether he might break under the strain. He had exhausted all possibilities for a loan; there seemed to be no stone left to turn. Before him loomed the "perfect horror" of another Kirtland Bank failure, which had rent Church finances and caused widespread apostasy fifty-six years earlier. Several times during the early morning of September 2, he shed bitter tears as he "supplicated the Lord with all the earnestness and power which I possessed." After 3:00 A.M. he lapsed into several hours of fitful sleep.

Events of the next day seemed drawn from a surrealistic drama. Grant appeared to move in slow motion, almost in defiance of the prevailing high stakes and emotions. Arising after 8:00 A.M., an unusually late hour for the vigorous Grant, he knelt at morning prayers and offered to forfeit his life in exchange for the preservation of the banks. Experiencing a calming assurance, he bathed and breakfasted deliberately and then, without a destination in mind, boarded an elevated railway train. At the station nearest H. B. Claflin Company, he decided to stop and shake John Claflin's hand. The merchant was not in his office but had left word that he wished to see Grant. Grant proceeded on to the National Park Bank but missed the right station. Backtracking, he entered Blake Brothers and there found John Claflin with a proposition.

Claflin had watched closely over the past several weeks as New York bank reserves finally stabilized and edged above the 24 percent legal minimum. Recognizing that the worst of the national money crisis was over and aware of Grant's willingness to pay an extravagant bonus, the New York businessman sensed the time was ripe to save the finances of his Mormon friends, secure for himself a handsome commission, and ensure for his company ZCMI's lucrative trade. His terms were terrifying: $500,000 for two years at 6 percent with a $100,000 bonus going to Claflin—almost 33 percent of the loan would be lost to interest or commission. A desperate Heber Grant refused to "split straws." He asked only that the deal be halved: $250,000 for two years, same interest, with $50,000 given to Claflin. Within hours the State Bank learned that it could draw upon its New York correspondent for an initial installment of $50,000. The Mormon banks were saved.

This time a pound of flesh would be necessary to save Mormon finances.

The attractiveness of Claflin's loan varied with the beholder. On the grounds of the Chicago World's Fair, Grant explained his actions to the First Presidency. "Prest. Woodruff did not appreciate . . . getting only $200,000 and yet paying interest on $250,000," the Apostle remembered. In fact, the Church president found the loan's terms "fearful." Although Church leaders formally approved the note, and many personally signed it, the more cautious believed that Grant had gone too far. In their eyes the loan had ruined the young Apostle's financial reputation. "They did not comprehend the exigencies of the case," Grant later argued, "but I would gladly have given twice as much had it been necessary in order to save our banks."

Grant scarcely overstated matters. Although the Church would require loan after loan during the troubled 1890s, the Claflin money had allowed the banks to navigate their most dangerous passage. The safety of the banks in turn had prevented the bankruptcy of CG&Co., its individual partners, and—morally at least—the Church itself. Such failures would have had far-reaching consequences of their own. There is no possible way of estimating the eventual catastrophe had the floodgates not held.

The trauma of 1893—with its struggling banks, pinched finances, and heroic loans—was never related publicly. As each new wave of the crisis threatened, the Salt Lake newspapers had reassuredly pronounced the financial foundations of

Zion as unshakable as the granite walls of the Wasatch Range. Officially the Saints were never told otherwise. When President Cannon addressed their October conference, he stated only the obvious. "We have had, since we last met," he reported, "considerable trouble in financial matters. . . . You have no doubt felt it individually, as we have felt it as a Church. Probably at no time in our previous experience have we had to contend with pecuniary embarrassments as we have had of late." Only a few in the audience understood that Cannon spoke of more than the Church's unpaid bills. Nor did the Mormon public learn of the Claflin loan. Fearing a reputation as a Shylock, John Claflin had demanded secrecy.

Utah and the Mormon church staggered through the misnamed "Gay Nineties."

The story had a sequel. Although Grant's loans may have saved Zion and its moneymen from bankruptcy, the panic was ruinous. "A few years ago," Grant admitted in 1898, "we thought less of spending $100 than we do now of a $5 bill." Although the pacified national government returned what was left from the Edmunds-Tucker confiscations, Utahns and the Mormon church staggered through the misnamed "Gay Nineties." When the entire Claflin note fell due in 1895, the Church was able only to make the first payment on the loan's principal. It eventually cancelled its debt largely by transferring to H. B. Claflin Company some of the Church's shares in the Saltair Beach and the Salt Lake and Los Angeles Railway companies. Final payment on the Claflin note was not made until 1899.

There was a final, personal irony to the episode. The mighty H. B. Claflin interests became overextended and in 1914 fell into receivership. John Claflin spent his last twenty years in retirement—prosperous enough to winter on the palmy Jekyll Island resort in Georgia, but stripped of personal or financial influence. Heber Grant, in contrast, became Mormonism's president. One of the hallmarks of his administration, even during the Great Depression of the 1930s, was fiscal stability. The harrowing summer of 1893, with its lessons for careful finance, clearly had left its mark. Indeed, for its participants, like old comrades-in-arms, the Panic of 1893 became a topic to cherish and celebrate. Those were the days, Heber Wells mused to Grant almost thirty years after the event, "when we fought and bled and nearly died together."

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FOOTNOTES

1. A fuller and completely documented version of this article was published in *Arizona and the West* 21 (Autumn 1979): 257-78. Because of its interest to a wider Mormon audience, we have chosen to reissue it in this form. The article draws its documentation primarily from the journals and correspondence of Heber J. Grant, held by the Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. In addition, Mr. Walker has used local newspapers; the papers of the LDS Financial Department, the Presiding Bishopric's Office, and the First Presidency Office; as well as the diaries and reminiscences of Abraham H. Cannon, Hezekiah E. Hatch, Francis M. Lyman, Merriner W. Merrill, George F. Richards, Franklin D. Richards, John Henry Smith, James E. Talmage, and Wilford Woodruff. For specific citations the reader is referred to the earlier article.

2. In addition to Cannon and Grant, the partners were: Joseph F. Smith, second counselor to President Woodruff and director of ZCMI, Zion's Savings Bank, and the State Bank of Utah; Abraham H. Cannon, Apostle, manager of the printing firm of George Q. Cannon & Sons; John H. Smith, Apostle and businessman; Francis M. Lyman, Apostle and businessman; George M. Cannon, cashier of Zion's Savings and principal shareholder of the State Bank; Leonard G. Hardy, bishop and county collector; Thomas R. Cutler, manager and director of the Utah Sugar Company; Thomas S. Webber, superintendent of ZCMI, president of Zion's Benefit Building Society, and director of Zion's Savings, Utah Sugar Company, and Home Fire Insurance; Philo T. Farnsworth, mining speculator; William H. Rowe, assistant superintendent of ZCMI and director of ZCMI and the State Bank; and Henry A. Woolley, Nephi W. Clayton, and Jesse W. Fox, Utah businessmen. Webber and Farnsworth kept their participation from public view and did not allow their names on CG&Co. stationery.

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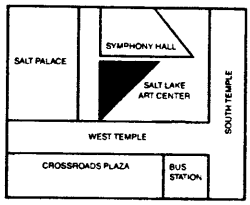

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