

FEBRUARY 1994

PRICE \$4.95

SUNSTONE



Helen Candland Stark

“Reconciling the Opposites”

Karl C. Sandberg: *Mormonism and the Puritan Connection*

Levi S. Peterson: *The Art of Dissent Among the Mormons*

David Bohn: *The Larger Issue*



Quantum Leaps of Faith!

The Search for Harmony *Essays on Mormonism and Science*

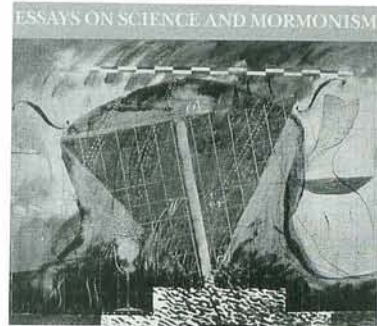
GENE A. SESSIONS & CRAIG J. OBERG, eds.

The theological implications of science range from the probability of prophecy in quantum mechanics to determining parenthood for genetically engineered organisms. Mormonism teaches that God is subject to natural laws and that humans can similarly learn to create and nurture. In light of such an optimistic world view, LDS scientists attempt in this anthology to harmonize current research with church teachings.

Sessions is professor of history at Weber State University and author of *Mormon Thunder: A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant*.

Oberg is professor of microbiology at Weber State University.

\$17.95. Paper. 225 pp.



Professor Sessions



Professor Oberg

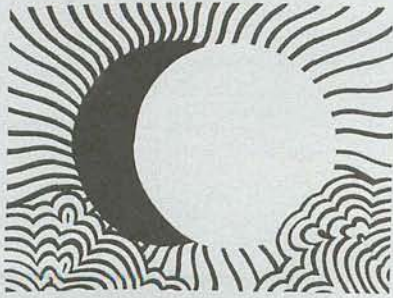
SUNSTONE

MORMON EXPERIENCE, SCHOLARSHIP, ISSUES, AND ART

FEBRUARY 1994

Volume 16:8

Issue 94



SUNSTONE (ISSN 0363-1370) is published by The Sunstone Foundation, a non-profit corporation with no official connection to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Articles represent the opinions of the writers only and not necessarily those of the editors or the LDS church.

Submissions may be on IBM-PC compatible computer diskettes, written in WordPerfect format, or on double-spaced typed manuscripts. Submissions should not exceed 9000 words and must be accompanied by a signed letter giving permission for the manuscript to be filed in the Sunstone collection at the University of Utah Marriott Library Archives (all literary rights are retained by the author). Manuscripts will not be returned; authors will be notified concerning acceptance within sixty days.

SUNSTONE is interested in feature- and column-length articles relevant to Mormonism from a variety of perspectives, news stories about Mormons and the LDS church, and psalms and limericks.

Poetry submissions must be in triplicate, one poem per page with the poet's name and address on each page; a self-addressed, stamped envelope should accompany each submission.

Short stories are selected only through the annual Brookie and D. K. Brown Memorial Fiction Contest (submission deadline: 1 June 1994). All fiction submissions will be considered as contest entries.

Letters for publication should be addressed to "Readers' Forum." SUNSTONE does not acknowledge receipt of letters to the editor. Letters addressed to specific authors will be forwarded, unopened, to them.

Upon request by subscribers, SUNSTONE will not provide a subscriber's address to mail solicitors.

Send all correspondence and manuscripts to:

SUNSTONE
331 Rio Grande Street, Suite 206
Salt Lake City, UT 84101-1136
801/355-5926
Fax: 801/355-4043

United States subscriptions to SUNSTONE are \$32 for 8 issues, \$59 for 16 issues, and \$83 for 24 issues.

Eight-issue international subscriptions are \$32 (U.S.) for Canada, Mexico, and surface mail to all other countries. Airmail subscriptions are \$50 for 8 issues and \$95 for 16 issues. Bona fide student and missionary subscriptions are \$10 less than the above rates.

This magazine is printed on acid-free paper.

Copyright © 1994 by the Sunstone Foundation.
All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America.

2 *Our Readers* READERS' FORUM

FEATURES

- 20 *Karl C. Sandberg* MORMONISM AND THE PURITAN CONNECTION: THE TRIALS OF MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON AND SEVERAL PERSISTENT QUESTIONS BEARING ON CHURCH GOVERNANCE
- 33 *Levi S. Peterson* THE ART OF DISSENT AMONG THE MORMONS
- 40 *Rae Andrus* NOT GETTING PREGNANT
1991 Brookie & D. K. Brown Memorial Fiction Contest Winner
- 45 *David Bohn* THE LARGER ISSUE
- 64 *Helen Candland Stark* RECONCILING THE OPPOSITES

POETRY

- 15 *Todd Morley* CITADEL
- 32 *Virginia Ellen Baker* DYING
- 39 *Sean Brendan Brown* WHY NOTHING BEAUTIFUL KNOWS EXACTLY WHY
- 63 *D. William Shunn* SALT CRUSTED ON AUTOMOTIVE GLASS
- 63 *Elizabeth H. Boyer* THE WIND CRIES
- 71 *William Powley* POTATOES
- 78 *Pat Bezzant* A SPECK IN TIME

COLUMNS

- 10 *Elbert Eugene Peck* FROM THE EDITOR
The Outer Limits
- 13 *Sterling M. McMurrin* IN MEMORIAM
Obert C. Tanner: Symbol of Freedom
- 16 *J. Frederic Voros Jr.* TURNING THE TIME OVER TO . . .
The First Step is the Hardest
- 18 *Jerry Johnston* CORNUCOPIA
Picture Postcards of Lehi's Dream
- 19 *Eugene England* The Joy of Unlimited Salvation
- 72 *Samuel W. Taylor* PECULIAR PEOPLE
THIS SIDE OF THE TRACTS
The Temple Excursion

REVIEWS

- 73 *Dan Erickson* GLORIOUS PRINCIPLE WORTH INCARCERATION
Prisoner for Polygamy: The Memoirs and Letters of Ruder Clawson at the Utah Territorial Penitentiary, 1884-87, ed. Stan Larson
- 75 *Stephen E. Thompson* "MESSIAH IN CONTEXT"
The Messiah Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity, ed. James Charlesworth
- THE WORD BAZAAR • RECENTLY RELEASED

NEWS

- 79 *Sunstone Correspondents* BYU TIGHTENS FACULTY HIRING PROCESS
BYU CHANGES HOUSING POLICY, SEPARATES STUDENTS FROM NON-STUDENTS
UPDATE • SUNSTONE CALENDAR
SUNSPOTS • OXYMORMONS

Cover *Louis Johnson*

SUNSTONE

Founded in 1974
SCOTT KENNEY 1975-1978
ALLEN D. ROBERTS 1978-1980
PEGGY FLETCHER 1978-1986
DANIEL RECTOR 1986-1991

Editor and Publisher
ELBERT EUGENE PECK

Managing Editor BRIAN KAGEL	Assistant Publisher GREGORY A. KEMP
Senior Editor MARTHA DICKEY ESPLIN	Administrative Assistant CAROL QUIST
Associate Editors GREG CAMPBELL BRYAN WATERMAN	Electronic Production MARK J. MALCOLM Order Fulfillment VICTOR GENER

Section Editors
M. SHAYNE BELL, poetry; DENNIS CLARK, poetry reviews
ERIC JONES, book reviews; TERESA WHITING, new books

Advisory Editorial Board
PAT BAGLEY, BRIAN BEAN, T. E. BEHREND
JAY S. BYBEE, CONNIE DISNEY
MICHAEL HARWARD, LYNNE KANAVAL, WHITESIDES

Contributing Columnists
ORSON SCOTT CARD, DORICE WILLIAMS ELLIOTT
MICHAEL HICKS, DAVID KNOWLTON, TOM LEFLER
MARYBETH RAYNES, PETER SORENSON

Cartoonists
PAT BAGLEY, STEVE BENSON, JOHN DEROSIER
KIRK ANDERSON, MATT CHATTERLY, CHRIS CHECKETTS
KENT CHRISTENSEN, GEOFF JONES, STEVE KROPP
CARL MCDRAYER, ROBERT MURRAY, P. S. MUELLER
BRUCE READE, BRAD VELEY, RYAN S. WAYMENT

Volunteers
ANN BENSON, JANE CARBINE, MELISSA CARBINE
ROSS HAMMOND, LLOYD PENDLETON, DALLAS ROBBINS
CAROLEE STOUT, BRADY STOUT, CRIS CORSER

U.S. Correspondents
STAN CHRISTENSEN, Cambridge, Ma.
NANCY HARWARD, Newark, De.
RENEE CARLSON, Potomac, Md.
ALICE ALLRED POTTMAYER, Arlington, Va.
NEAL & REBECCA CHANDLER, Shaker Heights, Oh.
JONATHAN & COLLEEN THOMAS, Chicago, Il.
MILES SPENCER KIMBALL, Ann Arbor, Mi.
KARL SANDBERG, St. Paul, Mn.
LIONEL GRADY, Cedar City, Ut.; RON PRIDDIS, Salt Lake City, Ut.
JOHN & JANET TARJAN, Bakersfield, Ca.
IRENE BATES, Pacific Palisades, Ca.

International Correspondents
MARJORIE NEWTON, Australia; WILFRIED DECOO, Belgium
HARTMUT WEISSMANN, France
PAUL CARPENTER, JAMES FIELD
WERNER HOCK, DIETRICH KEMPSKI, Germany
SHUNICHI KUWAHATA, Japan
IAN BARBER, New Zealand; CHRIS SEXTON, United Kingdom

THE SUNSTONE FOUNDATION

Board of Trustees
J. BONNER RITCHIE, chair; KENT FROGLEY, vice chair
BLAINE CARLTON, ROBYN KNIBBE, GLEN LAMBERT
MARY ANN MORGAN, LOUIS MOENCH
DANIEL H. RECTOR, ELBERT EUGENE PECK

Executive Director
ELBERT EUGENE PECK

Development Board
BLAINE CARLTON, chair; RONALD L. MOLEN, vice chair
JEROLD KINDRED, ROBYN KNIBBE, DANIEL H. RECTOR
MARGARET REISER, NICHOLAS SMITH
MARSHA S. STEWART, MARK J. WILLIAMS

Symposium Chairs
MOLLY BENNION, Seattle
KATHY OKERLUND, Washington, D.C.
ANN STONE & COLLEEN THOMAS, Chicago
KIM MCCALL, Burbank
DON GUSTAVSON, Boston

National Advisory Board
ALAN ACKROYD, MOLLY BENNION, KATHERINE BOSWELL
BELLAMY BROWN, TONY & ANN CANNON, COLE CAPENER
STEPHEN C. CLARK, DOUGLAS CONDIE, D. JAMES CROFT
ROBERT FILLERUP, MARK GUSTAVSON
JEFFREY R. HARDYMAN, GREG KOFFORD, FARRELL LINES
BRIAN C. MCGAVIN, PATRICK MCKENZIE, GRANT OSBORN
RICHARD SHERLOCK, GEORGE D. SMITH JR.
RICHARD SOUTHWICK, LORIE WINDER STROMBERG
NOLA W. WALLACE, DENNIS & CARLAN YOUKSTETTER

READERS' FORUM

BRAVA!

IT IS IRONIC that in Deborah Mayhew's letter recommending ways to promote the equality of women and marriage partners in language, she buys into one of its biggest enemies—hierarchy ("Sweet Partners," SUNSTONE, Nov. 1993). Her suggestion that the general Relief Society president be called *President Jack* instead of *Sister Jack* puts an unneeded distance between our leaders and the membership. It is my understanding that the choice of the sister title was made by the women themselves. Brava! Equality doesn't mean sameness, nor copying the corrupt organization of the men. Women better serve the Church by offering their own gifts and insights rather than in counterfeiting the men's.

MELANIE CHAPMAN
Hilo, HI

ORACLES

WHEN I READ your report that the general authorities consider criticism of them to be inappropriate and even grounds for apostasy, I was shocked, shocked! ("Six Intellectuals Disciplined for Apostasy," SUNSTONE, Nov. 1993). Have they assumed an unapproachable, holy status that even God does not demand? Consider the prophets' genuine anger at God reported in the Old Testament. At times, they spewed an uncensored rage to God; they were not afraid to argue with him. Many of their harsh statements sound similar to the lamentations of Paul Toscano against the general authorities.

There is one difference, however. When the prophets bitched, God replied with long answers and arguments, engaging the angry disciples in the dialogue Elbert Peck yearns for ("Lamentations in The Fall," SUNSTONE, Nov. 1993). But when "feminists, gays, and so-called scholars" voice their criticisms, they are fed stones, silenced, and excommunicated—no argument, no dialogue, no relationship. Even Joseph Smith and Jesus directly expressed their doubts ("O God, where art thou?" [D&C 121]; "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" [Matt. 27:46]) and received answers. Oracles of God, by definition, should speak, discuss, and, yes, rebuke; but should they reject without having any face to face conversation with genuine responses? Look at how long God labored in dialogue with ancient Israel; it makes the

"patience" of today's leaders seem like a child's.

If God replies to strong criticism with conversation, why should today's living prophets be above such dialogue? They appear to be more like Richard Nixon, stonewalling to "defend the office of the Presidency" than individuals striving to be Godlike.

COLIN FIRTH
Los Angeles

RIGHTS & OBLIGATIONS

IN THE DISCUSSION of the procedures relative to the "September Six," it is remarkable that neither those in favor of the process as it occurred, nor those who oppose it, have focused on an obvious obligation of the Quorum of the Twelve and the right and power of such persons to exercise that obligation; that is, the obligation to keep the Church free from apostasy, and the right to exercise the power to do so. The obligation, right, and power of the Quorum of the Twelve collectively, or an apostle individually, to deal immediately and directly with apostasy seems so obvious as to require no extended justification. The Church is ultimately a kingdom, not something else.

On the merits of the publicized cases and other similar situations, there is much to prompt sadness and introspection and discussion and action. But on the procedures, it seems to me that the basics should be clear.

JOSEPH B. ROMNEY
Rexburg, ID

MORMON ANOREXIA

ELDER OAKS said in a National Public Radio interview that the excommunicating of five of the "September Six" was not a purge, that a handful of individuals out of millions is not a purge. Well, it wasn't China's Cultural Revolution, but my dictionary defines purge as: "to free from impurities, to purify; to remove by or as if by cleansing; to rid . . . people considered undesirable; to cause evacuation of the bowels." Interesting, in that same interview, Elder Oaks asserted his "responsibility to look after the purity of the doctrine to make sure that wolves do not enter the flock." Keeping the Church pure by eliminating the undesirables sure sounds like purging to me. When I cough up a small, irritating chicken bone, my body has purged

itself of something, no matter how small. I wish Elder Oaks would quit being a lawyer and quibbling over words. By his standard, I suppose, the seventeen individuals killed at Haun's Mill hardly makes it a massacre.

THOMAS ADAMS
New Orleans, LA

MODERNIST HERESY

THE BEST I can recommend for those who care about the so-called current crisis that is leading some individuals out of the Church (voluntarily or involuntarily) and creating a need to defend oneself to others, including leaders (local and general), is a three-page book review by James E. Faulconer ("Hans Kung's Theology: Not Quite for the Third Millennium," *SUNSTONE*, Feb. 1990). It considers the situation of a scholar with good intentions trying to reform the Catholic Church. I will summarize what I think Faulconer intended and apply it to the current situation.

Genuine postmodernism is not relativism or nihilism. To be postmodern is to be able to talk, think, discuss, and teach about God and the Church the way prophets and the scriptures do, without detouring into either extreme of modernism: rational theology (which focuses on reason in such forms as scientism and objectivism) or romanticism (which focuses on feeling and intuition in such forms as subjectivism and emotionalism). Oppression is not possible if we understand priesthood as it was revealed to the Prophet Joseph in Doctrine and Covenants 121. The Restoration offered a genuinely postmodern alternative to an apostate modernist world in need of healing.

The current struggles over notions of academic freedom and questioning the disciplining of members who have so-called liberal or conservative views is what results from having our minds decoyed for years by these extremes of modernism. We draw near God with our lips, it seems, but our hearts are far away when we teach the gospel using popular doctrines of the day. All of us need repentance.

Restoration, not reformation, is still required by the Lord, his scriptures, and our prophets. That we will understand the gospel without the baggage of modernism and be converted to it and not to some modern notion of it is my prayer. The libertarian slogan "the lesser of two evils is still evil" still applies. But does that mean that scholarly work is contrary to the gospel? No, as Hugh Nibley has said in many talks and books but God does expect better than the modernistic

stuff we have created to date, whether by leaders (see Elder McConkie's description of a "general authority" in *Mormon Doctrine*) or scholars. We all need repentance; we all need healing from our pride, lack of love, contentiousness, defensiveness, misunderstanding, and judgmentalness. And we all need to forgive others.

Church courts, regardless of how we perceived them in the past, need to become sensitive to the gospel and the Lord's Spirit, and guard against embracing modernism in their judicial responsibilities. Decisions to excommunicate or disfellowship are not acts with consequences like those performed by the Catholic Church against Galileo. They are necessary steps in our full repentance and

lead to renewed, full-souled fellowship following the commission of certain well-marketed sins; they are essential to experiencing the miracle of forgiveness. Acting with priesthood authority and with the Spirit presents an awesome responsibility for any leader, and the scriptures make clear how it works and does not work. The Jaredites, the Nephites, and the Lamanites had the same truths, and they (Church leaders included) fell. Let us all learn from their experiences and extend the olive leaf to those with whom we may be on opposing ends of the modernist heresy. If we can do this, then we are not past feeling; we can still repent.

PAULA A. FINCH
Sicily, Italy



"Do you need some help with your zipper?"



SUNSTONE

IS AVAILABLE AT:

DESERET BOOK STORES

Cache Valley Mall
Community Shopping Center
Cottonwood Mall
Fashion Place Mall
Layton Hills Mall
Ogden City Mall
South Towne Mall
University Mall
Valley Fair Mall
ZCMI Mall

SEAGULL BOOK & TAPE

1720 S. Redwood Road,
Salt Lake City, UT
5730 S. Redwood Road
Salt Lake City, UT
1629 W. 90 S.,
West Jordan, UT
2144 Washington Blvd.
Ogden, UT
2146 N. Main #528
Layton, UT
2255 N. University Pkwy #2
Provo, UT
110 Mesa Drive
Mesa, AZ
10714 Santa Monica Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA
427 Preston Valley Center
Dallas, TX

COLORADO SPRINGS, CO

LDS Chapter & Verse
3560 Austine Bluffs Pkwy, Ste. 183

ALBUQUERQUE, NM

Sunrise Bookstore
7200 Menaul N. E.

JACKSON, WY

The Valley Bookstore
125 N. Cache

PARK CITY, UT

Dolly's Bookstore
510 Main St.

LOGAN

The Book Table
29 N. Main

USU Bookstore

KAYSVILLE
Kaysville Book Shop
141 N. Main

LAYTON

Layton Book Store
254 E. Gentile

SALT LAKE CITY

Benchmark Books
331 S. Rio Grande, Ste. 300

Frost's Books
1320 Foothill Dr.

Hayat's Magazine & Gifts
236 S. Main

Sam Weller's Zion Bookstore
254 S. Main

PROVO / OREM

BYU Bookstore
Cafe Haven
1605 S. State St., Orem
Atticus Books
1132 S. State St. Orem
Valley Book Center
52 W. Center, Provo
Walt West Books
728 Columbia Lane, Provo

ST. GEORGE

Dixie College Bookstore

LAS VEGAS

Get Booked
4643 Paradise Road

A GRADUATE MUTUAL

WHILE PHILOSOPHICALLY I couldn't agree more with Scott Abbott's concerns, I believe he writes from a somewhat self-serving perspective and is thus blinded to some of the real reasons for tensions at BYU ("One Lord, One Faith, Two Universities: Tensions between 'Religion' and 'Thought' at BYU," SUNSTONE, Sept. 1992).

Let me share an insight I gained at a recent stake conference from the visiting general authority, Elder Cree-L Kofford of the Seventy. He was asked if the Church would consider establishing a university in the eastern United States (always a predictable question). Elder Kofford answered with the equally predictable, resounding "No." Then he volunteered information regarding the Brethren's real concern about fewer members sending their children to BYU or Ricks College. They are not terribly concerned as to whether Mormon youth get a good education, properly tempered with a spiritual overlay, but whether an environment can be created where Mormon youth can duplicate the match-making potential of BYU/Ricks. Elder Kofford discussed a study conducted by Elders Dallin Oaks and Jeffrey Holland in which they had determined that LDS youth only require a circle of about 300 acquaintances in order to land a mate. Ideas are apparently in the works to create such settings at other universities and even at work sites for the benefit of non-student young adults.

So in spite of the seriousness with which BYU academics, real or pseudo, take themselves, the evidence suggests that at least some members of the board of trustees see the BYU professoriate's mission as little more than that of providing a dating service.

Why do I see Abbott's piece as somewhat self-serving? As a faculty member of a state university in Pennsylvania that is enduring fiscal famine, I read with considerable covetousness his descriptions of the academic bounty enjoyed by the BYU faculty: amply

funded research and travel; "an aggressive acquisitions policy" by the library; gaggles of high profile, nationally famous (and expensive) scholars frequenting campus. Who wouldn't be concerned about a board of directors with such deep pockets displaying dissatisfaction? They could bring this gravy train to an end.

Abbott's analysis of the board's motives charges them with assaulting the academic integrity of BYU, but ignores their primary concern: the general authorities are bean counters; they want bang for the buck. And the bang they want is indoctrinated kids marrying other indoctrinated kids. Anything else is largely secondary.

This brings me to a point that every faculty member at BYU/Ricks, as well as the general authorities, ought to consider: how long should the "widow's mite" from all around the world be used so lavishly to subsidize the faculty and staff at BYU/Ricks for undertaking what Abbott tacitly admits (by his somewhat unctuous description of scholarly activity at BYU, the religion department excepted) is a progressively pseudo-academic undertaking, and which benefits an increasingly smaller percentage of the total membership, consisting primarily of the good Saints of the Intermountain West and California? (Talk about Church welfare for the middle class!)

My proposal will fall hard on most BYU ears. BYU tuition should be raised to something in the neighborhood of \$20,000 per year, which is the going rate for private universities. (Notre Dame is \$16,000 for tuition and fees, plus \$4,150 for room and board.) This would go a long way toward relieving the concerns that Abbott has about interference from general authorities in academic freedom, and would also begin to rectify other festering problems presented by this abundantly supported church school.

First, were the amount of tithes involved at BYU minimized, I'm convinced the general authorities, who necessarily feel a real stewardship about how the Lord's money is spent,

Pontius' Puddle



could back off and be less concerned with the direction of research and writing.

Second, with tuition at \$20,000, Church members would become more discriminating about how to spend their higher education dollars. A few questions might be asked about what gets taught there, and BYU may not strike them as such a good deal, after all.

Third, this higher tuition opens a way for the Church to do a wonderful thing for all young Mormons worldwide: establish a kind of "perpetual education fund" from which low interest, tithing-sensitive loans could be made to deserving Mormons to go to the school of their choice, for the right reasons; that is, to get the best possible education in their discipline. The Brethren often express concern about the lack of testimony exhibited by our youth. Church-sponsored education loans would dramatically affect young people's attitudes about the Church. The youth would believe that the Church had a real interest in their welfare, as opposed to simply being objects of indoctrination.

Finally, Abbott is concerned about the success of the Mormon university experiment. As long as the university depends on Church funding, the experiment will never have been tried. The experiment will prove valid only if the university can succeed, independent of massive Church funding, and still remain Mormon in spirit and reality.

MERLYN CLARKE
E. Stroudsburg, PA

SWITCHING CHANNELERS

ED FIRMAGE JR. presents numerous reasons that support his conviction that the Book of Mormon is a nineteenth-century rather than an ancient document ("Historical Criticism and the Book of Mormon: A Personal Encounter," *SUNSTONE*, July 1993). But he is unclear as to an alternate source. Several years ago *SUNSTONE* printed an article showing parallels between the manner in which the Book of Mormon was dictated and the process commonly known as channeling ("Spirit Writing: Another Look at the Book of Mormon," *SUNSTONE*, June 1985). Firmage accepts channeling as an option.

Classifying the Book of Mormon as a channeled work puts it in the same category as several other books that have a similar origin, including the Revelation of John, much of William Blake's writings, the *Urantia Book*, written in the 1930s, and *A Course in Miracles*, written in the late 1960s. Each of these works is best understood within the historical framework of its time. The Book of Mormon is congruent with the paradigm of

nineteenth-century frontier America; the *Urantia Book* is congruent with the evolutionary paradigm; and *A Course in Miracles* is congruent with the quantum paradigm. Yet each of these three fundamentally religious and Christian works is far more than what a single author is capable of producing, and each has given birth to some kind of religious order with devoted believers.

The real question is with the process of channeling, or, for Mormons, revelation. Why are channelers' glimpses of the infinite so culturally defined? Does God just nudge us; does She operate through Jung's collective unconscious to open the deeper parts of our individual minds? There are more questions than answers. Questions, unfortunately, that don't attract much interest.

LON JONES
Plainview, TX

FREE AGENCY

AFTER THE SPIRITUAL bruising of the last two months, I need to affirm the personal probings that have built my own spiritual values. I also need to find my own position in this sad, divisive situation that has set women and men of good will against each other.

As I've struggled to clarify the fundamentals of my spiritual beliefs, the emerging pattern shows me a glorious, God-endowed mosaic that keeps me focused, nourishes my relationship with my Father in Heaven, and

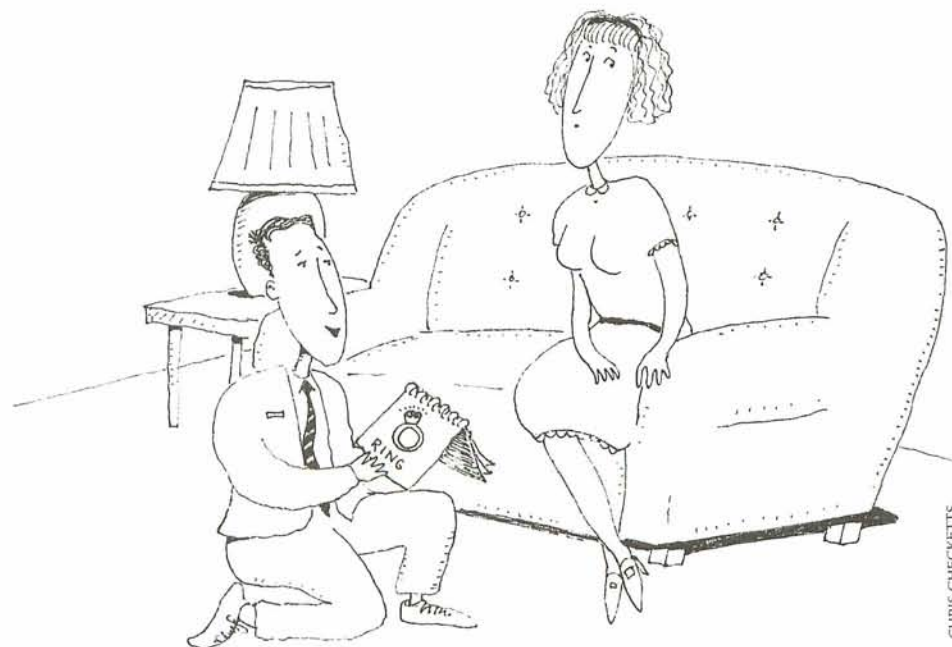
maintains my membership in the Church. Its centerpiece is my core belief: free agency.

Doctrine and Covenants 58:26 has been a touchstone for me: "For behold, it is not meet that I should command in all things. . . ." I feel the acute discomfort of the double bind when I compare this with the repressive admonitions that refute independent thinking. Discounting individual inspiration contradicts Brigham Young's declaration: "It is as much my right to differ from other men, as it is theirs to differ from me, in points of doctrine and principle, when our minds cannot at once arrive at the same conclusion." (*Discourses of Brigham Young* 5:54.)

I applaud Elder Neal Maxwell's statement to a 1992 F.A.R.M.S. banquet that "Joseph Smith will go on being vindicated in the essential things associated with his prophetic mission" (emphasis added). God not only allows but expects me to sift carefully and prayerfully through the counsel that is handed down and to keep the "essential things," things of great import, and to weigh what is left for its eternal or saving importance. Not everything is of equal weight.

Elder Boyd K. Packer, in a talk delivered in the early 1970s, declared that "the Church is not on casters, to be wheeled about whither we will." But he abrogates my agency when he counsels us to sing only LDS hymns in sacrament meetings and to ignore classical hymns that also praise God.

He betrays my right to personal revelation when he counsels that our funerals are to be



"I hope you don't mind, Marti—I just can't talk without using one of these."



**PRIOR
TO
YOUR
MOVE
TO
YOUR
NEW
HOME...**

**BE SURE THAT
SUNSTONE
FOLLOWS YOU!**

Before you move, at least four weeks in advance, please send us your mailing address change. We want to continue to provide you with a copy of the magazine, and because we are a non-profit foundation, we cannot forward SUNSTONE.

Send address changes to:

**SUNSTONE
331 RIO GRANDE, STE. 206
SALT LAKE CITY, UT 84101**

OR CALL US AT
1-800-326-5926

modeled on sacrament meetings, rather than be the very personal "last hurrah" owed to a life that is over. (See Elder Packer's conference address in the October 1988 *Ensign*.)

When Elder Packer ridicules another's personal spiritual experience, no matter how unusual, by calling it "bunk" (his reference to Betty Eadie's book, *Embraced by the Light*, as reported in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 Oct. 1993), he is not allowing me to find my own way in the small, non-essential things. Must I be "commanded in all things"?

How do you stifle a mind without damaging a soul?

ARDIS A. ALDER
Kaysville, UT

CONSIDER YOUR WAYS

TO THE LOYAL opposiiton: I have read your essays, articles, fiction, sarcastic parodies of Church hymns, and irreverent recipe books, in which you express both love for the Church as a human or cultural institution and a clear rejection of its origin. I feel a sincere admiration for your literary talents, your historical research, and your humor. I appreciate the isolated instances when your work has strengthened my testimony through valuable objective information.

On the other hand, your intellectual influence has brought spiritual death to some weak and uninformed Latter-day Saints. And you have done this work of destruction by

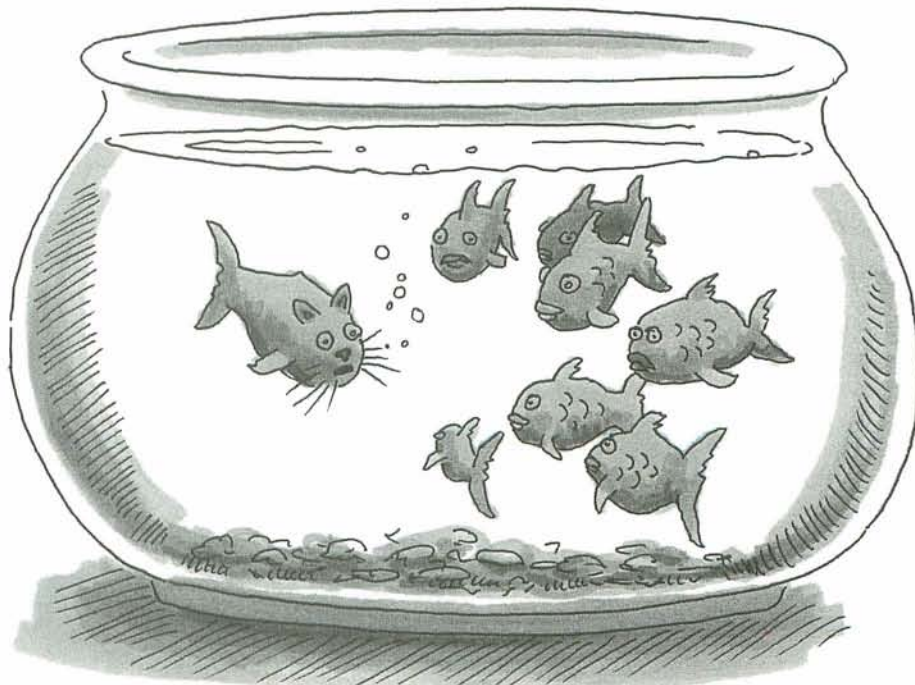
presenting past and present LDS leaders as hypocritical and uninspired men; considering LDS doctrine as one more purely human interpretation of Christianity, and Joseph Smith's visions as mere subjective impressions totally unconnected with objective reality; and trying to incorporate into the gospel of Jesus Christ—among other things—the right to abortion, priesthood for women, and Heavenly Mother worship. Finally, you are claiming to be intellectual Mormons who have long been persecuted by an inquisitorial and fanatical LDS hierarchy.

In spite of all your efforts, you have not been able to bring to light a non-divine origin for the Book of Mormon and, by not doing so, you have absolutely failed in proving your case. I have classified your personal characteristics into four groups:

1. Sincere searchers of truth;
2. The unrepentant who want no guilt;
3. People frustrated by moral restrictions;
4. Extremely intelligent Latter-day Saints who are deeply resentful for not having been called to higher positions.

In view of the above classifications, I have the following counsel:

To the sincere scholars, I say: Don't let the trees hide the total vision of the forest; keep in mind that God performed the restoration of all things "precept upon precept; line upon line." (Isa. 28:10.) I believe we all should feel great love and compassion for those first leaders of the Restoration who



"... For are we not all catfish?"

struggled to understand the spirit, and the letter, of a new and glorious revelation and did the best they could in the midst of severe trials and persecutions.

To those who are unrepentant sinners or who wish to be free from doctrinal and, in some cases, moral restraints, I remind you of the words of Haggai, "Consider your ways." (Hag. 1:7). Repent, go to your bishop, confess, and do what is right, let the consequence follow, and get ready to enjoy again the sweet fruits of the Spirit in your lives.

To those who are resentful for not having been called to higher positions of leadership, please give heed to the words of President Howard W. Hunter in the October 1992 general conference: "Our focus should be on righteousness, not recognition, in service not status," because the calling of a visiting or home teacher "is just as important to the work of the Lord as those who occupy what some see as more prominent positions in the Church. Visibility does not equate to value."

JOSÉ M. OLIVEIRA
A convert from Spain

ALL IN THE FAMILY

FOR DECADES a struggle has existed between The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Christian community at large. The Church wishes recognition as a bona fide "Christian" denomination with full membership in the Christian fold. The LDS church argues that a Christian is one who believes in Jesus Christ and follows his teachings and on that basis Mormons are Christians as much as anyone. "No," say the mainline and fundamentalist Christian denominations, "you can't be Christian because you don't believe in Jesus Christ the way we do. Our Christ is part of the trinity, a concept you reject. You say the same religious words as we do, but you mean different things. Your meanings are alien to us. You don't belong."

Similarly, some Church leaders employ the same exclusionary tactics against LDS intellectuals and liberals. The alternate voices say that they believe in Joseph Smith as a God-inspired prophet who brought forth the truth about the Lord Jesus Christ in whom alone there is salvation. Though they may see some difficulties in the historical facts, many steadfastly hold to the idea in spite of historical anomalies. They want to belong.

Yet the official Church tells intellectuals that they must believe in Christ the way the spokespeople do (with complete and unilateral acceptance of the historical traditions); otherwise they may not be "one of them."

If Church leaders have been puzzled by

the dogmatic, intolerant behavior of Christian fundamentalists toward Mormons, now they can at least understand where the fundamentalists are coming from.

Just how "dangerous" are these alternate voices? In a church of 8.5 million worldwide, how threatening can less than .05 percent of the membership be? When the Jewish nation was troubled by a small group of "alternate voices," one of the Sanhedrin suggested they be left alone on the grounds that error has a way of defeating itself and gradually disappearing from the scene, whereas truth will succeed in spite of efforts to extinguish it. Where is Gamaliel now that we need him? (See Acts 5:34-40.)

The general counsel coming down to the membership regarding opposing voices from outside the Church, "anti-Mormons," etc., is to ignore them. Members are not to dignify them with replies. Why does the Church treat its own worse than outsiders? Because its own is "family?" In the Church, the family is the central unit, the foremost model for governance. Yet social experience reveals that it is in the family where most abuses against individuals occur. It is where free agency is allowed to flourish least. Are official Church actions just a reflection of prevalent, yet unspoken and unendorsed, attitudes toward family members who seem too different?

CHRISTOPHER P. RUSSELL
Salt Lake City

TOLERANT TRUTH?

MAX RAMMELL'S letter "Family Values" (SUNSTONE, Mar. 1993) takes to task the "spiritual emptiness" of the father in the fictional story "Prodigy" by Michael Fillerup (SUNSTONE, Aug. 1992). Rammell's critique typifies a confusion I have found endemic in Latter-day Saints' understanding of moral agency in the face of a claim of faith. In the story, the father character reads the Book of Mormon, prays, and concludes there is nothing to the book. Rammell is troubled by the literary suggestion that one could experience such belief-forming practices and then find oneself believing heterodox or heretical propositions. Rammell defies knowledgeable readers of the Book of Mormon to refute the authenticity and divinity of the book. What interests me is Rammell's presumption that something about his religious belief makes it possible to "defy" someone who holds beliefs that directly oppose his own. Is Rammell suggesting the unbeliever voluntarily change her unbelief to belief? Or is he suggesting that religious belief-forming practices always produce uniformity in beliefs?

Being Mormon means we assent to the primacy of moral agency. We assent in faith to what we can and rationally manage these involuntary religious beliefs with religious belief-forming practices. We pray, attend our meetings, and do our visiting/home-teach-



ing. We give blessings, send children on missions, and attend funerals. We study the scriptures and understand our lives in context with these activities. Here religion can be at its best. But as Rammell typifies, it can also be at its worst.

Our beliefs may be absolutely true. The problem is that we do not know them to be true in a way that allows us to intelligently "defy" anyone who does not happen to believe along with us. It is perfectly plausible that after the unbeliever does participate in religious belief-forming practice, she may still believe in opposition to what we believe.

Our religious epistemic situation, coupled without commitment to the moral agency of the individual, requires tolerance, understanding, and acceptance of those who do not share our beliefs.

SUSAN DOENAUM
Salt Lake City

SHARED FAITH

WILLIAM HAMBLIN charges that David P. Wright's scholarship is based upon "secularist assumptions" that lead him to de-emphasize the divine in Mormon history ("The Final Step," *SUNSTONE*, July 1993). All

scholars work from prior assumptions; attempts to focus discussion about the historicity of the Book of Mormon on any scholar's presuppositions are misguided. Wright began his studies with a traditional Latter-day Saint mindset. Similarly, despite a personal commitment to orthodoxy, my own views evolved away from traditionalism during graduate work in Ancient Near Eastern Studies at BYU. The evidence, not the orthodox presupposition, was decisive.

Hamblin mentions the contributions of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (F.A.R.M.S.). Indeed, as F.A.R.M.S. distributes research regarding the antiquity of the Book of Mormon, it educates the Saints about historical issues they may otherwise never encounter and prepares them to hear opposing arguments as well. Church members who limit themselves to F.A.R.M.S. material will be exposed to history that painlessly reaffirms what they already believe. However, when they compare the reasoning behind traditional and untraditional conclusions, many will quickly become aware of substantial difficulties in some traditional LDS interpretations of history.

The silent minority that questions orthodox interpretations of history is undoubtedly

larger than usually recognized. For Saints who already accept the Book of Mormon and the Pearl of Great Price as nineteenth-century products, there is little point in endlessly debating Book of Mormon population sizes, geography, plates, King James anachronisms, etc. The discussion is moving beyond rear guard battles with F.A.R.M.S. to a post-critical theology. Unfortunately, given recent disciplinary actions, another several generations may pass before the Church is finally confident enough to be less dogmatic about the literality of its history and its canon.

Most people care about history to the extent that it defines their place in the world. Nephite prophecies of the last days and Bible stories that foreshadow Joseph Smith legitimate the very choices members of the Church have made to be Mormons. Mormonism is, however, almost as much an ethnic group as a religion. When the day comes that a Church president instructs the membership that the truth of the restored gospel is not contingent on Book of Mormon antiquity, such a faithful people will not fly apart. The majority of Saints will remain believers because the community which has arisen from a shared faith will remain more important than facts of distant history.

GARY B. KEELEY
Columbia, MD

SUNSTONE IMPRESSIONS

TAKING THE current issue of *SUNSTONE* (Dec. 1993) as a document of a living religion, and pursuing a long-term interest in the LDS church and world as exemplary of religious vitality, I spent a couple of hours a day for several days reading pretty much every article. These are my impressions:

1. The magazine takes more interest in the politics of the LDS church than in religious issues, if any, that engage the faithful. The only article that expressed an authentic religious and intellectual program was Frank Bruno's ("He Is a Prophet of God: A Personal Encounter with Ezra Taft Benson"), but that was altogether too personal, and the prophet's message proved commonplace and unremarkable. Both religion and theology await serious attention.

2. The magazine's self-definition encompasses opposites: both sustained scholarship (D. Michael Quinn' on "Baseball Baptisms") and poetry; both fiction and polemic (Dallin Oaks's "I've Been A Victim of Double-Decker Deceit"). It needs a clearer focus.

3. You probably pay writers by the word, since they use so many of them to say simple things; you owe your authors much more



The day after the meek inherit the Earth.

rigorous editing. It would be unkind to give examples, but, alas, also superfluous.

On the up-side, the power of the LDS way of life comes through in Elbert Peck's "Hiking to Kolob," and the LDS moral conscience come through in no fewer than half a dozen articles. And more than that you cannot hope to get as praise.

JACOB NEUSNER
Tampa, FL

FROM WHAT PLANET?

AFTER READING the article about the six dissidents who were excommunicated, my only response was to ask, "What planet are these people from?" Since childhood, I

have known that although there is much room for personal opinion in the Church, a public statement of difference with the Church in any aspect is taken as evidence of apostasy.

For the Church to encourage such open dissent would be an abdication of its divine claims. The position "I believe the church is absolutely true; I only want to change it" is at base self-contradictory in a church founded on the principle of prophetic direction and is intellectually untenable, yet that is what I hear in the statements quoted from these people who style themselves intellectuals.

I applaud Brother Gileadi who did not make a media event of his council and did not immediately convene a press conference

to pour invective on the Church, even though he has appealed the decision through established channels. Dissent from the establishment is not the only way, as some otherwise educated people believe, to credential as an intellectual.

DOYLE H. BROWN
Moses Lake, WA

SUNSTONE ENCOURAGES CORRESPONDENCE. ADDRESS LETTERS FOR PUBLICATION TO "READERS' FORUM" (FAX: 801/355-4043). WE EDIT LETTERS FOR CLARITY AND TONE AND CUT THEM FOR SPACE, DUPLICATION, AND VERBOSITY. LETTERS ADDRESSED TO AUTHORS WILL BE FORWARDED UNOPENED TO THEM. ☛

OF GOOD REPORT

POWER, FREEDOM, AND RELATIONSHIP

FOR [MICHEL] FOUCAULT, power is contingent, local, imprecise, relational, and organizational. . . . [Power] does not exist as a substantive entity that can be possessed or wielded. . . .

Foucault defines a relationship of power as a mode of action that does not intend to act directly on persons or things, which is what violence does, but indirectly on actions. The exercise of power is "always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action." It is a matter, therefore, of directing the activity of others, "guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome." To govern, as an example of the exercise of power, is "to structure the possible field of action of others." . . . As such, power relations are deeply embedded in the network of social relations . . . embedded in and dependent upon the level of "micro-relations" of power, the local interactions and petty calculations of daily life.

. . . Foucault argues that relations of power are not simply engendered from the top down, but from the bottom up as well. . . . For example, the establishment and maintenance of the power of kings . . . has to be rooted in preexisting forms of behavior, socialized bodies, and local relations of power, which could not be mere projections of the central power and still effectively maintain and legitimate that power.

In this way, power is neither an entity external to how and where it works, nor is it an effect of the confrontation between two opposed adversaries or a simple dominant-dominated relationship. Indeed, Foucault argues, power is exercised over "free subjects, and only insofar as they are free," that is, with the option of acting differently. If various conditions do away with all options, then it would no longer be a relationship of power per se. Power and freedom do not come to a "face-to-face confrontation" as mutually exclusive states. Their relationship is much more complicated for Foucault. Freedom is the condition, as well as the precondition, for the exercise of power. Freedom is power's "permanent support, since without the possibility of recalcitrance, power would be equivalent to a physical determination." In other

words, the existence of freedom (in the sense of accessible options) is necessary to the exercise of power or else what might be thought to be power is really something much more like the force of necessity. Power must be grasped as quite different from the forces of violence or coercion.

The necessity of freedom to the exercise of power gives rise to Foucault's understanding of resistance. At the heart of power relationships lies an insubordination or resistance, an "essential obstinacy on the part of the principles of freedom," which means that there can be "no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight." Hence, to explore power is to explore a necessary and simultaneous resistance to power that continues to provoke and legitimize its exercise. "Every power relationship implies, at least in *potentia*," he writes, "a strategy of struggle, in which the two forces are not superimposed, do not lose their specific nature, or do not finally become confused. Each constitutes for the other a kind of permanent limit, a point of possible reversal." Every power relationship implies the potential for struggle or confrontation, a confrontation that participants in the relationship mistakenly think they may win, even though they cannot win *and* remain (as a winner) within a power relationship. Indeed, every confrontation potentially aims at the stabilization of the power relation. A power relationship undoes itself when, pushing to quell completely the insubordination necessary to it, it succeeds in reducing the other to total subservience or in transforming the other into an overt adversary. For Foucault, therefore, the exercise of power is a strategic choice from among ways of interacting and it depends upon a variety of practices chosen by the parties involved to maintain the relationship as one of power.

CATHERINE BELL
in *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*
Oxford University Press, 1992, 199-201

Submissions of interesting quotations are welcome.

FROM THE EDITOR

THE OUTER LIMITS



By *Elbert Eugene Peck*

UNTIL THE eighteenth century, "tolerance" was only a pejorative—a lax complacency toward evil. As part of the response to the collective, Catholic world view, the idea of religious tolerance developed as an essential and creative complement to the parallel concepts of capitalism (which requires independent, competing enterprises), the scientific method (which questions fundamental assumptions), and the nation-state (which embraces different feudal communities and ethnicities under one rule of law), all of which expanded notions of the individual, conscience, and individual rights. Tolerance was championed as necessary for progress (another new notion). For those resigned to the new, chaotic pluralism, tolerance was simply an unavoidable necessity.

Tolerance acknowledges diversity, but it

doesn't necessarily celebrate the differences it allows (unlike the Apostle Paul's body-of-Christ metaphor, which glories in each member's unique gifts [1 Cor. 12]). It is a deliberate mental act, not a generous impulse of the heart. Tolerance grudgingly allows place for the other, accords it the right to think and act differently—to be "other"—while at the same time believing the other to be wrong. Yet it also possesses an often unacknowledged tentativeness about one's most absolute assumptions and beliefs.

Tolerance is usually applied between groups; when substantive differences arise within a group, schism is often the result—either individual exit or the creation of a new group. Recently and too often I've heard exit prescribed for LDS "dissidents": "Mormonism believes ____; if you don't agree, leave."

Many religions are uncomfortable with internal tolerance. In his Sunstone symposium essay, Art Bassett asked Mormons, "How Much Tolerance Can We Tolerate?" (SUNSTONE, Sept. 1987). Earlier, Elder B. H. Roberts answered with his famous maxim:

In essentials let there be unity; in non-essentials, liberty; and in all things, charity. . . . [S]o far as . . . absolute and positive essentials, are concerned, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints stands on very firm ground. . . . [T]hings in which the judgment of men may be exercised, and where it is merely a question, perhaps, of policy, or of administration. . . . are . . . in the realm of the non-essentials . . . where human judgment may be exercised: and where men may not be able to come to absolute unity of understanding. . . . (*Conference Report*, 5 Oct. 1912, 30–34.)

The challenge, then, is to discriminate between essentials, on which there must be unity, and non-essentials, where diversity may exist. (Elder Roberts's examples of non-essentials were primarily political issues.) Some differences are complementary, and their diversity is obviously enriching, like the colors in the rainbow. They are easy to embrace—one's artistic talent, another's scientific acumen. Other differences are, or

PAUL'S THEOLOGY OF TOLERANCE

Romans 14:1–23, Revised English Bible

Accept anyone who is weak in faith without debate about his misgivings. For instance, one person may have faith strong enough to eat all kinds of food, while another who is weaker eats only vegetables. Those who eat meat must not look down on those who do not, and those who do not eat meat must not pass judgement on those who do; for God has accepted them. Who are you to pass judgement on someone else's servant? Whether he stands or falls is his own Master's business; and stand he will, because his Master has power to enable him to stand.

Again, some make a distinction between this day and that; others regard all days alike. Everyone must act on his own convictions. Those who honor the day honor the Lord, and those who eat meat also honor the Lord, since when they eat meat they give thanks to God; and those who abstain have the Lord in mind when abstaining, since they too give thanks to God.

For none of us lives, and equally none of us dies, for himself alone. If we live, we live for the Lord; and if we die, we die for the Lord. So whether we live or die, we belong to the Lord. This is why Christ died and lived again, to establish his lordship over both dead and living. You, then, why do you pass judgement on your fellow-Christian? And you, why do you look down on your fellow-Christian? We shall all stand before God's tribunal; for we read in scripture, 'As I live, says the Lord, to me every knee shall bow and every tongue acknowledge God.' So, you see, each of us will be

answerable to God.

Let us therefore cease judging one another, but rather make up our minds to place no obstacle or stumbling block in a fellow-Christian's way. All that I know of the Lord Jesus convinces me that nothing is impure in itself; only, if anyone considers something impure, then for him it is impure. If your fellow-Christian is outraged by what you eat, then you are no longer guided by love. Do not by your eating be the ruin of one for whom Christ died! You must not let what you think good be brought into disrepute; for the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but justice, peace, and joy, inspired by the Holy Spirit. Everyone who shows himself a servant of Christ in this way is acceptable to God and approved by men.

Let us, then, pursue the things that make for peace and build up the common life. Do not destroy the work of God for the sake of food. Everything is pure in itself, but it is wrong to eat if by eating you cause another to stumble. It is right to abstain from eating meat or drinking wine or from anything else which causes a fellow-Christian to stumble. If you have some firm conviction, keep it between yourself and God. Anyone who can make his decision without misgivings is fortunate. But anyone who has misgivings and yet eats is guilty, because his action does not arise from conviction, and anything which does not arise from conviction is sin. . . .

seem to be, between light and dark, right and wrong, good and evil. Even a tolerance for them in the community is sin and apostasy.

When we use the word diversity in the Church, especially concerning its international growth, we often mean differences in dress, skin color, language, class, customs, and education (but not, according to Elder Dallin Oaks, music)—superficial things—not substantive differences in world views, perspectives, approaches, practices, and beliefs. But there are in fact genuine, core differences among us, and they will inevitably increase with our growth, making the essential/non-essential line even harder to determine. Even now, very good Saints differ on what they see as essentials.

For example, is explicating the nebulous LDS belief in Mother in Heaven a non-essential area where we can allow diversity? How about praying to our Heavenly Parents? What about using different Bible translations? Or discussing nineteenth-century elements in the Book of Mormon? Or just having a non-fundamentalistic approach to scripture? Or a very fundamentalistic approach to scripture? Or to revelation? Or a human view of Church leaders and policy? Along with homosexuals, feminists, and so-called scholars and intellectuals, the list of members with deviant beliefs embraces almost all to some degree. At present, we seem to be enforcing a more rigid orthodoxy, and in that line-drawing we must ask, what are the outer boundaries of Mormonism and the concomitant roles of tolerance and diversity?

The early Christian Church confronted similar diverging issues. The Jewish Christians accepted the testimony of Jesus as Lord and lived it in part through keeping the Law of Moses. Their world view demanded a detailed array of Hebrew practices, beliefs, assumptions, diets, and holy and feast days. In contrast, the Gentile Christians embraced the testimony of Jesus but not the Jewish traditions, which were silly to them. Could two separate religious traditions exist in one religion? Their differences make many of today's controversies seem trivial.

In his missive to the Saints in Rome, Paul preached a tolerance that welcomed all true believers of Christ into the Church, but counseled against debating their differences there: "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." (Rom. 14:1.) Paul's "weak" Saints were the Jewish Christians who clung to their old habits; conversely, the Jewish Christians thought Paul was the weak one who watered down the received word of God. In contrast to Roberts's essential/non-essential distinction,

the key boundary determinant for Paul was whether your act was motivated by faith; if it was, you were acceptable. Although Paul allowed for two radically different religious traditions to co-exist, he would not allow Jewish Christians to demand that other Christians keep their practices, especially circumcision (a core belief many Jews considered as essential as baptism); likewise, he counseled the "stronger" Gentile Christians not to flaunt their liberty in Christ by doing things that hurt the weak. Faith in Christ and love for others were Paul's essentials; most doctrinal points were non-essentials.

If a first-century Christian community could embrace a phylactery-adorned, Leviticus-quoting, orthodox Jew; a free-thinking, Greek intellectual; a simple, ethical living slave; a wealthy Roman slave owner—all of whom Paul saw in faithful relationships to God—perhaps a twenty-first-century LDS ward can make room for a working, Mother-in-Heaven feminist, a polygamist patriarch (and his wives), a humanist intellectual, and a correlated CES administrator. If Paul could embrace Moses-following Jews, surely we can allow those who religiously follow the dead prophets, Brigham and Joseph. Why must we enforce with violence one program, one orthodoxy, when the slightest observation reveals different in perspectives that are inherent in our humanness, evolve over time, and often have little to do with faithfulness or righteousness? Nevertheless, Paul's tolerance within the community did not extend to unrepentant sinners—fornicators, blasphemers, hedonists, covetors, gossipers, abusers, etc. There are boundaries—not anything goes!—and they must be maintained to preserve the community.

If discussions (disputations) of our differences should be left outside the chapel (perhaps implying supplementary organizations for the different perspectives), what should happen inside? Well, the true essentials we have in common. First, the celebration of the testimony of Christ through the sacrament and the sharing of experiences in carrying his cross that encourage, give hope, and build faith. Next, caring for the spiritual and physical needs of our sisters and brothers. "Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock . . . in his brother's way," Paul counseled. "For the kingdom is not meat and drink [non-essential practices]; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things

wherewith one may edify another." (Rom. 14:13, 17–19.) That's putting orthopraxy (right living) over orthodoxy (right thinking) and is in harmony with Christ's description of the heaven-bound: not those who say "Lord, Lord . . ." but those who do the ethical practices preached in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 7:21–24)—the naked clothiers, the hungry feeders, the stranger welcomers, and the imprisoned visitors. (Matt. 25: 34–46.)

In that light, the thought-police who assault the gospel doctrine teacher for quoting the New Jerusalem Bible seem petty and falsely righteous. What has happened to Mormonism? We judge and exclude incredibly decent individuals for a few aberrant thoughts or non-essential acts. And conservatives have no monopoly on such intolerance. Liberals use their theologies to judge and reject good souls in the name of righteousness just as much as do clones of Elder Packer. (In an ironic twist on the American terms where conservatives are the *laissez-faire* individualists and liberals approach problems through legalistic social programming, Mormon conservatives are often the ones imposing non-essential organizational strictures while liberals assert their individualism often to the harm of the communal life, too.) Theologies should empower us to live better, connected, spirit-filled lives, not be clubs to beat each other with. Tolerance *between* groups can be an atomistic, live-and-let-live philosophy, but *within* a group, tolerance has to be a communal theology.

We need more tolerance in Mormonism. But does a tolerance for others whose views you strongly and even morally oppose mean that you don't work to reform the world and the kingdom according to your understanding? No, not only do we then get that especially Mormon dysfunction of polite niceness that pushes out real love, but then our tolerance is moral laxity. For example, as a feminist I deeply believe in the social, spiritual, and religious equality of the sexes and speak and work for those truths, especially within the religious community that I most care about. But, at the same time, I still must be willing to love, serve, and worship with other Saints whose beliefs and acts I think harm, subordinate, and oppress women. That duality is hard to attain, but is essential if we don't want to reject those whom God accepts. Consider healing, closing scene in *Places of the Heart* where Sally Field takes the Lord's Supper alongside all her friends and opponents; the net of God's kingdom gathers all kinds of fish. That kind of tolerance does not pronounce judgment on individuals, but

loves the alien other, "your enemies" (Matt. 5:44), while at the same time engages them over core differences. It can be sustained only with a spiritual knowledge of the love of God for oneself and one's opponents. It is an act of the heart more than of the mind. In an earlier time, could (should?) a slave owner and an abolitionist kneel together in love at the same sacrament table with no hard feelings toward each other? To do so requires a trust in God's judgment that transcends our human ability to reason.

Not all differences are as black and white as slavery, but many current strong positions are alien to others and will not be resolved in this life. Our task is to turn that unavoidable tension into a creative dynamic. The collaborative tradition where different parties don't try to remake the other into their own position was expressed in *First Things*:

To say that our [magazine] is a Christian-Jewish enterprise does not mean that it is some hybrid "Third Way" called Jewish-Christian, distinct from the ways of Judaism and Christianity. As we understand it, the Christian-Jewish partnership requires that Jews be Jews and Christians be Christians. . . . "True pluralism, as we intend never to tire of saying, is not pretending that our differences make no difference. True pluralism is honestly engaging the differences that make a very great difference in this world, and perhaps in the next." (the editors, "Christians, Jews, and Anti-Semitism," *First Things*, Mar. 1992, 9.)

While some differences require different churches or traditions, others can be embraced within the same tradition or church. Can the boundaries of Mormonism be expanded to a place where believing Saints—who put the religious puzzle together in dramatically different ways—can engage each other in honest discussion without judgment and name-calling? Is that level of open acceptance even desirable, or would Mormonism lose its forceful drive that in part comes from its zealous fundamentalism? I am skeptical whether Paul's vision for a church that embraces such broad diversity is humanly possible. Certainly, the Jewish Christians (Peter, James, and John) were reluctant to acknowledge Paul's revisionist theology (perhaps only because of the success of his missions). Similarly, after Elder Roberts's conference address, Church President Joseph F. Smith counseled about the dangers from the liberty Roberts celebrated.

Our uneasiness with religious diversity is because tolerance implies change and tentativeness, and churches are designed to conserve and provide certainty. We create them to preserve and pass on the received truth through traditions. That is why the Enlightenment idea of progress, the discovery of new, assumption-breaking ideas, has never been enthusiastically embraced by those religions that feel they already possess the truth that just needs to be lived. Therefore, it is hard for established churches to reform quickly, and they rarely lead social change. Hence, new ones are formed to accommodate new ideas. Given that conservative bent, can a church maintain the diversity and openness that the early Christian Church preached, and still keep its vibrant identity that comes from asserting its truth-claims?

Because of the destruction of the Jewish Christian Church in 70 A.D., the subsequent Christian history is relatively free of its Jewish roots, and that Pauline experiment in tolerance was aborted. Yet even freed of its Jewish wing, much of Christian history is the continued enforcement of a narrowing orthodoxy: excommunicating heretics, pronouncing doctrinal creeds crafted to work out picky theological differences, policing inquisitions, and purifying purges.

Still, within many Christian religions today, especially those with decentralized authority, a form of tolerance has developed among their different local congregations where some are relatively liberal and others conservative; together they allow for some difference in approaches in religion under the same church banner. That arrangement allows easy exit from one group by moving to a congregation that emphasizes different non-essentials while still affirming the church's core beliefs. In Mormonism, however, with its centralized, hierarchal structure and uniform congregational model, exit is far more difficult for non-mainstream believers because they have no other place to go, and they find themselves in strained relationships. That monopoly calls Latter-day Saints to expand our limits of tolerance as wide as possible in order not to harm the spiritual health of members by coercing conformity to non-essentials.

But unity is an important Mormon value, too: If we are not one, we are not God's people. (D&C 38:27.) The establishment of Zion has focused my theological ponderings about the institutional Church and my personal life. Just what does it mean to be "of one heart and one mind, and dwell[] in righteousness; and [have] no poor" among us? (Moses 7:18.) Without humans becom-

ing an entirely different species, to become "of one mind" cannot mean everyone arrives at the same intellectual conclusions; but we can unite our differing minds to the common work of doing God's will on earth, work which Paul described as peace-making and service. "One heart" can mean that our love of God grows so that we love each other in spite of differences.

I think of my experience with Ron Craven at the Missionary Training Center where we taught a pilot class. He was the spit-and-polish, rule-preaching, quintessential Iron Rod elder; I was the khaki, sockless, unshined weejun-wearing, stereotypical Liahona. On the last day when the missionaries asked Ron for parting words, he said, "Keep the rules"; I said, "Follow the Spirit." Yet in spite of our differences in theology, in approach to mission life and missionary work, a bond of affection formed between us that was evident to the missionaries. Even now, as I think about Ron, my eyes mist. Perhaps the best lesson we taught was the example that two very different individuals who felt a deep love for each other had place in the Church. With the Spirit, we can become one in our hearts, even if we think and act differently.

From other experiences, I believe the quickest route to such a diverse, spiritual unity is in exalting the poor, which Paul said was appropriate inside the Church. Work for social justice (which is often what the Bible means by righteousness) breaks and bonds hearts, unites assorted individuals, puts our intellectual speculations in their correct perspective (next to nothing), and focuses our souls on the important matters at hand.

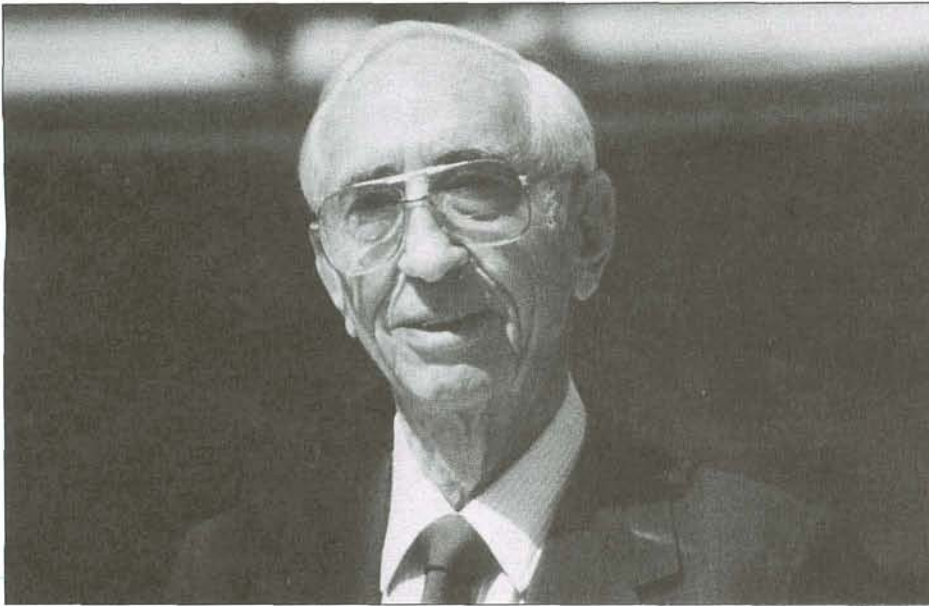
How much tolerance can Mormonism tolerate? A lot, if we center on following Jesus, however different the paths, "for thus alone can we be one" ("Come, Follow Me," *Hymns*, 116). Not much, if we coerce compliance to a human-drafted creed. And the irony is that in allowing diversity, we must turn to the Spirit to attain unity or break apart as a people; but in enforcing one program, we can maintain the institution through conformity to its rules yet never achieve the call to Zion. Can we as a Church and a people ever make that live-or-die leap of faith? That's an even harder question.

Let's welcome all believers into the Church, keep doubtful disputations outside the chapel, and together celebrate Christ and the diverse members of his body, all of whom need succor and support. There are many members, some "less honorable," yet one body (1 Cor. 12:20, 23); for "the truth is that we neither live nor die as self-contained units." (Rom. 14:7, Phillips trans.)

IN MEMORIAM

OBERT C. TANNER
SYMBOL OF FREEDOM

By Sterling M. McMurrin



Obert always insisted that we need room where we can move around and breathe freely—the freedom of authentic individuality.

Obert C. Tanner was a Utah businessman and noted Mormon philanthropist. His life was shaped by his extraordinary efforts to achieve world peace, teach human values, and resolve conflicts. He and his wife of sixty-two years, Grace Adams Tanner, sponsored the annual Tanner Lecture at Mormon History Association meetings. Obert was a champion of knowledge and beauty; he was awarded eleven degrees and sponsored the construction of more than forty fountains around Utah. He was named an American delegate to the Geneva Conference of the World Federation of the United Nations six times. For these efforts he was awarded the United Nations Peace Medal on behalf of the United Nations Association. Obert served a German mission for the Church, was a Seminary teacher and Seminary principal. He taught and served as a chaplain at Stanford University before teaching philosophy for twenty-seven years at the University of Utah. He was the author of

ten books including *Christ's Ideals for Living*. Obert was also a long-time supporter of many Utah arts programs. He was born in Farmington, Utah, 20 September 1904, and died 14 October 1993.

MY FIRST CONVERSATION with Obert Tanner occurred in the early fall of 1938. It began about 3 P.M., included a dinner with my wife, Natalie, and ended around 1:30 A.M. Obert's wife, Grace, was not present, but he told us so much about her that we became friends before ever meeting her in person. In addition to Grace, our conversation centered primarily on one thing: the crucial importance and intrinsic value of freedom. It began with a few casual remarks about freedom in teaching, as we were both teachers. Freedom is a very complex subject, and Obert Tanner was a very complicated person, so the conversation went in many

directions—but always on that basic theme of the ultimate value of freedom. Because we were both students and teachers, it centered on intellectual freedom, which, after literally thousands of hours of discussion and argument, was always our main concern.

But at the time of our first meeting, we were in the depths of the Great Depression, and there was plenty to talk about. In that first conversation we covered a great deal of territory—from Socrates and Jesus to William James and Karl Marx. We were both students of philosophy, and Obert had written the New Testament volume that I was using as a text, so we had common ground on which to meet. I well remember Obert's dwelling on the Socratic maxim, "The unexamined life is not worth living." After more than half a century, that was still solidly built into his nature. Up until his death, he examined life and found it worth living. I realized during that first conversation that Obert's strong preoccupation with the life and teachings of Jesus constituted another side of his nature—the religious sentiment and the affections of compassion.

Obert and I had much in common in our philosophical views. He had already studied with two of America's foremost philosophers, Morris Cohen, a realist, and C. I. Lewis, a Kantian pragmatist, both of whom had an indelible effect on Obert's own philosophy, and both of whom were students of William James, a philosophical saint for both Obert and me. Our mutual admiration of James's philosophy was due, no doubt, to the pluralistic and pragmatic elements in the religion in which both of us were reared, and to the influence of our teacher and friend Ephraim E. Ericksen, whose philosophy reflected a profound influence from both James and John Dewey. But Marxism, as well as pragmatism, was an important factor in that first conversation. The question of the worth of communism was a common subject for disputation in those days of the Depression, when capitalism was under fire, and

Obert had been studying Marxism at Stanford. I well recall how impressed I was by Obert's description of dialectical materialism and his insistence that the great evil of communism was not so much its economic theory and practice as its involvement with the police state, which is the ultimate destroyer of freedom. But the communist economic theory, he held, must eventually lead to political absolutism with all of its evils. Obert laced his conversation with references to freedom—the problem of how to create an orderly society governed by law but protective of individual freedom.

In the first conversation and in untold sessions since, we faced the problem of our relation to the Church. Our cultural roots were firmly in the LDS church. Though we held dissident views and were somewhat critical of both the beliefs and practices of the Church, we had very strong ties with it—not only of sentiment and with a sense of participating in its history, to say nothing of bonds of kinship and friendship, but also because we sincerely believed that there were important elements of truth and strength in the Mormon religion and its theology. Only those who have experienced it can fully grasp the holding power of the LDS church, because to be a Mormon is to belong not simply to a church but to a living community and culture. Besides, when we first met I was just beginning my second year of teaching in the Church seminaries, and Obert had been both a missionary and teacher for the Church. So the problem of how to preserve our intellectual integrity and enjoy genuine freedom in our thinking—as well as in our private and public statements and in our writing—while at the same time being loyal to our commitments to the Church, inevitably persisted in our discussions.

Even before our first meeting I was conscious of Obert's reputation as a leader in intellectual circles, though he was only in his thirties and almost ten years my senior. He impressed me deeply on that first occasion, and the impression remains after more than half a century: Obert was a man of uncommon wisdom, with conservative values that balanced his constant questioning and probing, with a sense of social responsibility that kept some check on his remarkably adventurous mind.

To refer to freedom in characterizing Obert Tanner is not simply to say that for him freedom was an ultimate value, something of absolute worth, that he passionately advocated freedom in its many forms, as many as there are practical contexts in which decisions are made and actions are taken. It

is even much more than that: the importance of freedom was so deeply ingrained in his personality that it seems to have had a pervasive effect on both his judgment and behavior. I find it impossible, for instance, to isolate Obert's inveterate optimism from this deep-seated consciousness of freedom in his nature. This is not the cursory optimism of those who have never known the depths of human tragedy, but rather of one who has come face to face with the perils inherent in a world in which freedom is real; yet he had that heroic determination to fight against the odds and convert every threat of defeat into a promise of victory.

I well remember a sunny day soon after the last days of World War II, when we stood together on Telegraph Hill in San Francisco. After we had gone over the terrible devastation of the just-ended war, with the unspeakable evil of the Holocaust, Obert turned to the future. Although the world would not begin to emerge from the War's destruction for several years, he painted a future with the most sanguine, confident, and promising colors. It was an open and free future: open because human history is not totally determined by the inexorable laws and events of the physical world; free because in human relations there are countless possibilities for alternative judgments, decisions, actions. The American future, insisted Obert, would be a future of prosperity and happiness far exceeding anything that the world had even dreamed of.

Obert's uncommon sense of humor combined with his talent for metaphor, simile, anecdote, and impersonation, intended more to instruct than to entertain, always amused and delighted his listeners. A few years after the Telegraph Hill episode, when a nuclear Armageddon seemed to be a real possibility, Obert and I were discussing the imminent threat of such a disaster when he said, "I can imagine God and his two councilors up there looking down on us when the whole earth explodes and goes up in a great mushroom cloud. After it is blown to bits, God turns to his angels and says, 'Well, it was a great show. We'll have to put it on again sometime.'"

My association with Obert Tanner has been primarily within the context of academic life, though I have known something of his business enterprises and even more of his philanthropies, and, thanks to the close friendship of our families, I am aware of some facets of his private, personal feelings and attitudes. It seems to me that his concern for freedom characterized all facets of his life and work. In academic life as a student and

as a teacher of philosophy at Stanford University and the University of Utah, he enjoyed the fullest measure of intellectual freedom: the freedom to learn, to teach, to read, speak, and write without the impediments of external political, social, economic, or religious pressure.

It is well known that Obert and Grace Tanner have established numerous lecture-ships in many places, including the prestigious international Tanner Lectures on Human Values. Always, the Tanner Lectures are described as transcending "racial, ethnic, or national origins as well as religious and ideological distinctions." The lecturers are free of any and every kind of impediment or censoring that would constrain them in advancing their ideas. During his years at the University of Utah, Obert Tanner became a symbol among educators, students, and the general public of the intellectual freedom that he vigorously and persistently advocated. He powerfully and effectively spoke for the supreme value of reason and knowledge: not as a defender of academic freedom as if it were some kind of privilege granted to those who teach, but as a sacred obligation of the teacher to think and speak and argue and write honestly and courageously without fear of oppression or persecution for the free expression of ideas. He championed not the freedom of irresponsibility, but freedom within the constraints of personal and social responsibility, of good sense and mature judgment. Obert's concern for his students meant he never imposed his opinions on them or in any way coerced their views, unless a strong advocacy of respect for evidence and reason is seen as coercion. As a teacher, writer, and lecturer, and in his influence among his friends and associates, he was an avowed enemy of ignorance, superstition, credulity, blind faith, chronic doubt and skepticism, an enemy of political or theocratic coercion on belief and behavior, an advocate of freedom of thought, of the pursuit of ideas, and a willingness to be wrong, to back down and start over again. He remains the prophet of the Socratic maxim that the "unexamined life is not worth living."

As with all other freedoms, intellectual freedom means "freedoms from" and "freedoms for": freedom from ignorance and nonsense, and freedom for the creative adventure of ideas.

Of course, there are several sides of Obert's passion for freedom. Despite his study of the law and his membership in the Bar, I have never known a person more "un-legalistic," more opposed to the trivial regu-

lations imposed by bureaucracy, the shallow directives and rules hatched up by the authorities, the endless restrictions of organization and government, the social pressures that mandate conformity. He always insisted that we need room where we can move around and breathe freely—the freedom of authentic individuality. Now, of course, I am not suggesting that Obert Tanner opposed the rule of law, but he objected to the trivial and coercive use of law. To serve, as he did with distinction under presidential appointment, as a member of the National Commission for the Constitution was for him a matter of considerable pride and an occasion for public service at the highest level. The Bill of Rights, the foundation of American freedom, was for Obert a sacred document. He dedicated much of his life to translating it into action.

Even as a patron of the arts, concern for freedom moved Obert in his philanthropies. I well recall that in an argument with him in 1948, when I insisted that the arts should be supported by the government, Obert took a strong stand that the arts should rest on private foundations to preserve their freedom from political and bureaucratic controls that would capture them for practical purposes and ends hostile to their own intrinsic worth. Like Schopenhauer and Santayana, Obert Tanner believed that beauty for its own sake is the supreme value.

Speaking of beauty and the arts, it is well known that Obert had a penchant for giving fountains—more than fifty throughout Utah and across the country and abroad. No one seems to know just how many. Here again Obert expressed the meaning of freedom. When some argued that the configuration of water in the plaza by the high-rise LDS office building in Salt Lake City should be reflective pools of water, with a kind of Taj Mahal effect, he held out for a fountain with streams of running water. Reflecting pools, he argued, are appropriate as symbols of Islam, the religion of submission and fate. Mormonism embraces life, action, freedom. Nothing but free-flowing streams of water could symbolize its meaning. It's no wonder that his exquisite manufacturing plant has fountains inside and out.

Finally, I should comment on Obert's commitment to freedom in relation to his business life. His advocacy of free enterprise in business and industry can be taken for granted, as well as his business providing economic freedom for himself and his family. Rather, I have in mind the concern for others that became, especially in recent years, something of a passion for him. Over more

than four decades, I had countless conversations with Obert in which we discussed his manufacturing business. He took much pride in his business, but I can honestly say that I have never heard him refer to profits and income. That the profits and income have been considerable is obvious to anyone acquainted with the main plant of the O. C. Tanner Company, which is a work of art in itself; but Obert's conversation always turned to his satisfaction in providing employment for others to enable them to find their own economic freedom. He had an honest, sincere concern for those employed in his company, not a patronizing attitude and no sense of superiority or pleasure that others depended on him. It was an expression of the good will that he had for others. The extent to which he contributed to whatever made their economic independence possible gave him personal satisfaction. Economic freedom—the freedom from want, from fear of the future, from the conditions that depress the personality and destroy individuality—is the freedom that Obert Tanner desperately wanted for those who joined his company.

It would be interesting to know just what factors in Obert's experience went into the making of his obsession with freedom. There's no way of telling for sure, but it is

possible to identify a few things that may have had some causal bearing on this facet of his character: the assumption of very early responsibilities that far exceeded his age, as for instance his work in his early teens with sheep in Canada that required mature effort and decision; the profound influence of his mother, a woman of remarkably strong character and uncommonly good judgment; his responsibilities for leadership on his LDS mission; his working his way through college; and especially his upbringing in a religion that celebrated the freedom of the will, that denies the negative descriptions of the human condition associated with the doctrines of original sin and predestination; and all of this crowned by his philosophical studies that culminated in the pragmatic concept of a pluralistic, open universe and a melioristic ethic. Anyone who has watched the O. C. Tanner Company steadily expand or has observed Obert Tanner's influence as a teacher and civic leader grow over the past forty years has seen an objectification of a philosophy rooted in confidence in human abilities and an optimistic faith in the future. For him, freedom is not only the avenue to whatever is of worth to the individual and society, it is in itself a supreme value. ☐



CITADEL

Within this citadel, so little light arrives
through the smeared and yellowed panes:
One imagines the press of ice chariots,
though the ink of Spring's treaties is yet fresh
on the thumb and forefinger.

The peasants scatter and gather their seed
with the seasons. Their movements appear
still more nebulous and indistinct—
One sees them as if through a faded sleeve,
stretched and lifted to the evening sun.

These walls only stand motionless among the elements.
One hardly perceives how the peasants silently
turn their heads from the corn fields, towards this place.
There is thunder from a storm, there are
hooves on the country road; wolves howl mournfully
from beyond the rows of broken stubble.

The children watch their mothers' eyes follow
the lights that appear and move according to habit,
oblivious to their own detection, behind the
tarnished panes. They evenly lower their chins to their
mothers' breasts. Sleep overtakes them, a few minutes
before the castle lights are extinguished.

—TODD MORLEY

TURNING THE TIME OVER TO...

J. Frederic Voros Jr.

"THE FIRST STEP IS THE HARDEST"



WILLIAM BLAKE, "Air" from *For Children: The Gates of Paradise*

God has not given us the spirit of fear. Fear of Church discipline, fear of eternal failure, fear of each other—these are not of God.

The Olive Branch was an *ad hoc* group of members and nonmembers who organized to announce a one-time meeting as well as gather donations and signatures for a newspaper ad protesting recent excommunications ("Six Intellectuals Disciplined For Apostasy," SUNSTONE Nov. 1993). The following is a talk given at the Olive Branch Sunday Devotional on 5 December 1993 ("Disciplinary Actions Generate More Heat," SUNSTONE Dec. 1993).

THERE WERE, I know, good reasons not to attend this devotional. Perhaps you are like me in this: the road from where I was to this hall was difficult. It reminds me of St. Denis, the patron saint of France, who according to legend walked from Montmartre almost to Paris—carrying his head in his hands, a feat about which one Madame du

Deffand observed, "The first step is the hardest."

Thanks to the Olive Branch for putting together the ad and this devotional. I gladly signed the ad as many of you did. Perhaps some of you have had experiences like the one I had this week in connection with it. I work in the Utah State Capitol and one of the investigators there said to me in passing, "Church security was up here yesterday asking where your office was. We told them you weren't here." I took his comment as a jest; but the joke turns on an unspoken and probably unconscious uneasiness about the reach of Church security.

Similarly, after the excommunications in September, a number of friends contacted me to say, "Be careful. Lay low. Don't do anything rash." On Friday a very mainstream friend called and said, "I saw your name on the news the other night. Have they done anything to you?" I know many of you have received similar calls and expressions of concern.

About six months ago a Church leader said to me, "Think of your children. They do not begin where you began, but where you are now." His statement was true, of course, but was it intended as kindly advice, or a threat? Was it meant to inspire thought—or fear?

Our text for this evening is from 2 Timothy 1:7: "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

We Mormons feel fear all right: fear that if we publicly disagree we may be punished; fear that if we espouse unwelcome ideas or doctrines—however true—we may be disfellowshipped; fear that if we tell an unfriendly truth about the Church or its history we may be excommunicated. And recent events prove that such fears are not irrational. Like no other religious community that I know, ours is shot through with fear.

I want to tell you a story set in another community beset by fear. In this community lived a man much like you and me: a man born blind. Jesus healed him one Sabbath day by spitting into the dirt and pressing the clay into his eyes, then telling him to wash in the pool of Siloam. (See John 9:6-14.)

The Pharisees probed this event. The man told them that Jesus "put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see." Some of the Pharisees said, "This man is not of God, because he keeps not the sabbath day." Others said, "[But] how can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?"

The Pharisees refused to believe that the man had been healed until they spoke with his parents. They asked them, "Is this your son, who you say was born blind? how then does he now see?" His parents said, "We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but by what means he now sees, we know not; or who has opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age; ask him: he shall speak for himself."

His parents said this "because they feared the Jews: for the Jews had agreed already, that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." Or, as rendered by theologian J. B. Phillips, "the Jews . . . had already agreed that anybody who admitted that Christ had done this thing should be excommunicated."

The Pharisees again called in the man who had been blind, and said to him, "Give God the praise: we know that this man is a sinner." But he answered, "Whether he be a sinner or no, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see." They asked him again, "What did he do to thee? how opened he your eyes?" He answered them, "I have told you already, and you did not hear:

J. Frederic Voros Jr. is a lawyer and a writer living in Salt Lake City.

why would you hear it again? will you also be his disciples?" Then they reviled him, and said, "You are his disciple; but we are Moses' disciples. We know that God spoke to Moses: as for this fellow, we know not from whence he is."

The man answered and said unto them, "Why here is a marvellous thing, that you know not from whence he is, and yet he has opened my eyes. We know that God hears not sinners: but if any man be a worshipper of God, and does his will, him he hears. Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing."

They answered him, "You were altogether born in sin, and do you teach us?" And they cast him out.

When Jesus heard of this, he said, "For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind."

Some of the Pharisees which were with him heard these words, and said to him, "[So,] are we blind also?" Jesus said to them, "If you were blind, you should have no sin: but now you say, We see; therefore your sin remains."

This story cuts close to the bone. We recognize many of the Pharisees' methods: judging from afar; denial of others' experiences; emphasis on enforceable rules; reliance on authority; enforcement of silence by ecclesiastical discipline; curtailing discussion with accusations of personal unworthiness; and control through fear.

But the scripture teaches that God has "not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." It continues, "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner: but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God; Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." (2 Tim. 1:7-9.)

We are called not according to fear, but grace. We should not fear that we are unworthy. Of course we are! But Christ's love and grace are not to the worthy alone, but to the unworthy; not to the righteous alone, but to the unrighteous; not to the pharisee alone, but to the sinner. And his salvation perhaps is only to the unworthy, the unrighteous, the sinner. Only they need a savior. It is only the blind that he blesses with sight.

He loves us without limit. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall

tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? . . . For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, Nor height, nor depth, [nor, might I add, bishops, nor stake presidents, nor apostles,] nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Rom. 8:35-39.)

Through Joseph he said, "this is my doctrine—whosoever repenteth and cometh unto me, the same is my church." (D&C 10:67.) From this church no stake president can excommunicate us. But why would any Church leader want to? Why would any leader wish to govern by fear? The most likely answer, I submit, is because he himself is governed by fear.

Our leaders will not bring the finances of the Church into the light. Why not? What investments have they made that they do not want revealed? What payments have they made or received, what millions have they lost or gained, what money have they borrowed or lent that they do not want known?

Our leaders will not bring the history of the Church into the light. Why not? Why must it be buried in the First Presidency's vault, hidden even from them? Why must our common history remain, at least in part, secret?

Our leaders will not bring the health of our president, Ezra Taft Benson, into the light. Why not? Why must they read coyly worded statements at conference designed to lead us to believe that he is mentally alert when in fact he cannot recognize close family members?

Our leaders will not bring their secret dossiers on suspect Saints into the light. Why not? What do those files contain that they cannot be shown even to the people on whom they are kept?

Our leaders will not meet with the Saints except under carefully controlled circumstances, sometimes including promises of confidentiality. Why not? What are they afraid we will ask them? What are they afraid we will tell them? What do they wish to say that others may not hear?

Finally, our leaders will not admit the paucity of their revelations or forthrightly discuss the existence or frequency of their contacts with heavenly powers. Why not?

What do they fear? I don't know. I can only surmise. Perhaps it is us. Not us here tonight, but the Saints in general. Perhaps it is our judgment. Perhaps they fear that if we knew their methods and their incomes and their humanness and their hearts, their fail-

ures as well as their successes, the difficulty they and their predecessors have had in receiving revelations, perhaps they fear that if we knew all this, we would cease to believe and make a mass exodus out of the Church on their watch. So they give us nothing to judge. No financial statements. No documents. No open files. No open hearts. No target.


If this is their fear, to them I would say: you have misjudged the Saints. Our faith is not founded on you. It never was. We never believed it was you who opened our eyes and made us see. We never believed it was you who made our hearts burn within us. We never believed you were the way, or the truth, or the life. Our faith is founded, must be founded, on Another, who is your Master as well as ours.

Lay down your burden of perfection. It is too heavy for you; it is too heavy for any mortal. Come down from your upper rooms and your red chairs and let us converse as brothers and sisters, as our Heavenly Parents and our common Savior must want us to do. We are on the same side of the great divide between Savior and saved. Like us, you cannot be saved by your works, only by his grace. Like us, you must admit your blindness before you receive sight.

You are not our fathers, and we are not your children. You need not withhold information from us for our own good. Like you, we are adults. We do not hold you accountable for the success of the Church, whatever you may think that means.

I know there are Saints who insist on being dependent on you, who want you to feed and carry them rather than learning to walk on their own. Such a relationship is spiritually unhealthy for you both. Do not encourage them. If they are of age and have been in the Church a few years, kick them out of the nest. Insist that they begin to grow spiritually, or they never will attain "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. 4:13.)

God has not given us the spirit of fear. Fear of Church discipline, fear of eternal failure, fear of each other—these are not of God. We must cast them out as we would any other spirit that is not of God. These may be cast out only by love: His boundless love for us, and our imperfect love for one another. But we as a community can cast out our fear only when we first have the courage to acknowledge that it exists. Perhaps this first step is the hardest.

May we all, leaders and members and friends alike, through the grace of Christ and by whatever humility and courage we can kindle, learn to recognize and release our fear and live as he has taught us, with love toward him and each other. 



CORNUCOPIA



It's all there in the Nevada desert—except for the great and spacious building. But once you pull into Wendover, there it is: a gambling casino.

Other pieces fit as well. Lehi says he traveled many miles in the darkness to get to the tree. He says people who veer from the path get lost in the wasteland.

Nephi says the tree was white—like the sculpture.

Had the sculptor known all this? No. He was European and knew almost nothing of LDS theology.

And his name wasn't Lehi.

It was Karl.

Karl "Momen."

SINCE first running into Lehi's Dream in the Utah desert, I've seen it in many places. The

dream images seem random at first—an iron rod, a tree, a building, a river. But they actually form "a natural grouping," a "conceit."

Few scenes in rural America are more common, for instance, than a fruit tree, a fence-line and a stream, all set beside a large out-building. It's a Norman Rockwell painting. A sketch by Grandma Moses. The scene could be a postcard from rural New York.

In fact, Lehi's Dream once lived in my own backyard. My father's oldest cherry tree sat in the corner of our lot flanked by a fence and an irrigation ditch. Just beyond the ditch stood Alonzo Anderson's "great and spacious" stable, looking like the outside world.

Jesus chose scenes from daily life so his listeners would be reminded of his teachings. Lehi's Dream works that way. It pops up whenever fruit trees and property lines are set against canals and ditches, wherever a country lane wanders through a misty morning. Such scenes are almost cliché (red barn and fence framed by tree on the left).

The dream isn't an eerie moment of surrealism. It's a vision from the farms of Oregon, Germany, Italy, and Palmyra—even the Holy Land.

Lehi's dream is not a vision from some distant dream world. It's one more picture postcard from home.

—JERRY JOHNSTON

PICTURE POSTCARDS OF LEHI'S DREAM

WHEN I HEAD WEST ALONG UTAH'S I-80, MY mind plays tricks on me. Or maybe the barren spaces breed a little magic.

The salt flats spread out like great sheets of paper, and I fill them up with random thoughts. My mind can wander in that wilderness for forty years.

The artist who set his tree sculpture just inside the Utah line knew the feeling. He wanted the salt flats for his canvas. And his one-of-a-kind tree sports huge, party-colored bulbs that dangle from concrete branches. The trunk juts up like a rocket silo.

The tree's called "Metaphor," but most people call it "The Tree of Life." And each time I whisk by it my mind flashes on Lehi's Dream from the Book of Mormon, where Lehi stumbles around in the "dark and dreary waste," then spies a narrow path, an iron rod, and a tree bearing funny fruit.

A river runs through the dream. On the far side of the river stands a "great and spacious building" filled with "people, both old and young, both male and female," dressed in fancy attire.

The great and spacious building stands for worldly materialism.

THE JOY OF UNLIMITED SALVATION

IN THE WINTER OF 1965, WHILE I WAS A GRADUATE student at Stanford, I took Christian Ethics from Robert McAfee Brown, the great Presbyterian theologian. One day, while he was talking about God's infinite, unconditional love as the basis for all ethics, he paused, and sitting on the first row, I could see tears in his eyes. After a few moments, he said, "I'm considered a heretic in my own church, because I can't accept its teaching that, when we die, we are judged and consigned, permanently, to heaven or hell. That's completely inconsistent with the God of perfect love I know. He would never stop trying to save us."

My heart yearned for him, and I rejoiced that I knew a religion that affirms such a God. I remembered how as a missionary I delighted in teaching people that God does not stand at the border between heaven and hell (or between three kingdoms), stamping on the fingers of those reaching up who can't quite qualify. God indeed never stops loving us and helping us repent; he welcomes us into his presence and eternal life *when-ever* we become able to repent, even after any imagined "final" judgment. That conviction has never wavered.

But I'm not a "universalist"; that is, I don't believe that God can *guarantee* universal salvation. Universalism is simply an optimistic version of predestination. It was a position held by many in Joseph Smith's time, including his grandfather, who renounced it when he read the Book of Mormon. The Book of Mormon, along with Joseph Smith's other teachings, provides a unique and powerful alternative to universalism that both avoids its flaws and increases its beauties: God is all-loving but not all-powerful; we are eternal agents like him; and thus he cannot force salvation upon us, but must teach and move and assist us to be saved. Like the best parent, however, he will do all he can and never stop.

Because Universalism guarantees salvation despite what we do and thus become, it removes the incentives to do and be good and allows the devil to lead us softly down to hell. Mormonism provides both the incentive and power of God's infinite love along with the knowledge that we must *choose* to use that power to do and be better, which can happen only as we obey eternal laws. God tries to provide all who come to earth with sufficient knowledge and power to be saved: "All are alike unto God" (2 Ne. 26:33), and he "brings forth his word unto . . . all the nations of the earth." (2 Ne. 28:15.) And then God's active grace extends into the post-mortal life and eventually provides—through continued teaching and temple work—an unlimited and guaranteed *opportunity* for *all* to be saved.

Salvation is not either a mere gift or something earned by works; it is a *condition* of being, the result at any time of what we, through accepting God's gifts, have chosen to do with them and have thus made ourselves into. Doctrine and Covenants 76 provides a snapshot of one certain time in the future, showing the great variety of conditions available to us

according to what we have become *at that time* (including choosing to become "sons of perdition" who are not beings God *refuses* to let repent but those who *become* incapable of repenting). But its basic message is that Jesus lived and died "that through him all might be saved." (v. 42.)

In the King Follett Discourse, Joseph Smith rejoices that "all the spirits God ever sent into the world are susceptible of enlargement and improvement." Some may stop progressing for a while or permanently, but neither we nor God know when they might change; therefore we must always treat everyone, including ourselves, as potential gods. Yes, it is possible to "procrastinate the day of our repentance" until it is too late—not because God will ever refuse to accept us, but only because we can eventually, through our own choices, lose all desire.

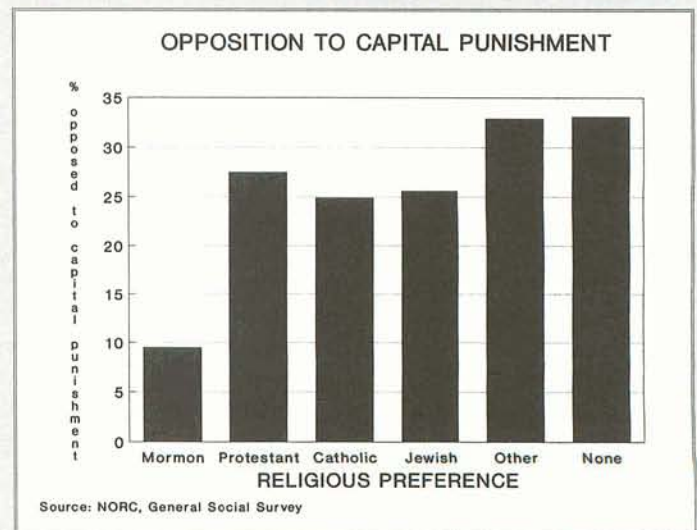
I rejoice in God's unlimited grace and forgiveness, and in a universe of plenitude, full of his glory and love. As the earth turns, new dawns and bright sunsets constantly revolve before us—God's never-ending show of grace; clouds turn with the earth, and rainbows grow up through the rain—God's never-ending promise of forgiveness. All of God's work is to bring to pass our immortality and eternal life.

—EUGENE ENGLAND



PECULIAR PEOPLE

OPPOSITION TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT



A NATIONAL PROBABILITY sample indicates that Mormons are substantially less likely to oppose capital punishment than are other Americans. When asked, "Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" slightly under 10 percent of Mormons reported opposition. In contrast, over a fourth of respondents nationally opposed the death penalty.

Mormonism is reaching, or has reached, or has passed one of the several turning points in its history, and the tensions of the present scene run strikingly parallel to and derive in a fundamental way from New England Puritanism.

MORMONISM AND THE PURITAN CONNECTION

THE TRIALS OF MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON AND SEVERAL PERSISTENT QUESTIONS BEARING ON CHURCH GOVERNANCE

By Karl C. Sandberg

A NUMBER OF HISTORIANS HAVE NOTICED SOME kind of connection between Puritanism and Mormonism, and some have dug around in it, but the vein is far from having been seriously mined. During the internal tensions through which Mormonism is currently passing,¹ the Puritan connection is worth digging into some more—these sorts of things have happened before. There is historical precedent for them. Mormonism is reaching, or has reached, or has passed one of the several turning points in its history, and the tensions of the present scene run strikingly parallel to and derive in a fundamental way from the New England Puritanism which in modified forms, suppositions, and dynamics provided the seedbed and the initial components of Mormonism.²

The project of the original Puritans was to recover the primitive Christian church. In the course of this task they encountered a persistent problem of church governance—the need for institutional authority and the equal need for individual freedom and initiative—which resulted in the dynamics of a clergy who spoke for God and a laity to whom God spoke. These dynamics passed over into early Mormonism almost unchanged in their fundamentals. The Puritans never resolved this conflict, and Puritanism as a movement declined because of that failure. Mormonism, making a subsequent high endeavor to recover the primitive church,³ encountered the same problems and found the means of resolving them, but this resolution has not yet been effected. The two trials of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson in the midst of the Antinomian Controversy in

1636–37 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (the first *cause célèbre* in American history) provide a model, an arena, in which to think about these issues in Mormonism in its present mode. Gathering in and illuminating powerful forces and lurking contradictions, these trials frame a number of questions that bedeviled the Puritans and which are recurring today.

Such is my thesis. What can be said to support it? Let us look first at the Puritan connection generally, then tell the story of Anne Hutchinson, and finally reflect on the issues that that story raises.

THE PURITANS

The Puritans took it upon themselves to effect the restoration of the primitive Christian church as a community of visible saints.

THE term “Puritan” was first used by way of derision to refer to those reformers during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) who wished to push the work of the Reformation to its logical conclusion. Unlike their Papist contemporaries, who wished to restore the authority of the Bishop of Rome over the English Church, and unlike Elizabeth herself who wished to retain the liturgy, doctrine, and practice of Catholicism substantially unchanged under the national Church of England, the “Puritans” took it upon themselves to effect the restoration of the primitive Christian church as a community of visible saints.⁴ This errand was to be effected by purifying the present church of all of its unscriptural offices, doctrines, and practices and by purging it of its corrupt and venal clergy and of its wicked and unrepentant members.⁵ Often hounded and persecuted by the established Church of England, the Puritans increased in influence to the point of

KARL C. SANDBERG is DeWitt Wallace Professor Emeritus of French and Humanities at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota.

coming to political power in England in 1642 under Cromwell, only to be cast into disarray by the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

In America, the term refers to those who fled England in order to establish the Plymouth Colony (1620) and especially the Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630). The latter saw themselves as the city of the hill, a new Israel whose task was to establish the kingdom of Christ on the earth, the divinely inspired organ of spiritual life in human society.⁶ They established a theocracy which lasted until 1684, after which a new royal charter of the colony was established.⁷ The Congregational churches of New England derive from the Puritan strain that made each congregation sovereign over its own affairs and the Presbyterians from those who vested control of the churches in synods, or presbyteries.⁸

Puritan practice and world view underwent two hundred years of evolution between the founding of the Puritan Bay Colony in 1630 and the organization of the Church of Christ (Mormon) in 1830.⁹ The Puritan psychology of grace modulated into a revivalism.¹⁰ Great changes took place economically, socially, and politically, and judged by the original Puritan standards, these changes evidenced sad deteriorations.¹¹ Nonetheless, much of the Puritan, or Congregational, vision and practice carried over into early Mormonism. Nothing is more striking in Mormon history than the degree to which early Mormonism resembled its surroundings and the speed with which it became something else. The great transmutations that took place in Mormonism in Kirtland and Nauvoo should not obscure the original Puritan stuff that remains to this day.

MORMON-PURITAN PARALLELS

The most fundamental Mormonism-Puritanism parallel is the dynamics of church governance: the built-in tension between the authority of the hierarchy speaking for God and the authority of the Holy Spirit speaking to the individual.

WE could surmise the extent of these similarities by going as silent listeners and unseen observers in the Massachusetts colony between 1630 and 1700. It would be as if we were hearing a language spoken with an archaic accent and with some unusual and infrequent idioms, but of which we could understand most of the grammar. It would have a familiar spirit.

In the meetinghouse we would see people being inter-



For Puritans "grace" was God moving
in and speaking to the individual.

It was first of all an experience,
it was inward, it was often sudden,
and it did not come from human willing.

viewed to determine their worthiness to enter into the covenant of the church with God, though the interview might be conducted by several men and might extend over several months,¹² and we would see the new member presented to the congregation to be accepted by vote. The acceptance of a new minister would be signified by the uplifted hand.¹³ We would see those within the church organize themselves "to watch over each other" to see that there was no iniquity in the church, no "raging pollution or spiritual uncleanness," no "backbiting and telling tales."¹⁴ When covenanted members fell short, we would see church courts summon them to repent or be dismissed from the membership.¹⁵ The churches exercised, in fact, two modes of sanction, disfellowshipment from the Lord's Supper and excommunication,¹⁶ and all of this because it was a purified community, separating from the world and striving to keep itself unspotted from the world, as we find current-day Saints enjoined to do by proper observance of the Sabbath. (D&C 59:9.)

We would hear people bearing testimony in their public meetings of the experience of their soul's travail and of the goodness of the Lord,¹⁷ for extemporaneous speeches and sermons by ordinary members—"prophesyings"—had become a frequent part of the Puritan order of worship as early as the Separatist congregations in exile in Holland.¹⁸ And if any were sick, we would see them ask for the prayers of the church—a note with this request posted in the meetinghouse was felt to be of special efficacy,¹⁹ a practice with its current analog in the prayer lists in Mormon temples.

We would find ourselves, in fact, inside a covenant community. We would hear people rejoice that they had been born of godly parents who were already "under the covenant."²⁰ We would hear people talking about "renewing their covenants" and appointing special fast days for this purpose.²¹ The fast days were thought of as days of thanksgiving,²² as Mormons were instructed that the Sabbath was a day of "fasting and prayer, or in other words, rejoicing and prayer." (D&C 59:14.) Fast days could also be appointed for other special purposes, whether the alleviation of drought or the deliverance from epidemic, since God was believed in a sense bound to protect the people who obeyed the moral rules of the purified Christian community.²³ This view found an echo in the Mormon concept that "I the Lord am bound when ye do what I say, but when ye do not what I say, ye have no promise." (D&C 82:10.)

When the Puritans approached the table of the Lord's

Supper, they would partake of this sacrament under the forms of bread and water or sometimes bread and wine²⁴—it seemed not to matter which. We would hear them speak of “sealings,” in this case the sealing of the grace that was already within them,²⁵ as we would find Mormons speaking of the covenant “being sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise.” (D&C 132:19.)

When people spoke of God, we might hear them talk of vengeance as one of the attributes of His character,²⁶ and then certain statements about the character of God in the Doctrine and Covenants would take on new meanings—the wicked and the willful must “fall and incur the vengeance of a just God. . .” (D&C 3:4); or, “I will take vengeance upon the wicked.” (D&C 29:17.) We would even hear them give a rationale for blood atonement, for certain crimes, such as murder and bestiality, so stained and polluted the land that they could be expiated and purged only by the shedding of the blood or taking the life of the perpetrator, who often acknowledged the rightness of this view in public confession at the time of his execution.²⁷ The views that Brigham Young expounded in Utah in the 1850s on this same subject²⁸ would not have seemed out of the natural order of things to one deeply immersed in the world view of the Bay Colony.

Some hundred years later in Connecticut (after 1740) in the course of the Great Awakening, we would see schools organized for the preparation of an effective ministry, schools called “schools of the prophets,”²⁹ anticipating the same kind of school with the same name in Kirtland in the 1830s.

This small sampling of such parallels should be sufficient to show that the practice and doctrines of early Mormonism were not invented new, but were, to the contrary, a continuation to which its original adherents had been accustomed. Each instance calls for more detailed description and analysis to draw out its significance, but the most fundamental Mormonism-Puritanism parallel is the dynamics of church governance: the built-in tension between the authority of the hierarchy speaking for God through His revelation and the authority of the Holy Spirit speaking to the individual.

THE DYNAMICS OF HIERARCHY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The Puritan clergy felt themselves authentically called of God to deliver his word. They considered themselves the conduit of salvation, and had a sense of precedence over the lay congregations.

PART of the Puritan task, as noted above, was to reform the clergy, for in the established Church of England the clergy were often ignorant, venal, and/or debauched. The Puritans therefore insisted on clergymen who were learned enough to carry the Christian message and who were morally upright. Another part of the mission was to reform the membership and to weed out and to exclude the unrepentant: membership in the Church of Christ should rest upon a covenant voluntarily subscribed to by believers and should exclude or expel all known evil-doers.³⁰

In undertaking this task, those of the Puritan clergy felt

themselves authentically called of God to deliver His word and act in His stead according to the clear instructions in His word, the Bible. Accordingly, they had a sense of independence from and precedence over the lay congregations. Being ministers of the Word, they considered themselves the “means of grace,” the conduit of salvation, and thus argued that to resist or rebel against their teaching amounted to denying God himself.³¹

The development of hierarchy within Mormonism is currently the object of two large-scale studies.³² Suffice it to say for the purposes of this essay that Mormonism at its beginnings was congregational in its organization, its only offices being elder, priest, teacher, and deacon, with no concept of priesthood, much less a division between a greater and a lesser priesthood.³³ (It should be noted that verses 66–67 in current D&C 20, which mention “high priests” and “high priesthood,” did not appear in the original Book of Commandments in 1833). A first step toward hierarchy was taken on 6 April 1830 in the revelation that “his [Joseph’s] word, ye shall receive as if from mine own mouth. . .”. (Book of Commandments XXII:5, present LDS D&C 21:5.) By September 1832 the Mormons had come to consider the priesthood as the conduit of knowledge and power without which the “power of godliness is not made manifest to men in the flesh.” (D&C 84: 19–21.) Both groups thus appealed to revelation. Mormons invoked new revelation, whereas the Puritans expounded the revelation in the Bible, but in both cases those in the hierarchy were moved by the sense that they knew what God intended here and now. And Mormons came to add other offices to the hierarchy, such as high priests, high councils, twelve apostles, and a first presidency, but nonetheless the dynamics of the two churches remained the same—in both, the hierarchy spoke for God through revelation.

On the other hand, it is to the laity, to individuals, in both groups that God spoke. We would miss the central element in the Puritan concept of the church if we failed to grasp the nature of the Puritan dynamics of conversion, or as Mormons would say, “testimony.”

In the Puritan view, membership in the church was limited to “visible saints,” that is, to those who had had the experience of conversion by the direct ministrations of the Holy Spirit.³⁴ Two eminent examples from antiquity became models of conversion.³⁵

Saul of Tarsus growing up as a Jew in a Greek-speaking and Greek-acting culture built around himself a hedge of righteousness according to the Mosaic law, which he observed and served without deviation, even to striking down by violence any deviant group who threatened it, such as the small band of followers of the lately executed rabbi from Galilee. But it was Saul himself who was struck down while leading a group of soldiers to Damascus to seize the Christians there. He saw a light and heard a voice saying, “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?” Saul was led blind into Damascus. When the Lord appeared in vision to a local believer named Ananias, telling him to go administer to Saul, Ananias protested that Saul was a persecutor of those of the way. The Lord answered, “Go, for he is a chosen vessel of mine to bring my name to the

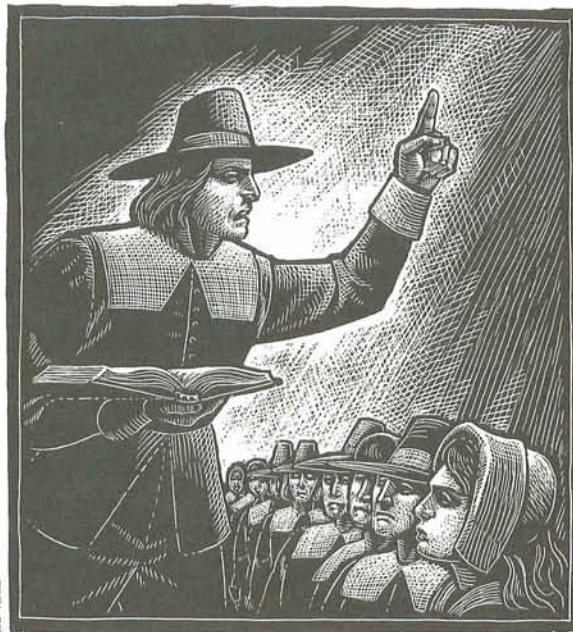
Gentiles . . .". (Acts 9:1–15.)

Saul was a chosen vessel not by his own meriting, but by the deep and inscrutable ways of God. It was because of this freely given and unmerited choice on the part of God that Saul became Paul. By his own zeal as a successful observer of the Law, Saul could never have become just before God. And he knew of his election, not through his study and not through the voice of an established hierarchy, but because God had spoken to him directly.

The second example is that of Augustine, a young man richly endowed by nature with intelligence, bodily health and vigor, and beauty. His mother, later Saint Monica, was a Christian and urged his conversion to Christianity, and while his mind and heart inclined toward Christianity, his passionate nature held him in its sway. He had a mistress of such exquisite charms that his prayer was "Oh Lord, give me repentance, but not now." The lesson he drew was that his will was flawed and his nature was concupiscent, that is, centered always on itself and ruled by sensual desires. The realm of the inner man was in a perpetual state of civil war, which he by his own willing was unable to put down.

But the end of his civil war did come. One day in his garden, as he meditated on a verse from St. Paul, "not in chamberings or wantonness . . ." a pure light from Heaven entered his soul and took away his concupiscent desires. What he had formerly lusted after, he no longer desired. And this light, this spiritual force, did it come by willing? No. Did it come because of his merits? No. From his previous deeds, he deserved only condemnation. This spiritual power to a newness of life was an unmerited gift, freely given, and given to Augustine directly.

This is what Puritans called "grace," about which they agreed in general and often disputed in particular. They were generally agreed that "grace" meant God moving in and speaking to the individual. It was first of all an experience, it was inward, it was often sudden, and it did not come from human willing. Only this kind of total conversion initiated by the extraordinary experience of grace was sufficient to justify, to make one just before God. The justified soul will practice works of sanctification, or as Mormons would say, righteousness; but until one's election to salvation is made sure by the experience of grace, no works are efficacious.³⁶ The Pharisee praying on the street corner, vaunting his tithes and offerings, is under a covenant of works, but is a hypocrite before God. The scribes and Pharisees whom Jesus denounced were practicing the visible works of sanctification, but inwardly they



Those of the clergy could feel as much as they wanted that they were the conduits of grace and the very viceroys of God, but they were powerless to convoke the Spirit where it was not.

speak to the individual soul, there was no salvation and no church.

Mormonism at its founding likewise gave an indispensable role to the individual. The particular form of testimony and understanding of salvation did not pass over into Mormonism, but the dynamics, the fundamentals of the experience did, in that the light of understanding and the direct experience of the Holy Spirit by the individual became the court of last resort in matters of belief and the motive power of the whole religion. The truth of the miracle foundation book, the Book of Mormon, was to be established by direct ministrations of the Holy Spirit, as was the truth of all things. (Moroni 10:4,5.) When early missionaries were sent out, they were told that "whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation." (D&C 68:4.) In his missionary tracts, Orson Pratt proposed as the supreme test of the authenticity of Joseph Smith's message the promise that "therefore, as I said unto mine apostles I say unto you again, that every soul that believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins shall receive the Holy Ghost" (D&C 84:64) with all the gifts of the Spirit following.³⁸ Without the charismatic gifts of the Spirit that follow true faith, there was no true Church.³⁹

The Spirit that vivifies and edifies the Church can also rend it. Such was the experience of Parley P. Pratt upon visiting branches of the Church around Kirtland in 1831.

As I went forth among the different branches, some

very strange spiritual operations were manifested which were disgusting instead of edifying. Some persons would seem to swoon away, and make unseemly gestures, and be drawn or disfigured in their countenances. Others would fall into ecstasies, and be drawn into contorsions, cramp, fits, etc. Others would seem to have visions and revelations, which were not edifying, and which were not congenial to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel. In short, a false and lying spirit seemed to be creeping into the Church.⁴⁰

The revelation sought by Joseph for dealing with this situation was a turning point for Mormonism. The key to recognizing the Spirit of God and distinguishing it from the deceptive spirits abroad in the world is that it produces understanding: "Wherefore, he that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another, and both are edified and rejoice together. And that which doth not edify [i.e., create understanding] is darkness. That which is of God is light; and he that receiveth light and continueth in God, receiveth more light; and that light groweth brighter and brighter until the perfect day." (D&C 50:22–24.) The means for determining the validity of any claim to belief was in the individual. And where Mormonism replaced the Puritan view of the weakness and corruption of human nature with a more generous estimate, it only heightened the potential tension between the individual and the clergy. The Lord himself declares that

it is not meet that I should command in all things . . .
Verily I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness; for the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves . . . but he that doeth not anything until he is commanded, and receiveth a commandment with a doubtful heart, and keepeth it with slothfulness, the same is damned. (D&C 58:26–29.)

Salvation that waits upon a command from the hierarchy is doubtful, and the Spirit of God speaking both to the mind and the heart of the individual is the court of last appeal.

THE PRINCIPALS AND THE TRIALS

The drama of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson illustrates the conflict between religious authority and the voice of the Spirit to the individual.

NOW the event among the Puritans where we see most dramatically the conflict between the hierarchy speaking for God and the believer moved by the Spirit of God, where we see it even as a paradigm, is in the Antinomian Controversy and the trials of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson in 1636–38. ("Antinomian" means "against the law," the term being applied to those who held that the law, the works of righteousness, the visible behavior, were not efficacious for salvation. It was rather the experience of the grace of Christ that justified and saved, after which followed sanctification, or righteousness.) The controversy came about in this way.

Anne Hutchinson⁴¹ was born in England in 1591, the daughter of Francis Marbury, a minister of the Church of England, a man of high principle and obdurate courage, who pressed his superiors so hard for the reform of the clergy that he spent time in prison and for fifteen years was deprived of a pulpit and a ministerial living. In his family there was no tradition of docility. This time of enforced idleness he devoted to the education of his children. Anne, the second child and first daughter, therefore grew up in an atmosphere permeated with theology, vigorous debate, and antipathy toward established authority. When she was twenty-one she married William Hutchinson, an able and successful merchant whose firmest belief was that his wife was "a dear saint and a servant of God." Over the span of their lifetime together Anne bore him fifteen children.

Anne was a woman of quick intelligence, boundless energy and a tender and compassionate nature. She became a midwife, a skilled herbalist and practitioner of folk remedies, and while still in England she gained a great reputation for her charitable works. But she was mainly a seeker and had the temperament of a poet. She was one determined to have Christ in this world. In her father's theology, however, there was no tincture of the Puritan spirituality—this quality was responsible for his being restored to his pulpit in the established church—and after her marriage, Anne showed a religious restlessness, finding little in the preaching she heard that could feed the soul.

An exception was in the sermons of John Cotton. He was among the more prominent of the Puritan ministers who were engaged in the great struggle to recover the true way of salvation. During twenty years of preaching in England he had acquired a large following as a spirited preacher of the covenant of grace. Anne found his preaching an oasis in the desert and never missed a chance to make the twenty-four mile trip to hear him. He it was who preached the gospel that spoke to the mind and the heart. In 1633 growing opposition to the Puritans in England caused John Cotton to take ship for the New World. In 1634 the Hutchinsons and their numerous family members followed him.

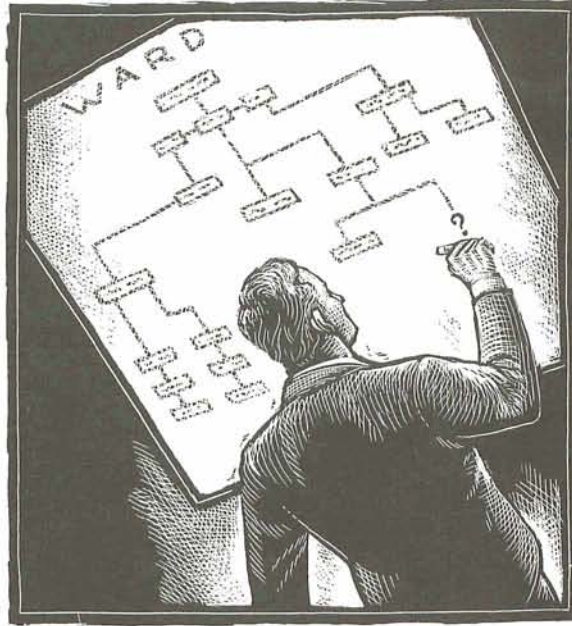
The difficulty in making everything depend on God, as in the purest of the Puritan mode, is that everything depends on God, and it is hard to run a church that way. After the initial planting and development of the Bay Colony, the churches started to grow cold. (We might remember that a similar situation developed in the first Utah settlements after 1847, resulting in the Reformation of 1856–57). The sermons turned more and more on works or on theological points remote from the fire of the spirit. John Milton said the same of the churches in England: "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

John Cotton, therefore, found a receptive congregation in the Boston church, where he was appointed, not minister but teacher. Under his preaching, the church membership began to increase dramatically. The Hutchinsons likewise affiliated themselves with the Boston church, where they soon established themselves as prominent figures, William as deputy to the Massachusetts General Court and Anne as a spiritual ad-

viser to those of her own sex. In addition to visiting other women in childbirth, Mrs. Hutchinson began to hold meetings in her home, where other women could gather to repeat and discuss the previous week's sermon. Because of her intelligence and knowledge of the scriptures, her quick wit, and her spiritual fervor, her meetings became immensely popular, attended by twenty, thirty, fifty, and up to eighty women. (The total population of Boston at this point was about 1,200.)

Across the street lived another of the principals of the controversy, John Winthrop, who had been governor and who would be governor again. His mind was not filled with nor formed by the discipline of the immense erudition of a Cambridge education, as was the case with the clergy, such as John Cotton, but he was deeply concerned about his own soul and was a man of action and one of the founders of the Bay Colony. His life's ambition appears to have been the success of the colony. He therefore came to view the situation across the street with increasing alarm, for the discussions started to take on more and more an anti-clerical tone—the clergy, with few exceptions, it was said, in fact with the sole exception of John Cotton, were preaching a “covenant of works” and had not been “sealed by the Spirit.” When he later gave his account of the controversy, he said that “we had great cause to have feared the extremity of danger from them [the Hutchinsonians], in case power had been in their hands.”⁴² The mode of the Spirit speaking directly to the individual was starting to be seen as a direct challenge to the authority of the clergy.

The controversy *per se* started among the clergy themselves, as they realized that they were not united on the doctrine they believed was being bent awry by Mrs. Hutchinson. Between June 1636 and January 1637, therefore, there were numerous discussions, exhortations, letters, and responses to letters whereby the clergy hoped to get rid of the dissensions in their midst. The debates went on mostly between John Cotton and others of the clergy,⁴³ and the differences between him and his colleagues were nearly resolved. The controversy was exacerbated, however, when on 19 January 1637 the churches called a general fast day “on the occasion of the dissensions in our midst,” and John Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson's brother-in-law, preached a fiery and intransigent sermon. If we cast our eyes about the scriptures, he said, we see that the only cause of fasting among believers is the absence of Christ. When they have Christ with them, they have in abundance all the spiritual



The difficulty in making everything depend on God, as in the purest of the Puritan mode, is that everything depends on God, and it is hard to run a church that way.

sustenance that they seek through fasting. When they are bereft of Christ, they labor under a “covenant of works,” like the Papists, which further distances them from Christ. The more the people are under a covenant of works, the greater enemies they are to Christ. In short, we should mark this day of fasting by condemning all such days of humiliation, which only show the absence of the Lord.⁴⁴

In March 1637 the General Court judged Wheelwright guilty of “sedition” and “contempt,” for which crime a sentence of banishment was pronounced on him.

A charge of sedition could be maintained only by a semantic mutation. A “sedition” in its basic meaning referred to incitement to a violent revolt against public authority. By forcefully expressing beliefs about grace and exhorting people to have faith in a “covenant of grace” as opposed to the “covenant of works” preached by

other ministers, John Wheelwright had committed “sedition,” for he had created factions and parties which could lead to armed rebellion.⁴⁵

About sixty of his friends were so incensed that they signed a remonstrance contesting his conviction, thus setting the stage for a bitterly contested election in May⁴⁶ at which the “Antinomians” were out-numbered, and John Winthrop was elected governor. Winthrop undertook, in company with the majority of the clergy, to launch a counter-attack. In November those who had supported and approved John Wheelwright's sermon by signing the remonstrance were brought before the court and variously fined, disfranchised, barred from public office, or banished. John Wheelwright himself was banished and went to New Hampshire.⁴⁷

In describing these events, John Winthrop candidly avows that since “all these, except Mr. Wheelwright, were but young branches, sprung out of an old root, the Court now had to do with the head of all this faction . . . a woman had been the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers, one Mistris Hutchinson . . . a woman of haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active Spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man.”⁴⁸ She had insinuated herself into the affections of many by her ministrations to women in childbirth and other bodily infirmities, and had taught good doctrine while inquiring into peoples' spiritual estate, but then she began “to set forth her own Stuffe. . .” about justification preceding sanctification and the need to depend on an immediate witness of the Spirit, and the greater part of the clergy not being “sealed

by the Spirit," or teaching "a covenant of works." She it was who countenanced and encouraged the various dissenters, but "blessed be the Lord, the Snare is broken, and wee are delivered, and this woman who was the root of all these troubles stands now before the seat of Justice, to bee rooted out of her station."⁴⁹

And so Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial, the first time in November 1637 before the General Court which pronounced on her the sentence of banishment from the colony, and the second time in March 1638 before the Boston Church to which she belonged and which excommunicated her.⁵⁰

What was really at stake was apparently the authority of the clergy, for a leitmotif runs through John Winthrop's account. Those of the opposite party were "crooked and perverse, walking in contempt of authority. . . ." Their sins were "manifest Pride, contempt of authority, neglecting the feare of the Church";⁵¹ "Pride and hardnesse of heart";⁵² "pride, insolency, contempt of authority, division, sedition";⁵³ and Anne Hutchinson was the fountainhead of it all.⁵⁴

In John Winthrop's account of the controversy, it is also evident that Mrs. Hutchinson was laboring under a presumption of guilt. She had been called to the Court so that "either upon sight of your errors, and other offenses, you may be brought to acknowledge and reform the same, or that otherwise wee may take such course with you as you may trouble us no further."⁵⁵

Only the charge of "sedition" would justify trial before the General Court. Therefore, the semantic twisting to get from "persuading listeners" to "sedition" once more became necessary, for as John Wheelwright's defenders were bold to point out, no witnesses had been brought of genuinely seditious word, intent, or effect in John Wheelwright's sermon.⁵⁶ Moreover, Mrs. Hutchinson herself had not been one of the signers of the remonstrance against the banishment of John Wheelwright the previous May. Therefore, the trial opened with the court asking Mrs. Hutchinson if she justified the "seditious practices" of those whom the Court had censured the previous May. She was in effect being asked to declare herself guilty by association.

Mrs. Hutchinson countered by asking what they were charged with.

"With breaking the fifth commandment, honor thy father and thy mother, which includes all in authority," said John Winthrop, who was presiding over the court as judge, "but these seditious practices of theirs, have cast reproach and dishonour upon the Fathers of the Commonwealth." She then asked if she were accused of seconding them in anything which God had forbidden. Yes, answered John Winthrop, you approved John Wheelwright's sermon and encouraged those that put their hands to the petition.⁵⁷ "If I fear the Lord, and my parent does not," she countered, "may I still not honor another as a child of God?"⁵⁸

They interrogated her about the weekly meetings she held in her home, and she matched them point by point, scripture for scripture, until it appeared to have been a mistake to bring her to trial.⁵⁹ It was likely at this point, seeing that she could not be silenced, that Winthrop saw the inevitable necessity "to

rid her away, [lest] we bee guilty not only of our own ruine, but also of the Gospel."⁶⁰

The opportunity soon came. While she was describing how the Spirit had opened up to her the meaning of certain hard passages of scripture, one asked how she knew that it was the Spirit of God.

"How did Abraham know that it was God who bid him offer up his son Issac?" she countered.

"By an immediate voice."

"So to me, by an immediate revelation."

"How! an immediate revelation!"

"By the voice of his own spirit to my soul."⁶¹

And this assertion was the proximate cause of her conviction and sentence of banishment. Two of her supporters on the Court vigorously pressed the point that no charge had been sustained against her, that no law of God or man had been broken. But the majority of the Court had decided upon the course to take. Moreover, the day was far spent and the blood sugar was low. "We shall all be sick with fasting!" cried the deputy governor.⁶² The governor John Winthrop put the question to the Court:

The court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublesomeness of her spirit, and the danger of her course among us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore if it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things that appear before us is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the court that she shall be banished out of our liberties and imprisoned until she be sent away, let them hold up their hands."⁶³

There were only two dissenting votes.

The trial had come to an end and the sentence pronounced without any charge having been sustained. Mrs. Hutchinson made one last effort. The last words of the trial were:

Mrs. H. I desire to know wherefore I am banished.

Governor. Say no more, the court knows and is satisfied.⁶⁴

She was incarcerated in a private home in Roxbury, the home of a brother of one of her antagonists in the clergy, until the weather permitted her to leave the colony in the spring.⁶⁵ She was allowed rare visits from her family but none from any of her followers. During this time her spirits ebbed. Certain dark passages kept returning to her mind. What did Ecclesiastes 3:18-21 mean?

I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath . . . All go to one place; all are of the dust, and turn to dust again. Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?"

And if we turn to I Corinthians 15 to be instructed about the resurrection, what does verse 44 mean? "It is sown a nat-

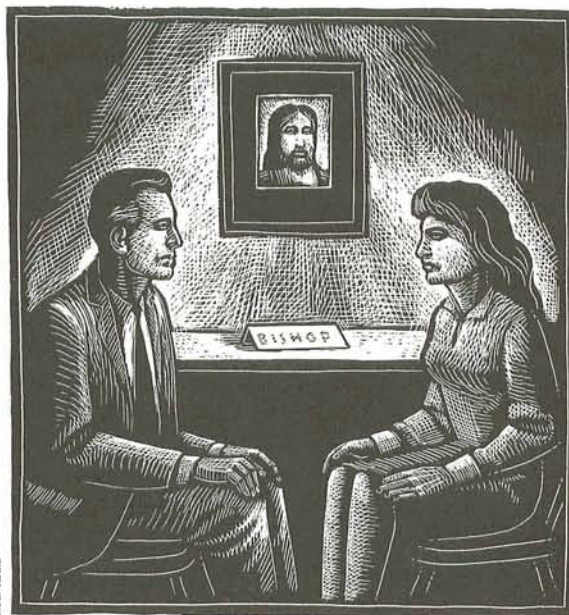
ural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." Various of the clergy came to talk with her, urging her to open her thoughts to them in private conversation, that they might open the scriptures, which she did. They took notes.

In the meantime, another kind of report was apparently being circulated—God himself had shown His displeasure at her monstrous opinions by causing her and also one of her followers, Mary Dyer, to miscarry their pregnancies and produce "monsters" out of their wombs. "This loud-speaking providence from Heaven in the monsters," said John Winthrop, "did much awaken many of their followers (especially the tenderer sort) to attend God's meaning therein; and made them at such a stand, that they dared not slight so manifest a sign from Heaven."⁶⁶ This appeal to spectral evidence was a means of further eroding her support.

The second trial, in March 1638, was for her membership in the Boston Church. In keeping with congregational practice, the excommunication had to be by the vote of the membership of the Church. During this time John Cotton had also had the time to rethink his relationship to his disciple. He had enjoyed the adulation laid on him by Mrs. Hutchinson and those at her weekly meetings, but now it was very apparent that he who always sought reconciliation and compromise would have to choose between the clergy who now held the future of his situation in their hands and the Hutchinsonians. He chose to tilt toward the clergy.

It was to be a court of love. The court opened with the exhortation to all that they should cast down their crowns at the feet of Jesus Christ and forsake all forms of relationship—family, friend, enemy—and let all be carried by the rules of God's word. "In all our proceedings this day, let us lift up the name of Jesus Christ and so proceed in Love in this day's proceedings."⁶⁷

The trial began by the two ruling elders, the first and second elders of the congregation, producing a file that had been kept on her, a list of "divers Errors and unsound Opinions" that Mrs. Hutchinson was being charged with. They came from the notes that clergymen had made after their private conversations with her during the previous winter. One of these ministers, Thomas Shepherd, maintained that he had not come to entrap her, and did not publish the report of their conversations, but he felt obliged to bring it forth now before the church, "for I account her a verie dayngerous Woman to



The key to resolving the conflict between individual freedom and authority is in the notion that priesthood authority in the long run can only be exercised through persuasion.

against her, without which the church by its congregational rules could not proceed further. Then someone hit on the happy expedient of laying her two sons under an admonition with her, in effect making them co-defendants.⁷⁰ The church by silence approved the motion. Reverend Cotton was the one chosen to pronounce the admonition (the step of rebuke just previous to excommunication, which disfellowshipped the person from the communion of the Lord's Supper until full confession and repentance had been manifest). In addressing the admonition to the two sons and one son-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson, John Cotton rebuked them for letting their natural affection sway their judgment in upholding their mother in her errors, instead of letting all things be carried by the word of God.⁷¹

The court was recessed for seven days after which it reconvened. In the view of some, she did not sufficiently "cover herself with shame" or "confusion,"⁷² and the sentence of excommunication was read. The court which had started out proclaiming itself as a court of love ended by the pronouncement,

I doe cast you out and in the name of Christ I doe deliver you up to Sathan that you may learn no more to blaspheme, to seduce and to lye. And I do account you from this time forth to be a Hethen and a Publican and so to be held by all the Brethren and Sisters of this Congregation, and of others. Therefor I command you in the name of Christ Jesus and of this Church as a Leper to withdraw yourself out of the Congregation. . . ."⁷³

sowe her corrupt opinions to the infection of many. . . ." She answered that she did not hold the things she had been charged with, but had only been asking a question. The minister replied that the vilest errors ever brought into the church came by way of a question.⁶⁸

They examined her doctrine with such persistence that they appeared to have a great need for her to confess, and on some points she did yield, but on others she could not be convinced by the arguments propounded by the clergy. And their arguments apparently did not carry the clarity of evidence, for Reverend Eliot urged the proceedings to move ahead ("we think it is verie dayngerous to dispute this Question soe longe in this Congregation")⁶⁹ and they pressed for her admonition and excommunication. Although her support had dwindled, two of her sons would not make the vote unanimous

As she was leaving the Church building, her friend Mary Dyer arose and went with her to the door. A few days later the Hutchinsons, most of their family members, and a small group of friends started making their way toward the colony at Rhode Island where Roger Williams was establishing the principle of religious toleration.

MIDNIGHT REFLECTIONS

How is it possible to harmonize the need for institutional authority and the need for individual freedom?

IN the trials of Anne Hutchinson we can see the dynamics of church government displayed and played out almost as a paradigm. On the one hand, the planting of a new colony, a new people, and a new (or old) form of Christianity required the exercise of authority—never will a Zion be established by a democracy. But this same authority, which so imperceptibly becomes interlaced with the personal ambition or vanity of the one wielding it, can as easily become an instrument of coercion and of self-perpetuation as a means of establishing the common good. Moreover, the corruption into which the established churches of Rome and of England had fallen was due in large measure to their failure or their inability to exercise discipline. And on the other hand, penances, fastings, performance of ordinances, repetitions of prayers, pilgrimages, exhortations to good works, none of these things singly or together were capable of turning the soul—the only force capable of regenerating fallen humanity was the Spirit of God speaking to the individual, which was precisely the path urged and shown forth by Anne Hutchinson.

How is it possible to harmonize the need for institutional authority and the need for individual freedom? We can sharpen the question by asking if some peace and unity are not too expensive, again consulting the effect of banishing or silencing those perceived as dissidents. Certainly the peace, which John Winthrop vaunted, was bought at a price, a huge price, for over the next twenty-five years, even as the population and the prosperity of the colony increased, the spiritual fervor of the churches declined. Fewer people were having the conversion experience required for church membership, so much so that the churches had to lower their standards and institute the Half-way Covenant in 1662—people who had not had the full conversion experience, but professed an intellectual belief and submitted to church discipline could still have their children baptized. But then their children started to grow up without the conversion experience and then their children as well, so that by the 1730s a cold and sterile formalism had filled the churches with the ungracious whose faith could only be lit by a return to the emphasis on spiritual regeneration that had marked the preaching of the Antinomians in the first place, in short by the revivalism of the Great Awakening. The clergy had brought about peace at the price of driving out the forces that vivified the Church. It would seem that a hierarchy governing by fiat will always prevail in the short run and lose in the long run.

I venture the opinion of a parallel progress in contemporary

Mormonism, for the old question confronting the Puritans reappears—what shall we do with the world? Since World War II, when the Church ceased to be a predominantly rural and Western church and started to move in a technological and corporate society, it has apparently been of two minds. On the one hand, it has embraced the world with its corporate ethos and procedures, and it has extended its missionary efforts to all areas of the world, but in spiritual matters, the overall movement of Mormonism over the last thirty years has been defensive and has been driven by an apparent compulsion to control. Thirty years of Correlation have produced an atmosphere in which people are expected to respond on the level of the lowest common denominator and in which docility seems to be equated with redemption. What questions there are to be raised are sent out with the lesson materials and along with them the answers that are supposed to be read in class. The effect of this conformity has been a trivializing of the gospel message.

But what of the people whose spiritual needs are real and pressing and are not met with the trivial questions and trivial answers that fill the lesson manuals? These people go elsewhere. They are the silent departees. I would like to persuade everyone that I can that herein is the real spiritual crisis of the Church, not in the feisty feminists, not in the verbal homosexuals, not in the noisy scholars and intellectuals, but in the silent departees, who seek within the Church and do not find. Once again, “The hungry sheep look up and are not fed.” Is it possible for us to get so pure that we are sterile? Is a conforming and conflict-free church environment sometimes too expensive? Still, I recognize that it is not comfortable or convenient or easy to deal with the contemporary echoes of the voluble tongue of Anne Hutchinson goading people to ask within themselves whether they are saved, or merely somnolent. But then the faith that confronts the world in its reality has never been convenient or comfortable or easy.

We have dwelt on the parallels between Mormonism and Puritanism. Let us now look at some differences. Did Mormonism bring any modification to the Puritan notion of the hierarchy that speaks for God? Yes, on 20 March 1839 in Liberty Jail, where Joseph and fellow Church leaders had been imprisoned for five months, when the prospects for Mormonism were at their nadir. What is visible in the history of the Antinomian Controversy is the same thing that Joseph now saw emerging as a pattern out of the experiences of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio and Missouri—people cannot act for God except under narrowly defined circumstances. Why? Because of human nature. It is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they come into positions of authority, to go about putting that authority to the service of their own ambition, or the sense of their own importance, or the concealment of their wrong-doing, or to the exercise of unrighteous dominion or coercion over other people.

In reality, the key to resolving the conflict between freedom and authority is in the notion of the priesthood as an authority which in the long run can only be exercised through persuasion. Whoever undertakes to exercise it by way of coercion, or

to use it without being kind, gentle, meek, and willing to suffer a long time will find the heavens withdrawing themselves. He has to be moved by unfeigned love, and if he moves to rebuke anyone, it should only be with the determination that his faithfulness to that person extends beyond the limits of death and not just to the limits of likableness or of an orthodoxy. The power of the priesthood is manifest, not when people bow to it or when it gives someone dominion over the lives of others, but when it has the effect of empowering other people.

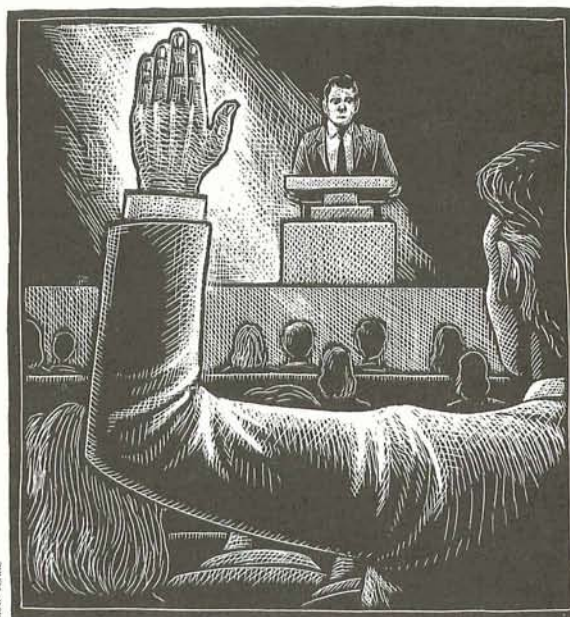
As we ponder this notion of priesthood, we can reflect upon the fact that the tensions between the individual and authority which are built into both Puritanism and Mormonism can move people powerfully. They combine organization with energy, but they also have the power to harm people if they run awry. It may, therefore, be appropriate to raise some questions about two practices which more and more appear to be coercive.

The first is the use of the temple recommend as a means of intimidation. To coerce is to "force to act or think in a certain way by use of pressure, threats, or intimidation."⁷⁴ The temple recommend interview has traditionally been held for those who want to go to the temple. Recently, however, there have been several examples of people having their temple recommends summarily revoked or lifted in order to pressure them, or intimidate them, in a word, to coerce them into public silence on Church issues.⁷⁵

The second concerns the procedures currently in effect in Church disciplinary councils, formerly called "Church courts."

We might first ask what the significance is of changing the name from "courts" to "disciplinary councils." During the nineteenth century Mormons made it a policy not to go to civil courts for resolution of problems between themselves. Accordingly, there were Church courts that adjudicated claims between Church members regarding such things as assault and battery, defamation, sexual offences, fraud or theft, trespassing animals, or negligence.⁷⁶ The courts heard evidence, kept records, assessed damages, and levied fines. At the turn of the century, however, the Church lost its political, economic, marriage, and judicial systems, and as the concept of Zion was relegated to the indefinite future, the competition with the civil courts also withered. Hence, the change of terminology to "disciplinary council" may signify nothing more than the changing reality.

On one hand, however, "courts" depend on a body of law



When hierarchy acts in such a way as to harm people, it must be confronted and challenged, but it is a mistake to let one's life become dominated by a perpetual stance of challenge to the tar baby of hierarchy.

and interpretation of the law, since very few cases are exact replicas of previous ones. The law is cumbersome, but it is written down and says that like cases must be treated in the manner of like precedents. It is the ultimate protection for the individual. To "discipline," on the other hand, is "to train by instruction and practice, especially to teach self-control; to teach to obey rules or accept authority. . . ; to punish in order to gain control or to enforce obedience; to impose order on."⁷⁷ To repeat, every organization needs to exercise discipline (maintain order) in order to accomplish its purposes. The question to be raised here and to be reviewed periodically is this: does the shift away from "court" to "discipline" connote a shift away from law, which protects the individual, and toward control and enforced obedience, which protect the institution? It seems to me to be an open and fruitful question.

Concerning the procedures themselves, in the "disciplinary council" every case is *ad hoc* and is decided by the presiding officer, whether bishop or stake president, by "inspiration,"⁷⁸ which must necessarily include the interpretation each presider makes of his inner impressions. There are presently some 20,000 congregations in the Church. To be sure of having a just verdict, we would have to have 20,000 infallible bishops and stake presidents. We might reflect on how much trouble our Catholic brothers and sisters have had in maintaining just one, and that only in matters of faith and morals and not in matters of procedures. We might therefore raise the question of the appropriateness of instituting procedures which further safeguard the system of Church discipline from abuse. As a matter of fact, one of the first things that strikes the attentive observer of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial is the similarity between the procedures of the Puritans and those specified in the *General Handbook of Instructions* for the present-day LDS church.

First, the same person may be both prosecutor and judge. It was the clergy, headed by the governor John Winthrop, who brought the charges against Mrs. Hutchinson, and it was John Winthrop who presided as judge in the trial before the General Court. In current Mormon practice, the bishop or the stake president may likewise be the person who both brings the charge and renders the judgment. It is important to point out that the stake high council does not serve as a jury, and the decision is not rendered by vote. The decision is made by one man, the one presiding over the hearing (either the bishop or

the stake president).

The charge against Mrs. Hutchinson was formulated in such a way that her first move in the trial had to be to find out specifically what she was accused of. Under the present procedures, the charge against an individual is likewise framed in the most general and least specific way possible. The instructions in the *Handbook* for notification of a Church trial direct that the accused be told that "1. . . . the [stake presidency or bishopric] is considering formal disciplinary action against you, including the possibility of disfellowshipment or excommunication, because you are reported to have been guilty of [set forth the accusation in very general terms, such as 'apostasy' or 'moral conduct unbecoming a member of the Church' but do not give any details or evidence]. 2. . . . You are invited to attend this disciplinary council to give your response."⁷⁹

At the end of her trial, when Mrs. Hutchinson again requested the specific reasons for the sentence of banishment, John Winthrop could say that in effect, it was not necessary for her to know because "the court knows and is satisfied." Currently, there can be and have been, to my personal knowledge, cases where disfellowshipment or excommunication has been pronounced without any statement before, during, or after of the specifics of the charge. Again, it is sufficient that the "court," that is, the bishop or the stake president, be satisfied.

The *Handbook* makes no provision for another individual to assist in preparing or presenting a defense, and the accused is likewise at a disadvantage in preparing a defense, since the specifics of the charges are not known. The *Handbook* allows the accused to call witnesses on his or her behalf,⁸⁰ but the witnesses can thus be in the position of not knowing specifically the charges about which they are to give testimony. In both cases, the procedures appear to be in place in order to protect the institution and not the individual.

In Mrs. Hutchinson's trial there was a presumption of guilt, as John Winthrop candidly reported that the clergy had already decided that they had to get rid of her. In the present day courts, the charge is also framed in such a way as to imply a presumption of guilt rather than innocence—if the accused does not prove him or herself innocent, action against him or her is anticipated.

Under current procedures of Church disciplinary councils, the charge of "apostasy" appears to have undergone the same kind of semantic mutation that "sedition" underwent in the trials of Mrs. Hutchinson. Under the *Handbook*, many acts justifying excommunication or disfellowshipment are spelled out, and it is possible to specify them (e.g. in the event of embezzlement of Church funds, the missing dollars can be counted), but "apostasy" is a category that has undergone an egregious shift. In common English usage the word "apostasy" means "abandonment of one's religious faith, a political party, one's principles, or a cause."⁸¹ In the *Handbook*, "Apostasy" refers to members who "(1) repeatedly act in clear, open, and deliberate opposition to the Church or its leaders; (2) persist in teaching as Church doctrine information that is not Church doctrine after being corrected by their bishops or higher authority; or (3) continue to follow the teachings of apostate cults (such as

those that advocate plural marriage) after being corrected by their bishops or higher authority."⁸²

Such a definition assumes that the "leaders" (local? general?) are all agreed, that "Church doctrine" is clearly defined on all points, and that there is a workable definition available of "cult." As a recent article has demonstrated, Elder Ezra Taft Benson, when an apostle, was repeatedly corrected by his superiors in the Quorum of the Twelve and the First Presidency, repeatedly ignored their corrections, and went his own political way, tying his right-wing political views to the doctrine and teachings of the Church.⁸³ Was he in a state of "apostasy," as the above definition would suggest? And does the John Birch Society fit the definition of a "cult"? We must be careful about "proofs" that prove too much, definitions which could catch even the president of the Church in the net of "apostasy," or views of "apostasy" that turn out to be a rubber yardstick, stretching or shrinking according to the views of whomever happens to be currently in power.

What is "Church doctrine"? The status of the belief in a Mother in Heaven is to the point. In February 1967, when BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson was trying to fire a tenured full professor in the economics department, he summarily refused to renew the professor's contract. When the professor protested (he was then on sabbatical leave), a hearing was belatedly scheduled and a Statement of Charges drawn up from a file that President Wilkinson had been keeping. Among the charges was the allegation that "you have stated that you do not believe in certain doctrines of the Church; that the Church has no right to say that Adam was the first man, or that we have a mother in heaven."⁸⁴ In other words, a perceived disbelief in the doctrine that we have a Mother in Heaven (based on a remark made in private conversation and reported anonymously to become part of a secret file on an individual) was being set forth as one of the reasons for which someone was being fired from the Church university. The attempt failed, but today the situation is reversed. Anyone who strongly and publicly affirms a belief in a Mother in Heaven is open to charges of "apostasy."

The behaviors which the *Handbook* calls "apostasy" are more accurately defined as "insubordination," that is, "the refusal to recognize or submit to the authority of a superior."⁸⁵ It is rare that people who are labeled "apostates" have actually abandoned their principles, beliefs, or fundamental loyalties. I believe the *Handbook* would gain in clarity and forthrightness if "insubordination" were substituted for "apostasy" as a behavior subject to discipline.

The *Handbook* itself, as I understand, is not a restricted document, but its provisions are almost never discussed among Church members, and I suppose that most people appearing before Church tribunals are unaware of what it contains. A clerk makes notes of the proceedings, but not a transcript, and the accused is not given a written copy of the Report of Church Disciplinary Action.⁸⁶ Therefore, neither the accused nor the witnesses are ever sure of what form their testimony has taken, or in the case of an appeal, what has been forwarded to the reviewing authority.

We can, in short, raise the questions of "rights" within the Church system. Is it appropriate to think of a "Bill of Rights" within the processes of the Church? I am not thinking in terms of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but in terms of the founding statements of Mormonism itself.

What would be gained or lost in Church processes if the accused were

1. To be told the specifics of charges against him or her before appearing before the Church tribunal?
2. To have counsel of his or her own choosing in helping to prepare his or her defense?
3. To have access in advance to the printed rules observed in Church trials?
4. To enjoy the presumption of innocence?
5. To receive a written record of the proceedings?
6. To let witnesses check the accuracy of the record or summary of their testimony?

A related and larger question is this: how wide a range of expression and searching can a society tolerate without pushing its anxiety button? The Puritan society gave evidence of being moved by deep fears of "dangerous" or "unsafe" doctrines. In the admonition that John Cotton pronounced at the second trial, he rebukes Mrs. Hutchinson for even raising questions about the nature of the resurrection, because others, upon hearing these questions, will believe there is some reason to doubt, "and so your opinions fret like a Gangrene and spread like a Leprosie, and infect farr and near, and will eat out the very Bowells of Religion. . . ."87

Is this not also the fear behind the denunciation of alternate voices, the fear that if our faith were examined too closely, it might fall apart? It might even appear that there is a near proportion between the hidden uncertainty one feels about one's beliefs and the need one feels to banish or silence the questioner. Can we not see, when we have come to this pass, that faith is already gone? What we are defending is not faith, but an empty shell.

The dilemmas encountered by the Puritans are still with us, and the nature of hierarchy within Mormonism must be rethought, not in traditional secular terms which have failed, but in terms of Mormonism's own founding statements. I believe the means of resolving these issues are with us, but I also believe that the work of the restoration will not be finished until authority in the Church is combined with love and knowledge and exercised by persuasion for giving increase to individuals, who work together for the common good. That such is often the case is cause for rejoicing. That such is often not the case is cause to reflect that the restoration is not yet complete.

I end with three thoughts. First, when hierarchy acts in such a way as to harm people, it must be confronted and challenged, but it is a mistake to let one's life become dominated by a perpetual stance of challenge to the tar baby of hierarchy. Second, fulfilling the intent of priesthood power does not depend on a command from the hierarchy, or on status in the hierarchy, or even on holding the priesthood. It can happen every time someone acts by knowledge, persuasion, and love

for the empowering of another person. Finally, in rethinking the question of hierarchy it is helpful to remember that this question was one that the disciples of Jesus had great difficulty in grasping, and Jesus himself labored long to bring them to understanding. On one occasion he told them that the one who wanted to be the highest should go about it by being the lowest. (Luke 22:24-30.) Another time, he set a child before them and told them that if they wanted to become the greatest they should start by becoming like that child. (Matt. 18:1-4.) On another occasion (John 13:4-11), he got down on his knees and washed their feet. ☞

NOTES

The notation "D&C" refers to the *Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* as published by the Salt Lake City church.

1. Lavina Fielding Anderson's article "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue* 26:1 (Spring 1993): 7-64, was in fact the occasion of her excommunication from the LDS church in September 1993. The entire range of events of Church action against scholars and intellectuals is chronicled in detail in SUNSTONE 16:6 (November 1993): 65-75.

2. David Brion Davis in his article "The New England Origins of Mormonism," *New England Quarterly* 26 (1953): 147-68, opened up the subject of the continuity of Puritan thought and practice into nineteenth-century Mormonism. Grant Underwood, "The New England Origins of Mormonism Revisited," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 15-26, allows some continuities but re-emphasizes the importance on nineteenth-century factors. Recent scholarly activity in the popular history of New England, as exemplified in David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: A Popular History of New England* (New York: Albert Knopf, 1989), opens up the possibility of seeing Mormon beginnings in a new light.

Early Mormonism and Puritanism ran parallel in that they held similar premises and therefore often came to similar conclusions. In particular, both followed the larger cultural pattern of returning to ancient times as the source of truth once held and subsequently lost. For a comprehensive description of this pattern among the Puritans, see Theodore D. Bozeman, *To Lead Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

3. Mormonism was, of course, only one of the many restorationist movements in American history. For an overview of the present scene of restorationism, see Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

4. Edmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), gives a very readable and erudite overview of the entire Puritan project.

5. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1957 [c. 1938]), 3-15. Haller has also produced a shorter informational work *Elizabeth I and the Puritans* (Folger Books, 1964).

6. Haller, *Rise*, 11, 12.

7. Michael G. Hall discusses the political and economic background of the revocation of the original charter in 1684 and the granting of the new one in 1691 in *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mathér* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 212-301.

8. Morgan, 12. A full description of the rise of Congregationalism is given in J. William Youngs, "The Congregationalists," in *Denominations in America* 4 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990).

9. The names "Church of the Latter Day Saints" and "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" were not used until 1834-35.

10. Whitney Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 27-28.

11. Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 265-71.

12. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 148.

13. Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 45.

14. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 149, 165.

15. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 150.

16. David D. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 349.

17. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 197.

18. Morgan, 27.

19. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 200.

20. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 152, 154.
21. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 165.
22. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 169.
23. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 170–71.
24. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 156, 161.
25. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 156. One of the contentions of Anne Hutchinson had been that the clergy were not "sealed by the Spirit" and thus were no better off than the apostles before the day of Pentecost. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 321.
26. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 188.
27. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 178, 180–84.
28. *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool: 1854), 4:53–54.
29. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian University Press, 1981), 25, 33, 34.
30. Morgan, 31.
31. D. Hall, *Wonders*, 12–13.
32. Gregory A. Prince has recently published a monograph *Having Authority: The Origins and Development of Priesthood During the Ministry of Joseph Smith* (Independence, MO: John Whitmer Historical Association Monograph Series, Herald Publishing House, 1993), which is to be part of a larger book on priesthood during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. Michael Quinn has presented SUNSTONE papers on the subject and is the author of a forthcoming book titled *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Signature Books).
33. Prince, 13–14, *passim*.
34. Morgan, 40–62.
35. Haller, *Elizabeth I*, 9.
36. Two generations of Puritan divines wrestled with the question of grace before finally working out a morphology, a pattern of conversion which expressed the covenant of grace between God and each individual who had "saving faith." One starts by attending to the Word and coming to a general knowledge of what is good and what is evil, and from there on one may proceed to a knowledge of one's own lost condition, the "conviction" of one's sins (or his "humiliation"). The natural man can get up to this point by his own efforts, but can go no further. But God's elect find in their minds a serious consideration of the promise of salvation in the Gospel, and God kindles a spark of faith, which is followed immediately by a combat with doubt and despair, which does not cease but produces a persuasion, an assurance of mercy, which is followed by a godly sorrow for sin and the grace to obey God's commandments by a new obedience. All of these workings in him after the preparatory stages are the effect of the covenant of grace, i.e. the marks of saving faith, which works through human will but does not originate in it. The doubts and struggle continue, but the covenant of grace enables him to keep up the fight. If his doubts ceased, it would be the sign that he had deluded himself and had never really entered into the covenant of grace. Morgan, 54, 68–69.
37. This point was often analyzed, probed, disputed, and pondered by the clergy.
38. Orson Pratt, "Was Joseph Smith Sent of God?" in *Orson Pratt's Works* (Liverpool: 1848–51, reprint 1965), 1:27.
39. Orson Pratt, "The Kingdom of God," *Works*, 76–101.
40. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1950), 61.
41. Three principal biographies of Anne Hutchinson give essentially the same biographical information, though they differ in perspective. They are Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Helen Augur, *An American Jezebel: The Life of Anne Hutchinson* (New York: Brentano's, 1930); Selma R. Williams, *Divine Rebel: The Life of Anne Marbury Hutchinson* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1981).
42. John Winthrop, "A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines," [1644] in *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History*, ed. David D. Hall (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 210.
43. The full text of these exchanges is in Hall, *Controversy*, 24–198.
44. The text of the sermon is in Hall, *Controversy*, 154–66.
45. Winthrop, 291–93.
46. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 152–53.
47. Winthrop, 248–62.
48. Winthrop, 262–63.
49. Winthrop, 262–65.
50. There are two accounts of the trials, the first, an abbreviated account in John Winthrop's *Short Story*, which he intended as an apology of the Congregational way to those still in England, and the second a fuller transcript of the proceedings. "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," (in D. Hall, *Controversy*, 312–348).
51. Winthrop, 217.
52. Winthrop, 212.
53. Winthrop, 211.
54. Winthrop, 217, 211, 212, 262.
55. Winthrop, 266.
56. Winthrop, 249.
57. "Examination," 313–14.
58. Winthrop, 265–67.
59. "Examination," 315–19.
60. Winthrop, 276.
61. "Examination," 337.
62. "Examination," 345.
63. "Examination," 347.
64. "Examination," 348.
65. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 349.
66. Winthrop, 215.
67. "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," in D. Hall, *Controversy*, 350–51.
68. "Report," 353–54.
69. "Report," 363.
70. "Report," 367.
71. "Report," 369–70.
72. "Report," 377.
73. "Report," 377.
74. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
75. Anderson, 33–34.
76. Edwin Brown Firmage and Robert Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 354–70.
77. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
78. *General Handbook of Instructions* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 10–7.
79. *Handbook*, 10–6.
80. *Handbook*, 10–7.
81. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
82. *Handbook*, 10–3.
83. Michael Quinn, "Ezra Taft Benson and Mormon Political Conflicts," *Dialogue* 26:2 (Summer 1993): 1–87.
84. Documents for all of this affair are in my possession.
85. *American Heritage Dictionary*.
86. *Handbook*, 10–7.
87. D. Hall, *Controversy*, 273.



DYING

My arms stretch—
 out, high—
 welcome
 the onslaught of grey
 and swift lightning:
 the standing walls
 fall before the waves
 of sudden surety.

I hold my prayer—
 a breath of bridges:
 no air
 but this is endless—living water
 awash in bone
 and flesh.

I am foreign,
 balancing
 until that moment's light
 returns me,
 touches the void,
 and vibrates the dying with its substance.

—VIRGINIA ELLEN BAKER

For many Latter-day Saints, dissent is equivalent to apostasy. We have to get over that semantic imprecision. There's a place within Mormonism for the loyal dissenter.

THE ART OF DISSENT AMONG THE MORMONS

By Levi S. Peterson

DISSENT, I ASSUME, DERIVES FROM NONCONFORMITY, nonconformity implying an inability to adhere to established standards and dissent implying an expression of that inability for purposes of protest or defiance. Both of these closely related terms will be important in the following essay though my emphasis will finally be upon dissent, which among the Mormons should be an ameliorative art, not merely a wild and aimless exfoliation of disillusioned members.

For many Latter-day Saints, dissent is equivalent to apostasy. We have to get over that semantic imprecision. Although apostates are dissenters, so are constructive inside critics, who informally constitute Mormonism's loyal opposition.

An unorganized loyal opposition has always existed within the Mormon church. However, the concept of authority as an all-sufficient source of truth is so strong among the Mormons that the contributions of constructive criticism are almost always ignored and often bluntly denied. Although many believe the gospel has been bestowed by heaven in a whole and perfect condition, the evidence of history is that the gospel isn't whole and perfect at any given time. The Church does in fact change for the better, and the dissent of loyal members is a rich source of improvement that ought to be managed with tolerance and finesse rather than rudely suppressed.

Sadly, enormous numbers of believers constantly fall away from Mormonism. As any missionary will testify, the attrition is greatest among the newly converted. However, even those who are thoroughly acculturated to Mormonism fall away in large numbers, presumably after discovering themselves to be out of harmony with some aspect of Mormonism deemed to be essential, and it is especially toward these that I direct my remarks. I am interested in how nonconformists adapt—whether, as they become aware of their nonconformity, they

suffer in timid silence or whether they abandon the religion altogether or whether they define a comfortable new relationship with Mormonism that involves at least a modicum of dissent. Needless to say, it is the latter accommodation that I favor.

THE SILENT, HIDDEN NONCONFORMIST

A nonconformist in mind and spirit but not in action.

FIRST, a word about the silent, hidden nonconformist who is a nonconformist in mind and spirit but not in action. Great numbers of practicing Latter-day Saints secretly condemn themselves for a nonconformity that strikes the objective observer as trivial—a failure to attend Sunday School regularly, an addiction to Sunday sports on TV, a taste for caffeinated soft drinks, and so on.

Once a woman came to my campus office seeking advice about a family history she was writing. In her manuscript she had recounted her grandfather's abuse of one of his plural wives and was now contemplating the probable censure of her mother and other members of her extended family, who prided themselves on the perfection of their ancestor's polygamous marriage. Although I encouraged the woman to stand by what she believed to be historical truth, the more she talked the clearer it became that her conscience sided with the probable censure of her family. In her own judgment, she was flirting with apostasy, and after two or three visits, she thanked me for my time and let me know she had decided to abandon the project.

There are many Mormons who quietly conceal a nonconformity of a more serious nature. Another visitor to my office was a woman who refused to reveal her name or even her city of residence. She was writing a novel about a Mormon wife and mother immersed in a church-oriented life style who happened to have a lesbian sexual preference. Admitting the character was modeled on herself, this woman claimed she had never engaged in lesbian activity, but was unmistakably drawn in her sexual desire to her own gender. She intended to publish under a pseudonym, but feared that the circumstances of

LEVI PETERSON, chairman of the English department at Weber State University, is the author of The Canyons of Grace, The Backslider, Juanita Brooks: Mormon Historian, and Night Soil. This essay was delivered at the Sunstone Theological Symposium in Salt Lake City on 14 August 1993.

the novel would betray her identity. She struck me as grim and desperate, and she never trusted me enough to put the manuscript in my hands. I referred her to a Mormon feminist in whom I knew she could confide. In time she stopped meeting with either this feminist or me, and I can only assume she had made a decision to stop work on the novel.

I certainly do not condemn the hidden nonconformists, whose numbers would astonish the world were they accurately known. The advantage of their chosen path is that they continue in the communion of the Saints, enjoying the comfort and support of a church-oriented life. The disadvantage is, of course, that they suffer a violated integrity. Integrity consists of holding to uncompromised values, and its possession is greatly to be desired. Unluckily, only a few in any population live out their lives without being forced to truckle in some manner to an imposed mode of behavior.

OPEN, KNOWN NONCONFORMIST

Violations of the commandments alienate them from the community of the Church.

I come now to open, known nonconformists, whose violations of the commandments alienate them from the community of the Church. Among such nonconformists must be counted the backslider or jack-Mormon, the Mormon who believes but doesn't practice in all the requisite ways. A close, dear relative of mine is married to a gentile, and most of his friends are gentiles or other backsliders. He smokes, drinks coffee, and goes on occasional drinking binges. He hasn't paid tithing since he was a boy, and he darkens the proverbial door of a church only for funerals. Yet, if someone impugns the Mormon church or its doctrines, he politely and accurately corrects that person. I would not be surprised to find him preaching Mormonism in a bar. A nonconformist but not a dissenter, he has no quarrel with the Mormon church, and it's entirely possible he expects someday to return to the fold.

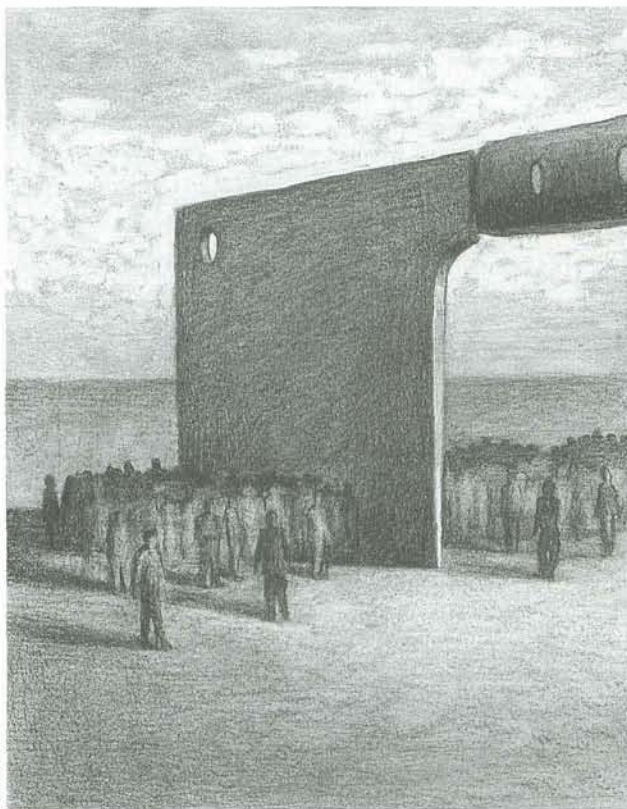
I respect the worship of faithful backsliders, many of whom, like my relative, are profoundly Christian, and I have tried to make a case for the authenticity of their religious experience in my story, "Night Soil." If these members of what may be called a nether church are comfortable in their nonconfor-

mity, I for one favor leaving them in peace. Latter-day Saints who attend meetings and otherwise obey the commandments should offer these backsliding brothers and sisters friendship without plotting ways of rehabilitating them. If they believe, they are as truly Mormon as any practicing Church member.

Obviously, many nonconformists eventually become so totally disengaged from Mormonism that they can no longer be called Mormons of any sort. When I was a boy, there was a wonderfully defiant chiropractor in my home town, who had lost an eye and a hand in a mining accident and who spoke in a deep, gravely voice. He was married to a Mormon who didn't attend church. Rumor had it that he himself had once been baptized. If so, the rite had not had its desired effect. Although his doctoring skills were valued by both the righteous and the unrighteous, he was a rallying point for the town wastrels and ruffians, who sought his company and valued his counsel. He smoked cigars, the fumes of which he accused the town's righteous of enjoying downwind from him. He told unsavory stories and made pious neighbors the butt of his jokes, breaking into hoarse guffaws when he had finished. Of a devout school teacher who continued to father child after child, he was said to have declared: "For Chrissake, the next kid that school teacher has goes for tithing." This man contributed enormously to the honesty of religion in our town by pointing out the foibles of the righteous. Any community of Mormons could profit from the presence of such a satirist.

Many disengaged Mormons simply disappear from the Mormon scene. They move away from Mormon population

centers, or, if they remain in Mormon country, they associate exclusively with non-Mormon friends and organizations. While I was a graduate student at the University of Utah, I became close friends with a young woman on her way out of Mormonism. She derived from a Mormon pioneer family in southern Utah and had been married in a temple. The immediate source of her disillusionment with Mormonism was the behavior of a high ranking authority of the Church from whom she and her husband rented a basement apartment. She observed this man in such an unethical conduct of business that his ecclesiastical office was discredited in her eyes and so, too, was the entire religion with which he was associated. In



The dissent of loyal members is a rich source of improvement that ought to be managed with tolerance and finesse rather than rudely suppressed.

time, she divorced her Mormon husband, married a non-Mormon, and moved east, where she has raised her children in a secular environment.

It's worth noting that disillusioned idealism is at the root of a great deal of nonconformity among the Mormons. The Latter-day Saints prime themselves for disillusionment by attributing perfection to their own way of life and by allowing testimony to displace rather than complement reason in their search for truth. Moreover, the young are isolated from adverse ideas and forbidden practices rather than exposed to them from a forbearing perspective. Admittedly, many of the faithful pass a lifetime without being disabused of their facile optimism. Many others, however, come up against a bruising reality—they lose a loved one prematurely or they discover the scientific basis of the theory of evolution or they stumble upon the changes made in early editions of the Book of Mormon or they grasp how completely a male-dominated church has suppressed the initiative of women—and then it is anybody's guess as to whether they will stay with or depart from Mormonism.

One of my earliest English instructors at BYU eventually abandoned Mormonism because of intellectual disillusionment. While I was his student, he welcomed me in his office, and his independence of mind influenced my own budding nonconformity. Before I left for my mission in 1954, he had begun to attend the meetings of the Swearing Elders, and by the time I returned in 1957, he had left BYU and the Church. At a party some twenty years later, he told me the story of his disillusionment. As doctrine after doctrine failed to meet the test of scientific reason, his anger accumulated, and at last he wrote a letter requesting that his name be removed from the rolls of the Church. As he described an attempt by his brother-in-law, an apostle, to dissuade him from leaving the Church, his eyes flashed and he struck his palm and cried, "By God, I'll not abide a trammled mind!" In contrast to his brother-in-law, his aged father accepted his decision calmly and without reproof. Yet as this truculent mentor of mine alluded to his father, his composure broke and his eyes filled with tears, confirming what everyone knows, that if you've been raised a Mormon, disengagement isn't easy.

There's no use fretting over the departure from the ranks of Mormonism of people like the two I've just described. You have to let them go with your blessing, and by all means do your best to stay in touch. The lapsed Mormons about whom I worry are those who seem never to find another emotional home, and when strangers show up in my office saying they've read some of my essays and they just want to have a talk, I know I'm in the presence of hearts in turmoil, and I hope I'll say something that will help them stay with the religion of their childhood.

I am somewhat taken aback by my own impulse to salvage nonconforming Mormons. I have little interest in proselytizing gentiles who are happy with their view of the world, whatever that view might be, and I have to say in all candor that my gentile friends are as dutiful, affectionate, and spiritually sound as my Mormon friends. But as for helping disillusioned

Mormons—that's another matter. My interest in helping them stay in the fold has something to do with the intensity of my own sense of belonging. For all my compulsive backsliding, I remain profoundly and ineradicably a Mormon. One evening as I turned north at the corner of Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City, I saw late sunlight on Moroni and the spires of the temple, and the strongest surge of belonging swept through me. I said to myself, This is my place and these are my people, now and for as long as I live.

I recall an attempt to salvage a nonconformist of a sort I have so far not mentioned, a Mormon fundamentalist. On a visit to my hometown I ran into a friend from school days who, on strength of having seen my name in the program of the latest Sunstone symposium, invited me to visit an acquaintance with him. The shelves of his acquaintance's office were lined with fundamentalist books, and after brief formalities, this man began to preach fundamentalism to me. He decried the Church's abandonment of the practice of plural marriage and of the ceremony of the second temple blessing and said the keys of authority within the Mormon church were lost, to be restored in the near future by one mighty and strong. This man was erudite, eloquent, and charismatic to a degree I have never encountered in any other person. I could easily understand how my friend from school days had fallen into an orbit about his magnetic personality.

The next evening, when these two called at my mother's house to further our discussion, I said that, though I was honored they would confide in me, the mere fact that I had appeared in the program of the Sunstone symposium did not mean that I was hospitable to their particular breed of dissent. I said I was a liberal Mormon and therefore on the opposite pole of disagreement with the official Church. I said I particularly did not favor nonconformity that would abolish the presently constituted government of the Church because I believe that a large, thriving church unified under the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve serves the interests of Mormonism far better than a host of small, warring churches.

I told them that I had made inquiries and found their promulgation of fundamentalism was a matter of common knowledge in town, and it would therefore be only a matter of time before one or both would be called before a Church court. The charismatic acquaintance asked whether I intended to inform against them. I said certainly not. I said my concern was chiefly for my friend from school days, who I judged would never be happy leading the clandestine, exiled life of a practicing fundamentalist. Turning to him, I asked whether he was prepared to accept the loss of fellowship with family and friends. He was visibly shaken by my candid question, as I hoped he would be. The next day I returned to Utah, and I can only assume that more lasting influences than my brief exposition were at work upon these two, for today, some eight years later, they continue in the communion of their respective wards.

I come now to the question of what nonconformists might do to honor their own integrity yet maintain their allegiance to Mormonism. I would like to suggest a deliberate, conscious

procedure, an amplification, if you please, of the art of dissent among the Mormons, for there is a way to vary from the norm with some degree of comfort.

TWO COMMUNITIES

Nonconformists need both an official church community and another smaller and less formal community of friends.

NONCONFORMING Mormons need two communities, the one provided by the official Church and another, much smaller and less formal, provided by friends and fellow nonconformists. I will discuss how nonconformists might comport themselves within these two communities in light of the differing opportunities and standards they offer.

Presumably most nonconformists begin as more or less accepted members of a functioning ward organized by the official Church. If at all possible, they should maintain that status, though, as I have indicated above, many a true Mormon does not attend church. The delicate question arises just how far they may go in expressing their nonconformity in the presence of the more obedient members of their ward. Accepting the fact that a certain degree of conformity is mandatory, they must judge the tolerance point of their particular ward and not exceed it. But the average ward will tolerate far more nonconformity than is generally recognized, and the confirmed nonconformist is well advised to experiment with the limits. A good deal of the success of nonconformity within a ward depends upon the good humored, affectionate spirit with which it is practiced.

If I may, I will cite the church-attending members of my own ward, whom I conceive to be average active Mormons—committed to the standards of the Church, a little doubtful of their own salvation, eager to convert the nonmember and reactivate the backslider, and very concerned with the sick and unfortunate within the boundaries of the ward. I feel an immense love for these people and admire and respect their valiant struggle with life's vicissitudes. They always greet me warmly, and they accept me as a home teacher and as an instructor in the high priests group on one Sunday each month. As I have

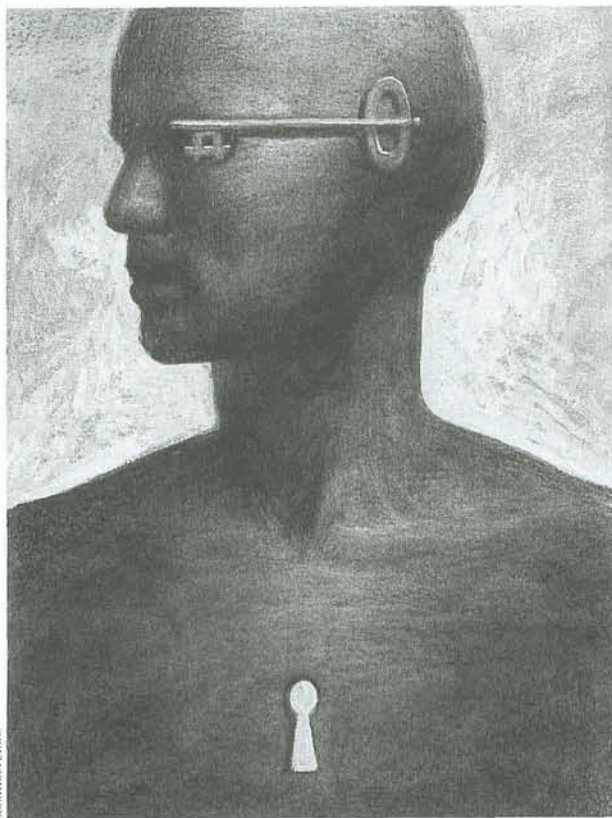
said elsewhere, I worship vicariously through their prayers, hymns, and ceremonies. Yet many of them, if not all, know I am a backslider. They know I drink coffee, don't pay tithing, mow my lawn on the Sabbath, write salacious books, and sleep in church without apology.

Declining church calls politely yet firmly is one kind of nonconformity that I believe church attenders could practice much more widely than they presently do. Some years ago I was summoned to meet with the bishopric of my ward. The bishop turned the proceedings over to his first counselor, who informed me that they believed themselves admonished of the Lord to call me to be Sunday School president. I thanked them

kindly for the call and said I was highly honored but felt obliged to decline because I was so involved in helping take care of my aged mother-in-law. As far as I could tell, their friendly attitude toward me was not altered by this refusal.

It is of course necessary to think of a morally acceptable excuse when turning down a call. I remember many years ago that the president of my elder's quorum asked for volunteers to go to a local hospital to administer to the sick. Elder after elder said he would be out of town that afternoon or had to visit an aged aunt or was committed to sing in another ward's sacrament meeting. When it came my turn, I said simply that I didn't want to go. The president, a somewhat older man with unruly Scottish hair, stared at me in disbelief. "Not wanting to go isn't a good reason!" he exclaimed and gave me a thorough scolding. I learned a lesson from the incident, and ever since I have always provided the mandatory moral excuse.

Another matter has to do with the unconventional views on doctrine which teachers and class members might express during lessons. Because I accept the duty of not antagonizing the members of the high priests group whom I instruct on one Sunday each month, I am often led to support and affirm doctrines for which I personally have little taste. Furthermore, my primary objective as a teacher is simply to overcome the stultifying boredom inherent in a lesson manual wrung dry of any novelty or conflict by the vigilant hands of correlation. However, I am happy to exercise a liberalizing influence if I can. Whatever attempt I make to exercise such an influence comes entirely through questions,



As a spiritual act, thinking is far more important than believing, and ultimately those who think about the problems and perplexities of their religion will gravitate to a liberal position.

never through assertions, and I'm often surprised at just how liberal the high priests group of my ward proves to be in answering leading questions on certain points of doctrine.

During the month just past, I led a discussion on the necessity of teaching our children and grandchildren to marry in the temple, a topic I approached with a sense of deficiency since my own daughter had just married outside the temple less than a month earlier. As is my custom, I first paid my respects to the official doctrine on this matter by summarizing it and reading several supporting passages of scripture. With that duty done, I went on to some of the interesting implications of the doctrine.

I said that so far as I knew, most other Christians believe in the asexuality of the immortal soul. Is it true, I asked, that Mormons believe that immortal spouses will engage in sexual intercourse? All agreed on the procreation of spirit children by celestial couples. Whether that would involve sexual union as known on earth was debated inconclusively. I asked whether it is just to require marriage for the highest exaltation. Someone said that the unmarried righteous could at least inherit the Celestial Kingdom. Another pointed out that an unmarried woman might be given a husband during the Millennium. No one seemed to think an unmarried man deserved such consideration. What about the fact that, until recently, when a couple married in the temple divorced civilly, the man can marry again in the temple whereas his divorce wife can't? Several agreed that this was wrong. One man defended the practice, saying it was the nature of polygamy to allow this. A younger man said it was still wrong, and he cited an injustice of just this sort done to a close female relative of his.

The members of the class often thank me for making them think. It is a sorry fact that the official Church has become so fearful of controversy that simple, elemental thinking has all but disappeared from its classes and pulpits. It can be argued that all that is required to liberalize the Mormons is to help them think. As a spiritual act, thinking is far more important than believing, and ultimately those who think about the problems and perplexities of their religion will gravitate to a liberal position.

I turn now to the second community to which the nonconforming Mormon might belong, the much smaller and less formal community provided by friends and fellow nonconformists. In its simplest, least visible form, such a community is created through ordinary social relationships of a self-selected sort. Like-minded persons seek each other out and become social familiars. Trusting in one another's discretion, they can criticize the Church and make jokes about doctrines and practices with which they disagree, thereby feeling less isolated and less compromised in their integrity.

I'm aware of many such small social circles. I'm thinking, for example, of a group of about a dozen women in Salt Lake. Some of these women are married, and others are divorced. Some attend church, and others don't. They go out to lunch with one another and meet regularly to discuss books they have read. Disillusioned with the status of women in the Church, they are brash and ribald and especially prone to

ridicule the affectations of male authority. It is possible some of them will drift out of Mormonism. For the moment, their small, self-created society helps keep them in.

Other nonconformists choose to ally themselves with a visible community of dissent, thereby running a much greater risk of conflict with the official Church. The visible community of dissent expresses itself through newsletters, magazines, journals, books, publishing firms, scholarly societies, action committees, lecture series, and symposiums. Many individuals stand behind these manifestations: lecturers, authors, publishers, editors, officers, board members, and professors, to say nothing of the courageous persons who subscribe to the publications and attend the lectures and symposiums. Many of these individuals are militantly hostile to the official Church. Fundamentalists and anti-Mormons must be classed among this sort. However, many other members of the community of visible dissent are not hostile to the official Church. Far from being its enemies, they conceive of themselves as a loyal opposition, providing an inside, corrective criticism without which an organization becomes spiritually inert.

THE MORMON LIBERAL

Liberalism suggests an attitude of promoting change within the Church—change of a progressive sort, change in the direction of the civilized values evolving in the world at large.

THIS kind of friendly dissenter is the Mormon liberal, whose name I use without apology. The very opprobrium attached to the word *liberal* in the minds of religious and political conservatives makes it attractive to me. I prefer it to frequently used synonyms like *intellectual* and *Liahona* because it especially suggests an attitude of promoting change within the Church—change of a progressive sort, change in the direction of the civilized values evolving in the world at large. Conservative Mormons, like other conservative Christians, evade the unsettling task of keeping up with civilizing change by dismissing the civilization around them as secular and fraught with human error. In doing this, they fail to distinguish the good from the bad and in effect cement themselves into uncivilized attitudes and practices from their own cultural past.

As everyone knows, there are many visible centers of liberal Mormonism. *Dialogue*, *SUNSTONE*, *Mormon Women's Forum*, and *Exponent II* are flourishing liberal periodicals. Signature Books has become a large and significant publisher of liberal Mormon books. The Sunstone Foundation fields a large annual symposium in Salt Lake City and several lesser symposiums in other urban centers, where Mormon values, doctrines, and rituals are given a reflective consideration. The Mormon History Association, counting many hundreds of members, stands for an objective study of the Mormon past. The Association for Mormon Letters fosters a rational study of the artistic and intellectual values of Mormon literature.

The net effect of these centers of liberal Mormonism is the creation of an informal, widely available forum where both the pro and the con of any Mormon issue are given equal time.

Among the many sins laid at the door of liberal Mormons by conservative members of the Church, none is greater than their tolerance for both sides of an issue. Admittedly, a large liberal gathering like the annual Sunstone symposium in Salt Lake City seems a veritable Babel of discordant ideas. Fundamentalist publishing firms will be found to have set up book displays. Avowed anti-Mormons circulate freely, and there are presentations by ministers of other faiths and by scholars from the RLDS church. However, for all the colorful diversity to be found at a Sunstone symposium, the prevailing spirit has always been orthodox, faith promoting, and committed to Mormonism. Liberal Mormons listen to diverse opinions not because they fail to revere truth, but because they believe truth is most readily arrived at by an informed, rather than a censored, mind.

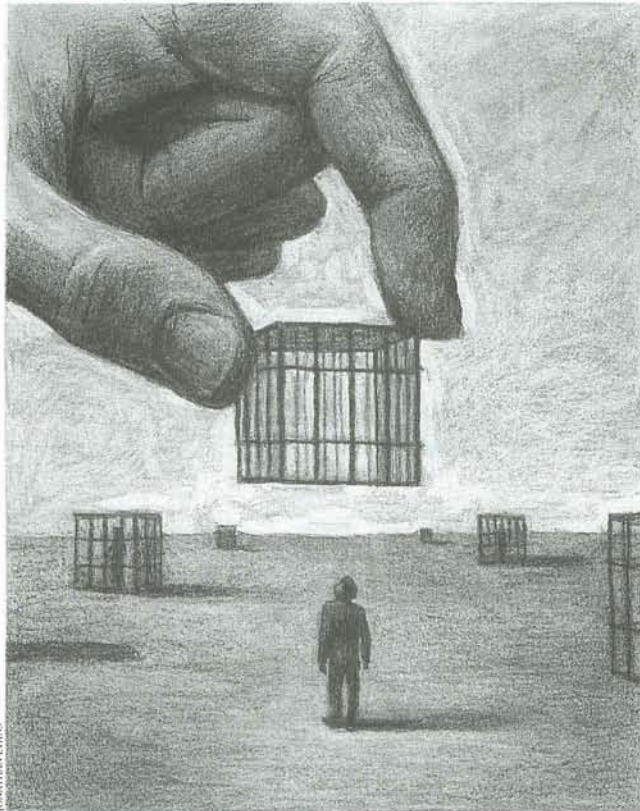
I most recently experienced the loyal Mormon spirit of a Sunstone symposium at Washington, D.C., during March of 1993. A couple from the D.C. area met my wife and me at the airport just as a crippling blizzard struck the eastern third of the nation. With great pride, our friends showed us the Washington temple, beautifully illuminated in the snowy night, and they talked with easy familiarity of innumerable activities in their ward. Obviously, they were fervent, faithful Mormons. The next day we made our way along deserted, snow-swept streets to the campus of the American University, where the symposium went forward with a larger attendance than had been expected. There was a pleasing balance between liberal and conservative presentations, for these fortunate escapees from Wasatch Front culture believed sincerely that the liberal view can be reconciled with the view of the Church at large, as indeed it ought to be.

At lunch I listened to a discussion between two bishops of inner-city wards composed chiefly of racial minorities. These bishops spoke of ministering to the spiritual needs of Latter-day Saints who were third- and fourth-generation welfare recipients with neither prospects nor plans for changing their cultural status. I was moved by the immense empathy of these two men—and of their wives, too, who joined fully in the discussion—for the economically disadvantaged and racially diverse Saints whom they served.

By evening the blizzard had intensified, and many in attendance learned by radio and TV that the expressways and airports by which they planned to return home were closed. Yet as we assembled in a plenary session and fervently sang “The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning,” our collective anxiety lifted. And when in closing we sang “God Be with You till We Meet Again,” it was as if indeed God’s peace had descended on us, and we went away into the storm strengthened in our commitment to Mormonism.

As I prepare to read this essay at yet another Sunstone symposium, I am aware that the official Church has turned against its liberal membership with an extraordinary zeal. The causes against which the membership are specially warned in a recent speech by a member of the Quorum of the Twelve are feminism, the dignity of homosexuality, and the open forum of dissent. The weapons deployed by a bellicose church are simple but effective. General authorities need only denounce a certain doctrine or movement to immunize a large majority of members, who accept the judgment of their leaders as definitive. As for would-be dissenters, sometimes a simple inquiry from a stake president suffices to ensure silence. Sometimes it takes the rescinding of a temple recommend to remind a devout liberal of the limits of expression. For cases of extreme intractability, the Church maintains the ultimate moral expedient of excommunication. Another potent weapon is dismissal from their jobs of employees of the Church who express liberal ideas. At BYU, where the expectations of academic freedom as practiced elsewhere had fostered a certain liberality of speech, a rewritten code now allows instructors to be dismissed solely for statements deemed disloyal to the Church.

In a season of heightened anxiety, when the general authorities, who in a legal sense own the corporate Church, seem bent upon a full deployment of their weapons, what advice might I offer to my dissenting brothers and sisters who love Mormonism and are intensely loyal to it and whose chief sin is that they have urged civilizing change at a faster pace than the authorities will allow? In the present climate of active repression of liberal voices, what amplification do I make on the art of dissent among the Mormons?



JONATHAN EVANS

General authorities need only denounce a certain doctrine or movement to immunize a large majority of members who accept the judgment of their leaders as definitive.

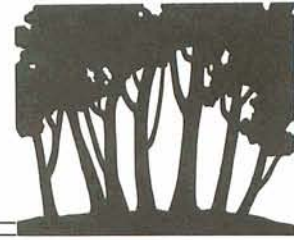
By all means, liberal Mormons should maintain their connection with a home ward if at all possible. They should strengthen themselves by singing the old familiar hymns and engaging in the comforting rituals. They should influence the others in their ward with liberal ideas, if only in oblique and subtle ways. And if this engenders a certain deviousness, arising from keeping one's involvement in liberal things hidden from one's brothers and sisters in a ward, so be it. There are worse things than a little hypocrisy. No one is without it, however perfect he or she may pretend to be.

To those whose livelihood depends upon the Church I would say most emphatically: Never lose your job for a liberal cause. The contribution of any single person to vocal dissent is limited in importance. You are making a contribution simply by making sure that a payroll position is held down by a person of liberal sentiments. So consider withdrawing from the ranks of open dissent if it seems your job is in jeopardy. If you teach at BYU and your dean rumbles about the dangers of attending the Sunstone symposium, don't attend. Catch up on what happened there while socializing with your liberal friends who are employed in more benign climates. Count on living to fight another day. It's much better to be a living dog than a dead lion. There'll be other times and occasions for spreading liberal ideas. That's very, very important to remember. *The battle for the liberalization of Mormonism is perpetual. It'll not be over soon. You need to hunker down for the long haul.*

Finally, if your particular identity and indignation demand a course of action that seems fated to lead to excommunication, well, God bless you and give you courage. Even here, I have some advice, which is that excommunication is no reason for withdrawing from Mormonism.

I fancy that if I were excommunicated by a Church court on a weekday, I'd be back sleeping in sacrament meeting on the following Sunday. Presumably I'd be relieved of my duties as home teacher and occasional instructor of the high priests group. Presumably I'd not be called on to pray or preach. But those are petty losses. I'd continue to partake of the sacrament unless I were expressly forbidden to do so. In that case, I'd attend meetings from time to time in a ward where I wasn't known and would partake of the sacrament there. Certainly I'd join lustily in singing hymns, and I'd attend church socials and chat as always with my friends after meeting. And of course, out on the battlefield of liberal Mormonism, I'd go on doing whatever it was that had got me excommunicated in the first place.

Though as a corporation the Church may be owned by its legally constituted officers, as a moral community Mormonism is beyond ownership. You and I belong if we choose to belong. I for one do choose to belong. I'll not let another human being, however highly placed, drive me from Mormonism. I'll not let an archaic doctrine or practice drive me out. I choose to stay where my heart is and to vent my disapproval of uncivilized beliefs and practices through a quiet but unrelenting resistance. There's a place within Mormonism for the loyal dissenter, and I for one intend to occupy it. ☞



WHY NOTHING BEAUTIFUL KNOWS EXACTLY WHY

When we plead guilt we do so
assuming our lives or feelings
will be spared—God will nod—
secret hearts revealed for all
the verisimilitude of sinners:
the choppers fall,
flames whistle,
bolts snap forward.

Truth defined by the faithless
makes you foolish.
From cities people rout dominant
religions, wagon loads of legal
error burns: people sing
ancient songs of ancient judges—

“It is better that ten guilty persons should escape
than that one innocent should suffer.”

Duty fastens you to scaffolds—
eyes white through black holes—
underfoot trembling wood,
Duty
severs the tongues of rope-seized necks.
Would you not malign duty for dignity?
Still you stand, seized and throttled.

I go on teaching
slums, college collages of limbs and 20/20 illusions,
the money-making schemes of outside worlds.
This mush, this tasteless gruel of business,
eats its maker. The great God maker we try to reduce
to Boolean algebra, wine
and polite hors d'oeuvre conversation.

This reality to the faithless:
War, Politics, Art—unfelt symbols,
semiotic hazards graded and passed:
Love, the breakdown of devoted statistics.
Children, weak and grinning spawn.
Nations, dreams of sovereignty shattered.

—SEAN BRENDAN BROWN

A 1991 Brookie and D. K. Brown Memorial Fiction Contest Winner

NOT GETTING PREGNANT

By Rae Andrus

“K-I-R-O, SEATTLE. KIRO NEWSTIME, 9:45. IT’S 53 degrees and raining this Sunday morning. . . .”

Static from the radio jarred Susan awake, and the telephone rang a second later.

Don’t move. Can’t talk. Where’s the thermometer? She fumbled her hand around next to the radio. *There.*

The phone kept ringing. *The answering machine will pick it up after five rings. Lie still. Wait for the thermometer to beep. 97.7. It should go down tomorrow.*

The phone stopped ringing. She heard faintly from downstairs a woman’s voice recording a message. Couldn’t hear the words. The radio was still on. She leaned over and flipped it off.

She ran her hands over her hips and abdomen, pausing where she thought her right Fallopian tube and ovary had been. *I wonder how it heals, inside, where they cut off the tube. Is it like the stump on a severed leg?*

Can’t think like that! Negative emotions. I have to think positive. She exhaled and inhaled slowly, closed her eyes and in that dark space created the image of her uterus—pink and bright, incision scars smooth and flat, like seams from a sewing machine.

I, Susan, will conceive a completely normal, healthy child. I will carry her to full term without any problems; I will have a trouble-free delivery; and both she and I will be completely well, healthy, and strong during and after the pregnancy.

She ran her hands across her abdomen again. The doctor said her uterus was still a little bigger than normal. Stretched. Swollen. She didn’t like the slight bulge. *I weigh 108 and look like 125.*

She had friends who thought 5’6” and 125 would be wonderful. She was used to better. Average-looking, with a long nose, brown eyes, and short black hair, she’d always felt good about her figure. Now it was another part of her gone.

Where’s the pen? Under the radio. Got it. She rolled out of bed and to the dresser. In the middle, like a centerpiece, was the stack of temperature charts where she recorded her hills and valleys. She pulled out the sample chart the doctor had given her. The dip signaling ovulation was pronounced, smug, with a big circle around it to show that the sample couple had timed

their intercourse perfectly. The subsequent fourteen-day hormone-induced temperature jump was high and enduring. None of her charts looked like the sample chart.

She had the directions memorized, but they were reassuring to read. So easy. So hard to mess up.

“Your temperature should be taken each morning, immediately on awakening, before eating, talking, smoking or arising. Carefully record your temperature on the graph by means of a dot under the appropriate day. Circle the dot on the days that intercourse occurs, and write ‘a.m.’ or ‘p.m.’ above the circle, as the case may be.”

She put a dot at 97.7 under day thirteen. *Sex tomorrow if it dips and my OvuQuick test is positive. Don’t do it today. It will reduce the sperm count. Better tell Paul when he gets home from bishopric meeting.*

She knelt next to the bed. “Please, Father, bless us with the righteous desires of our hearts with regard to children. Bless us to be able to have a child. Please bless us.”

No warm feeling that everything would be okay. She wished she knew if it was all right to pray to Heavenly Mother. *Heavenly Mother would understand. Can Heavenly Father understand, really? He can care, but can he understand? Is it wrong to think that? Why doesn’t he answer me?*

Susan thought about her prayers over the past eleven months.

The first month: “I know that with thee nothing is impossible. Thou hast opened the wombs of other women. Please bless us with a healthy, normal child. We have faith in thee. Our patriarchal blessings promise us the blessing of children. Please, Father. Bless me that my uterus will be well and accept a child. Bless me that my remaining Fallopian tube and ovary will stay healthy and perform well. That all will be well. We have faith in thee.”

At five months: “Father, please bless me to be able to conceive and carry a healthy, normal child. Please, bless us with a child. We have faith in thee, Father.”

At nine months: “Father, if it be thy will, please bless us with the righteous desires of our hearts with regard to children.”

I’m preparing myself for reality by decelerating my prayers. “If it be thy will. . . .” But this month, month twelve, the last-chance month, I needed to say it all, the faith and the doubts. Like someone who knows they won’t get the job—the interview didn’t go well—but still hopes against hope. Please, Father. Please bless us with a child.

RAE ANDRUS lives in the Northwest. She is the home-management teacher in her ward.



She thought about fifty new years of telling him yes.
She wondered when “yes” would again mean, “I want you.”

She heard the garage door open and stood up. She could tell Paul was in a good mood by the way he ran up the stairs a few minutes later.

“Hi, Suz!” He pulled her toward him and cupped her bottom with his hands. “You come back to bed and be with me?” His brown eyes were teasing, gentle, hopeful.

She kissed the side of his mouth and pulled away. “We can’t. My temperature didn’t go down. We have to wait till I ovulate. Tomorrow is day fourteen. We can’t waste sperm.” The words tumbled out as she begged him to understand.

For ten years they hadn’t had sex when he wanted because they didn’t want to get pregnant. Now they couldn’t have sex when he wanted because they did want to get pregnant. Ten years of rhythm, condoms and abstinence, marital strain and resentment, all because she insisted they not take chances with her fertility—no pill, no diaphragm (she couldn’t get the hang of it), no IUD, not even spermicide. She hadn’t been ready to have children yet, but some day she would be.

The joke’s on me. All that work wiped out in a month when they discovered my uterus was riddled with fibroid tumors; I had a bad case of endometriosis; and I needed major surgery to cut the fibroids out of my uterus and the endometriosis out of my tube.

She remembered another joke—a joke she’d told, a little self-consciously, at a recent party:

“A high school boy decides he wants to have his first sexual

experience. He goes to his Aunt Mabel, and she says he should have protection—go see a pharmacist. So he does.

“The pharmacist says, ‘Do you want the three-pack, the six-pack or the twelve-pack?’

“‘The three pack is for high school seniors—one for Friday, one for Saturday, and one spare, because you never know.’

“‘The six pack is for college men—two for Friday, two for Saturday, and two spare, because you never know.’

“And the boy’s eyes get big, and he says, ‘Who’s the twelve-pack for?’

“And the pharmacist says, ‘The twelve-pack is for married men—one for January, one for February, one for March. . . .’”

After she’d told that joke, Paul had said, “Yeah! I’ve had less sex in ten years of marriage than most men have on their honeymoons!” The others thought he was kidding. She knew he was half-serious.

Now he drew her closer and kissed her—the way he’d kissed her when they were dating.

“Paul. We can’t. It’s month twelve. It’s our last chance.”

“I know.” He sighed and moved past her to lie down, his arm behind his head, his feet hanging off the double bed that was too small for all 6’2” of him.

“Tomorrow,” she promised. “Tomorrow is day fourteen. My temperature should drop. Your suit’s getting wrinkled, and your hair’s getting messed up.”

He felt the back of his head where several silvery blond strands were forming a cowlick.

He sat up, threw his suitcoat onto a chair across the room, and pushed the cowlick down. "Oh, well. Com'ere. I'll just hold you."

Now that she felt safe—he wouldn't try anything—she lay down next to him, sideways, so she could put her head on his chest.

"Paul, do you think maybe we *are* being punished? I mean, remember that quote from some general authority condemning couples who wait to have children, then can't and want a special blessing? The rational part of me says: No, if anything, this is just an occurrence of nature. It's Mother Earth, not Father God. But then I think, 'Okay, but why can't he help me overcome it? Why can't he make it so I can get pregnant?'"

"I don't know." He stroked her hair. "I don't think we're being punished. I don't know." His hand moved down her face to her shoulder and then to her breast.

"Paul!" She rolled onto her back. "Remember two years ago when Harold said to us at tithing settlement: 'This is not Harold talking; this is your bishop talking; I feel that there are special spirits waiting to come down to you. The Lord will provide a way. You shouldn't wait any longer to have children.'"

"I resented that. It wasn't any of his business. But maybe somehow he was inspired. If we'd gotten pregnant then, it would have been before I got endometriosis and fibroids. That one doctor said I was the youngest patient he'd ever seen with fibroids. Most women who get them are thirty-five or more.

"I don't like to think Harold was inspired. I'm pretty sure I don't think he was inspired. And if there were special spirits waiting, even if their time to come to earth was then, why aren't there more special spirits waiting now? As I understand it, there's not a spirit shortage in heaven." She snorted. "If anything, we've been told we're supposed to have tons of children because there are so many spirits waiting for homes, especially 'good homes.'"

She drew a breath. "But there's still this little doubt. Maybe he was inspired. He'd probably be over here with an 'I told you so' and a challenge to repent if he knew what we are going through now."

Paul smiled. "I don't think he's *that* crass."

"Well, look at Rob." Rob was their current bishop. Paul was his executive secretary. "When he came to see me after my surgery, he said that now I was half a woman. I understood. He felt awkward. He didn't know what to say. But still!"

"Yeah. His wife was really mad at him." Paul chuckled.

"You're avoiding my real question." She looked at the clock. Church in thirty-five minutes. She got up, grabbed a roll of dental floss and said between teeth, "Well?"

"We've been over this before. We prayed about waiting. We didn't feel good or bad about it. Maybe that's because it was okay, or maybe we just didn't want to hear the answer. I don't think God would punish us for doing our best, though."

"I can't believe a loving God punishes people just for waiting until they feel the time is right. I refuse to feel guilty, but part of me, a little part of me, does.

"Anyway, you wanted to wait because of the money. You thought we couldn't afford it. At least I wanted to wait because I didn't feel ready. I didn't just want to be a mother; I wanted to be a good mother."

Paul sat up. "Come on, Susan. It was also because you wanted a chance to succeed in your career, to be fulfilled there. Don't give me this high-and-mighty, it-was-all-altruistic, it-was-all-for-the-kid business."

"It was. A lot of it was." She peeled off her clothes and left them, even her garments, in the middle of the floor on her way to the shower. She slammed both the bathroom and the shower door. As the water started to flow, and she flicked away her tears, she heard the radio come back on.

Everything sets me off these days. Maybe the Lord knows I can't be a good mother. Maybe I don't deserve it.

Paul was dozing when she got out. She dressed quickly. "It's time to go." Paul groaned. He'd left at 6 AM for his first meeting. She went downstairs ahead of him and pushed the "play" button on the answering machine.

"Hi, Susan. This is Tammy. Sorry to call at the last minute, but I just this morning got a chance to look at my lesson for Young Women. It's on knowledge. Could you take five minutes to talk about how knowledge has helped you in your career? I especially want you because you're the only career woman. Gail's going to talk about spiritual knowledge, and Lisa's going to talk about how knowledge helps her be a better mother. Thanks! See you there!"

Ten minutes on the way to church to think about what to say.

Paul showed up and they got in the car. "Be really quiet, okay? I have this drive to prepare a statement on how knowledge has helped me in my career."

He grunted. "Just tell them how you were valedictorian of your high school and graduated *summa cum laude* from college and landed a full-time job as a reporter before you were even twenty and won a national award for in-depth reporting and have about a hundred other awards and are now managing editor for a national magazine."

"Right. They'll be thrilled to hear me brag about myself for five minutes."

Maybe I can tell them about watching open heart surgery, and interviewing Isaac Stern, and doing a series that changed state programs for unwed mothers, and how so many things I never thought would apply to my job have come in handy. My love of learning—that's what has helped me.

She looked out the window. When it rained, the landscape looked like a Monet painting. It was beautiful but unsettling. No definite lines. No solid reality.

Gail and Lisa will talk about spiritual knowledge and how knowledge helps them be better mothers. Don't ask Susan to talk about that. I'm distinctly lacking in spiritual knowledge right now, and I may never get the chance to be any kind of mother.

Don't think like that! Yes I will! I have to think positive! I, Susan, will conceive a completely normal, healthy child. I will carry her to full term. . . .

Were her affirmations more like a prayer of faith or the Litany against Fear in Frank Herbert's *Dune*? She wasn't sure.

“KIRO newstime, 8:30. It’s 40 degrees outside. Traffic is heavy for a Tuesday morning. Use an alternate route. . . .”

Susan pulled herself out of non-sleep. Non-sleep wasn’t the same as being awake. It was like doze, without the positive connotations of doze.

Why hasn’t someone invented a word for this? It isn’t troubled sleep or restless sleep. It’s a dull doze. If you can have a dull ache or a dull pain, surely you can have a dull doze.

She fumbled for the thermometer. Waited for the beep. 97.6. About where it always was on day eight. She capped the thermometer, laid it on Paul’s pillow and snuggled back into the blankets.

She was tempted to lie in bed for another hour. She’d taken the day off and didn’t have to meet Paul at the doctor’s until one o’clock. He was taking half a day off. *In case the news is bad. Told his office it was related to long-term follow-up from my surgery. I guess that’s true. Last time he had to leave work, it was for his semen analysis.*

They’d had a semi-earnest discussion, punctuated by a lot of uneasy giggling, about why it was okay for him to masturbate into the test tube: “This is for a medical purpose. Just be sure to think about me while you’re doing it. You’re not spilling your seed on the ground, just into the tube.”

He’d called her at work with the results. “I am humbly delighted to tell you that my sperm count is well above average. And they said the little critters were fast, too!”

“Paul! Is your door closed?!”

“Of course. And I’m talking softly.”

“Well, you’re obviously very proud. At least one of us is functioning correctly.”

“Hey, I’m a powerful baby weapon!” She bet that if they’d been face to face, he would have winked.

The weapon was powerful. But the target had already been destroyed.

She hugged herself. *Don’t give up. Be positive. Come on.*

“Heavenly Father, thou knowest how important this day is. Please bless the doctor to come to the right conclusions and give us the best advice, and bless us to know what to do. And, please, Father, if it be thy will, bless us that we might be able to have a child.”

She showered, shaved her legs extra thoroughly and put on clothes that were quick to get out of. She tried to concentrate on *Don Quixote*—she was reading all the classics she hadn’t gotten to yet—but began to get impatient with his adventures. It was like watching Saturday morning cartoons: too much farcical action and riotous dialogue.

She felt ashamed. Everyone agreed it was great literature. But although she had devoured *Crime and Punishment* and put *War and Peace* ahead of Paul for three weeks, *Don Quixote* made her restless.

Maybe I can only handle fluff right now. She switched to Bernie Siegel’s *Love, Medicine & Miracles*. That agitated her, too. *All those people made a difference in their lives. They beat back cancer, and I can’t even bring about pregnancy.*

Finally, she drew an old *Reader’s Digest* out of the magazine stand.

At 11:00 she filled her red plastic sports bottle with water and began sipping. *Eight glasses’ worth before I leave. I’ve never been good at dealing with pressure on my bladder. This was s-o-o-o much fun the last time.*

The last time she’d almost wet the table.

Well, maybe they won’t be an hour behind today.

PAUL was waiting in the clinic lobby. He’d saved her a seat. She avoided his eyes, but he took her hand. Squeeze. Let go. Squeeze. Let go. She turned to him. It wasn’t like him to be nervous. He was always so calm, so pragmatic. The two words heard most often in an argument with him were, “Be reasonable.”

She glanced at him. “How was your morning?”

“Okay. How ’bout yours?”

“Okay. I read a little.”

“Good.”

He let go of her hand.

They watched the other patients. Some were pregnant. The others must be fertility hopefuls. She and Paul were the only couple.

“Susan Marr.”

“We’re up.” Paul followed her to the door.

In the examination room, while she undressed, he talked about the ward volleyball team. Looked like they might be the stake champions. He wished he had time to play this year.

Susan closed her eyes and breathed deeply. *Inhale, three, four, five, six, seven, eight. Exhale, three, four, five, six, seven, eight.*

The ultrasound technician, or whatever they called her, arrived. “Ready?”

She flipped off the lights, and pulled the machine forward. Paul, shuffled into a corner, couldn’t see very well. Neither could Susan. She tried to lie still and ignore the periodic pushes on her bladder.

Some technicians were gregarious. This one went about her business silently.

Susan tried to turn her head without moving anything else. “What do you see?”

“Your doctor will go over the results with you. You can get up now. The bathroom’s right there.”

Relief!

A nurse came and moved them to another room.

Dr. Graves, tall, fiftyish, matter-of-fact, met them at the door. “I’ll take a look at you, and by the time we’re done, the ultrasound pictures should be ready.”

Paul studied the floor while Susan climbed onto the table for the pelvic exam and Dr. Graves pulled on his latex gloves. *Ouch. Every man should have to go through one of these at least once. This is lasting longer than usual. I wonder what he feels.*

“Okay. Why don’t you get dressed, and I’ll come back and talk to you.”

“Okay.”

If this were a movie, this would be the time to make a scene: “I need to know now, doctor! Tell me now what you found. Will I ever have children?”

She got dressed. Turned toward Paul. Started to say, “Hug

me?" Decided not to. She sat in her chair, and Paul sat in his chair, and they said nothing. Paul leafed through *People* magazine. She concentrated on the walls: the breast self-examination chart, the gestation chart, the proper-nutrition chart.

Why are we afraid to talk to each other?

She jumped when the door opened.

Dr. Graves pulled his stool over to face them and cleared his throat.

"I am afraid that the results of the examination and your experience over the last year lead me to believe that you will not be able to have a successful pregnancy."

Susan clenched her fists in her lap. She didn't look at Paul.

"You mean, I didn't heal well enough after the surgery?"

"It appears that at least partly due to the amount of scar tissue, your uterus is not able to accept the implant of an embryo or, if it does, to carry it long. There is always the off-chance, of course, but it wouldn't be fair to hold out too much hope.

"We also think that some fibroids are starting to grow. They are probably not very big, which is good news, but you'll recall that before your surgery I said we can never get all the fibroids—some are microscopic, and those might begin to grow. We think the hormones produced in pregnancy accelerate the growth, so if you wanted to get pregnant, you had to do it as soon as possible after surgery, while the fibroids were smallest.

"The more time goes by, the more you increase your risk of miscarriage or premature birth. If you were able to get pregnant, you would be at greater risk now than you were a year ago.

"I suggest that perhaps you consider adoption. We have a family-planning counselor on staff who can talk to you. I know your feelings must be running high right now."

He stood up and held out his hand. "Good luck. Ask Kathy at the desk to get you an appointment with Jean Chase."

How many times has he had to say this, I wonder? He's so cool. Does he know what he just did to us?

It's what you expected, Susan. Don't be melodramatic.

She vaguely felt Paul put his arm around her and walk her to the waiting room. He didn't make an appointment with Jean Chase.

Why don't I feel anything?

Paul drove silently. He's afraid to talk to me. Afraid of what I'll say. I want to hurt somebody. Hurt him. Hurt myself.

She began slugging her right thigh.

"Don't." His voice was soft, full of pain. She quit.

Don't think. Don't feel. It's okay. Nothing's changed. I'm not any worse off than I was two hours ago. I didn't have a child then. Losing hope is like losing paper money on the stock market. Not a real loss. Not the loss of a real child.

Paul pulled the car in and opened the door from the garage to the house. Susan got out.

Why, Father, why? Help me to understand. I don't feel anything, but I hurt so bad.

Paul held out his arms, drew her close. "I'm here. It's okay to cry. Cry."

His voice sounded funny. She looked up. *He's crying.* The sobs came then, aching voiceless sobs, while Paul's tears rolled noiselessly down his chin and landed on the top of her head.

"KIRO newstime, 10 AM on this Sunday morning."

She stayed in bed. The start of another day, a day for trying to forget.

She hated feeling sorry for herself, despised it. Every day she tried to count her many blessings and be nice to other people, and sometimes she repeated the sappy epigram often quoted by a former Mutual teacher: "It's easy to smile and be happy when life goes along with a song, but the girl who's worthwhile is the girl who can smile when everything's going all wrong."

What did Paul say a few months ago? I told him I'd probably fall apart if I couldn't get pregnant, and he said, "You're stronger than that."

But is this strength—this robotic life I'm leading, this numb feeling, this pretending to be normal, this trying to pray when I don't know what to say?

Everything is supposed to teach us something. No doubt this will enhance my meager ability to bless the lives of others, will give me the patience and compassion of a god. Part of me wants to be good, wants to learn, wants to grow my way through this. Part of me wants to yell and scream and tell the teacher he's mean, mean.

Everything seems to take so much energy, to be so hard. Just carrying on. Is that strength?

She heard the garage door go up, and rolled out of bed, quickly tucking in sheets as Paul trudged up the stairs.

"Hi." He blocked her way to the bathroom with an embrace. She started to pull away. He hugged tighter, and she gave in.

Paul hesitated. Then he said, gingerly, gently, "You come back to bed and be with me?"

How dare he? How can he ask that? It's so soon. It's too soon.

"I can't believe you would be so selfish, so insensitive. . . ."

He released her. He lay on the bed and closed his eyes.

She choked back the feelings of outrage and anger and blame. She sat on the edge of the bed.

There are no temperature charts to drive this, no fear of getting pregnant or not getting pregnant. Just us, and the love that we have for each other. Even if there isn't a third love, our love for a child, we have this love.

I'm not strong, but I can break us. He can't hurt like me, but he hurts. I'm hurting him.

She made circles on the bedspread with her fingers. She thought about ten years of telling him no. She thought about fifty new years of telling him yes. She wondered when "yes" would again mean, "I want you."

At least, for now, it can mean, "I love you."

"All right. I'll come back to bed with you." Her voice was flat. It was the best she could do.

He pulled her down next to him, and she closed her eyes. He kissed the tears on each cheek and stroked her hair before his hand moved down her face to her shoulder and then to her breast. ☞

Positivism, objectivism, historicism, and environmentalism, with their interrelated vocabularies, cannot be used to establish the claim of secular histories to be “higher,” “better,” or “truer” than other histories. Gadamer shows why naturalistic explanation, locked in psychologism, introduces its own superstitions. The resulting histories do “violence” to the sacred language they seek to subsume, repressing its expression and silencing its claim.

THE LARGER ISSUE

By David Bohn

IN THE SPRING OF 1992, MALCOLM THORP, A respected professor of English history at Brigham Young University, published an article in defense of the “new Mormon history.” I knew he had been working on it for some time. In the nearly seventeen years of our friendship, we had argued—occasionally heatedly—over the philosophical issues that frame the writing of Mormon history. He disagreed with the position that I had advanced in a number of published articles, a position that defended as legitimate and appropriate the way in which Latter-day Saints understand their common past within the context of faith and that opposed as unfounded the claims of revisionist historians that seemed to call for a wholesale reinterpretation of the Mormon past in secular terms.

Opposition to the secularization of the Mormon past began in the early 1980s. Critics pointed out that revisionist historians had never subjected their own works to careful scrutiny. They had implicitly claimed that their way of putting the Mormon past together stood higher and was more exact and truthful than believing histories, yet strangely, it was clear that revisionists had failed to expose to rigorous examination the underlying methodology that authorized such claims. Rather, they had accepted their own objectivist criteria as self-evident—as simply “natural” and for that reason not even a problem.¹ This blind spot made secular histories vulnerable on the very grounds revisionist historians had unjustifiably used to criticize believing accounts: the failure to question their fundamental assumptions.

In view of this, it was clear to me that to revitalize the claims of the “new Mormon history,” Thorp had no alternative but to do what other apologists for revisionism had not done, to reground the objectivist methodology of the revisionist approach in a meticulous and thorough way, or if not, find some alternative method that could warrant certainty. I greatly doubted the possibility of this being done, not because of any personal brilliance on my part or on

the part of other critics of revisionism, but because Thorp was defending indefensible ground.²

Since Edmund Husserl’s powerful phenomenological inspection of objectivist language in the human sciences, a tradition of criticism has developed that undermines the foundations of *naturalistic explanation*.³ It challenges the whole sense of history worked out unquestioningly within the assumptions of enlightenment rationalism; it exposes the metaphysics of modern historiography and erodes its claims to objective historical truth. To this point, no one has articulated even the vague outlines of a strategy for rehabilitating objectivist historiography or replacing it with an equivalent approach. In part, the problem derives from the complexity of the issue and the difficulty of gaining a clear understanding of the philosophical literature relevant to methodological questions, a literature that does not lend itself to quick study. Since most apologists for revisionist history have only a marginal knowledge of these theoretical matters, they have, out of necessity, sought to reestablish the revisionist position by using persuasive devices rather than by advancing an appropriately constituted set of philosophical arguments. Regretfully, in its place, *politics* has often been a preferred remedy to cover over weakness and conceal ungrounded assumptions.⁴

I stress that my intention for writing this essay is not to stir up or perpetuate discord. I realize and indeed have vigorously argued that there is no neutral ground or objective language for the writing of history. Consequently, all historical writing is in a sense *political*, if by political I mean that the framing language in which an account is written necessarily involves the presumably honestly held prejudices and interests of a given way of making sense of the world. But *political* also has a darker meaning in which, in order to prevail, genuine discourse is replaced by stratagem. Whatever the case, I am saddened that a meaningful dialogue has not developed, even in the most recent publications on the subject.⁵ I do realize that the philosophical literature that deals with these questions is difficult and demanding, *but its mastery is the price for having an informed opinion on such matters.*

DAVID BOHN is professor of political science at Brigham Young University.

Histories of the Mormon past that seek to account for the sacred in secular terms have no privileged claim to truth and necessarily do violence to the past they are seeking to re-present.

In fairness, and in contrast to much of what has been written, Thorp's article begins in a generous tone and for the most part focuses on critical problems rather than personalities. In addition, it does make some claim to be informed on philosophical matters. In fact, the endnotes do involve relevant works. There are several references to Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method* and a reference to one of Gadamer's essays in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*. The text ostensibly draws from two of Dominick LaCapra's books, works by Hayden White, one secondary source on deconstruction, the editor's comments in the introduction to an anthology on Michel Foucault, and an anthology on deconstruction and theology. Still, these works hardly constitute an adequate exposure to the central texts that govern the discussion. What of Nietzsche, Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Ricoeur, Habermas, Derrida, Lecoue-Labarte, and Lyotard, to name but a few (see notes for more complete references)?⁶ Moreover, in critical places Thorp's interpretation of Gadamer seems to depend upon a secondary source,⁷ and, as I endeavor to show in this essay or have shown elsewhere,⁸ his occasional use of LaCapra's and Gadamer's works is wholly at odds with a careful reading of these texts. In any case, it is unfortunate that, despite references to philosophical texts and many disclaimers along the way, Thorp's essay continues to work out its conclusions within the unquestioned preconceptions and interests of orthodox history. It redresses old arguments in new clothing, but does nothing to repair the flawed logic on which they rely. As such, Thorp fails to ground the revisionist position and thereby reestablish the primacy of the revisionist claim to truth.

Since many of the difficulties in Thorp's article have already been dealt with elsewhere,⁹ in this essay I seek to redefine in a more general way the fundamental problems that Thorp and others writing in defense of revisionist history have failed to properly address. To begin with, I will reflect on the problem of ethics and how such a discussion should properly follow. I will also comment on the political elements of the question which are usually concealed by the revisionist claim to objectivity and neutrality. Then I will try to "clear the deck" of what I believe to be the non-issues that seem to distract revisionists from the real business at hand. Finally, I will attempt to focus on what I believe to be the critical questions by clarifying terms and exploring in significant detail why secular discourse in general and naturalistic explanation in particular are unable to properly frame accounts of the Mormon past. I will show that it is not merely an inadequacy in the application of naturalistic explanation and "enlightenment rationality" to the subject matter of history that is at the heart of the problem, but rather the very way these vocabularies constitute "reality." To do this I will involve the reader in a careful examination of Gadamer's *Truth and Method*. I will conclude that histories of the Mormon past that seek to account for the sacred in secular

terms have no privileged claim to truth and necessarily do violence to the past they are seeking to re-present.

THE ETHICS OF DISCUSSION

We need to move beyond political discourse toward a space of openness where questioning leads all to a richer understanding.

GIVEN the highly political and rhetorical character of this whole discussion, it is useful to begin by considering the question of ethics in intellectual exchanges of this sort. For some time I have been reflecting on the nature of the University in America and in particular Brigham Young University. I have long understood that in academic circles the pursuit of *truth* has often been but a cover for a most violent kind of intellectual gaming in which fame and reputation are achieved by triumphing over one's competitors or in which one's cause or interest is advanced by stratagem. Surely there must be another alternative, an ethical alternative, that can guide such exchanges.

What about the debate over the primacy of a believing Mormon history? Will it, too, be settled on the field of verbal jousts and politics, a field where true understanding is rarely achieved? Indeed, will it be settled at all, and on whose terms? And in the face of all of this, will a continued discussion of the issues have any value?¹⁰ Jacques Derrida discusses a similar problem in "Toward an Ethic of Discussion."¹¹

Derrida argues against the disguised violence inherent in the liberal university and in intellectual discussion in general. He wonders why the morality and politics of writing are not capable of being contained in the academic compound:

They take us well beyond the university and the intellectual field. They even render something else apparent: the delimitation of this field, were it to be interpreted naively in terms of a discussion held to be theoretical, disinterested, liberal, nonviolent, apolitical, would be the artifice of an untenable denial, the practical effect of scanty analysis and voracious interest. The violence, political or otherwise, at work in academic discussions or in intellectual discussions generally, must be acknowledged. In saying this I am not advocating that such violence be unleashed or simply accepted. I am above all asking that we try to recognize and analyze it as best we can in its various forms: obvious or disguised, institutional or individual, literal or metaphorical, candid or hypocritical, in good or guilty conscience.¹²

Clearly Derrida finds that in part the violence of intellectual discussion is veiled by the pretense that reason, theoretical and objective, is necessarily disinterested, liberal, nonviolent, and apolitical. Although he does not believe that intellectual vio-

lence can ever be fully superseded, Derrida does call on us to acknowledge it and expose all of its manifestations. In a sense, every claim to an ethic of “objectivist research” where only the pursuit of the “truth” itself is said to guide scholarship necessarily involves a concealing of the underlying interests and politics that motivate academic writing.

Hans Georg Gadamer seeks to reduce intellectual violence by recasting intellectual discourse as a dialogical and cooperative relationship in which the discussants are brought together in the openness of a common concern for a question.¹³ The questioning is not a cynical affair in which the interlocutors seek to violently undermine and destroy each other’s position. “It is not the art of arguing (which can make a strong case out of a weak one) but the art of thinking.”¹⁴ Indeed, the art of questioning must move beyond the political or there can be no openness. The proper use of questions is, therefore, at the heart of any dialogue.¹⁵ Proper questioning “foregrounds” assumptions and brings into the clearing of common agreement the discussant’s understanding of a subject matter. What is called for, then, is an ethic of discussing philosophical matters that moves beyond the political toward a space of openness where questioning—appropriately conducted—leads all involved to a richer understanding of the subject matter.

Emmanuel Levinas advances a similar position, but one which moves beyond cooperation to an ethic of service. He shows that our very freedom as individuals is vested in our relationship to the Other, a relationship where in the face of the Other we are called to serve.¹⁶ Such a relationship is an opening onto a place of peace in which genuine discourse can occur, in which “I” am called to identify myself to the Other in my own “saying” as one bearing gifts without violence or malice. Authentic discussion, that is a space in which a true *hearing* and a true *saying* occurs, is a place of peace, a place in which we can all find room to stand. It is not a conversation in which I ignore the *saying* of the Other because I have already reduced her to a fixed set of categories (or stereotypes).¹⁷ Rather, it is a place in which my response to the Other is always a *gift*, not a servile response, but a true *hearing* of the Other’s point of view followed by an honest and fair effort to respond by yielding to that which is true and bringing remedy to that which may be flawed. Certainly, such a teaching is not strange to a Latter-day Saint for it is the central teaching of the gospel. Is not our calling to be servants to our fellow beings on this earth? Such a relationship is not one of equality where “I demand an equal right to be heard,” but an asymmetrical one where in the *hearing* of the Other’s *saying* I return a gift of what is in my best judgment a remedy to that which is lacking.¹⁸

Such an ethic does not, however, obligate discussants to overlook poorly defined arguments or disregard dishonest and mendacious posturing. Arrogance, pretense, and even hypocrisy are, indeed, the fabric of a rhetoric that seeks to win at any cost. Derrida teaches us that the risk involved in writing is not only the danger of being misunderstood, but also being misled. Therefore, to respond straightforwardly and without malice to the deceptiveness of discourse is not uncharitable. It is rather the first step in furnishing remedy to that which is de-

ficient and repair to that which lies disjoined. *The danger, of course, is in reinscribing the violence by misusing the weakness of the Other as an opportunity to win, in which case one falls subject to the same defect one is claiming to repair.*

THE PRE-TEXT

*What are the issues in the margins of this exchange
that motivate the call for a revision
of understanding the Mormon past?*

AS Derrida has argued in general, and as I have pointed out in the history of this question, the possibility of an ethics of discussion is complicated by the politics, the violence, or even simply the interests that stand in the margins of any intellectual exchange. Derrida has demonstrated that the seeming autonomy of a book or article, with its clear-cut beginning and apparent conclusion, conceals the relationship of that book or article to the larger “textuality” or discussion of which it is a part. This isolation or detachment serves to privilege such texts, giving their conclusions the appearance of finality and truth. Still, the unsaid—the larger discussion—continues to operate along the boundary of what is said and must be engaged to liberate the text to fuller play. In this sense, it is important not to lose sight of what is going on in the margins of this exchange, indeed, of the very discussion over Mormon history.

The reason for this political danger is obvious. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is historical in its very “essence.” The legitimacy of its claims to authority and to a correct understanding of the gospel depends upon concrete historical events in which power was conferred, keys were restored, scripture was given, and saving ordinances were revealed. For this reason, discussion about the Mormon past cannot be separated from the current discussion about the present and future of the Church. Any changes in Church procedures or beliefs must necessarily be justified against past revelation and practice. Consequently, efforts to bring about and legitimate fundamental changes in the Church outside of historically sanctioned channels will necessarily be paralleled by efforts to revise the Church’s history in order to undermine the authority of its “original” claims.

This marginal discourse calling for change, this agenda, is in a sense a “pre-text” which structures in advance how the actual historical text will be composed. However, since politically motivated language is always suspect, it is, as Derrida has shown, everywhere concealed or dismissed by representing historical research as careful, detached, unbiased, and impartial scholarship, led only by the love of truth itself. But, of course, when we scratch the surface, the play of the political and its high stakes are not hard to locate. What then is this “pre-text,” or better asked, what are the “pretexts”—the stakes—in the margins of this exchange that motivate the discussion? What issues are bound up with a call for revision in our understanding of the Mormon past and change in the Church’s future? They are various and sundry, and I cannot deal with all of them here. Some, such as reputation and pro-

When historians try to retreat to safer ground by arguing that they are only trying to approximate neutrality and objectivity in their writings, they miss the point altogether.

fessionalism, have been dealt with extensively elsewhere.¹⁹ Here I present other obvious concerns.²⁰

To begin with, the revisionist agenda includes criticism of past Mormon practices and beliefs, especially ones seen as embarrassing, such as polygamy, the United Order, temple work and the exclusion of women from the priesthood, or alternatively the belief in prophets, literal revelation, angels, golden books, and papyri. It also involves Church governance and supposed issues of individual freedom which are said to be endangered by a repressive conservative orthodoxy embedded in an authoritarian and dogmatic organization. Here, I believe, is a question of rank where "clear thinking intellectuals" endeavor to show that they cannot be duped. They chafe at the bit of a church led by general authorities whom they portray as misguided and "out of touch," a leadership sustained by what is derided as a "herdlike" membership. Although it may seem otherwise, this is *not* a call for the democratization of the Church, for there is a profound distrust of and even disgust for the everyday Church member who is alternatively characterized as naive, gullible, and sheeplike, or the victim of an organization that spreads darkness in order to exercise greater control. It is rather a call for an order in which an intellectual elite through the direct or indirect exercise of power would accommodate the Latter-day Saints to the "realities" of the times. Led by reason and scientific thinking, the Church would be emancipated from its primitive beliefs and parochial culture to the "progressive" mainstream of liberal America.

This necessarily involves the important side issue of ecumenicism that strains at the claim of the restored Church to be the exclusive agent authorized by God to carry out his work on earth, a claim clearly out of step with the "cosmopolitan" spirit of the times. Indeed, there is even sentiment in support of aligning the Church more closely with liberal Protestant movements by "naturalizing" (demythologizing) revelation and its products—the scriptural canon—or dismissing them altogether. Finally there are those whose program is driven by the more pressing concerns of the current political and social agenda, including the Word of Wisdom, Church policies on abortion, unauthorized forms of sexual behavior, or what is understood as the secondary status of women in the Church.

In advancing all of these issues, there is a clear political interest in blurring all distinctions in the Church, all claims to a core doctrine, to central tenets, or to authoritative governance and appropriate lifestyles, so as to leave it solely to each person to determine what it means to be Mormon. Making everything a matter of mere subjective judgment would, of course, reduce the Church to a social organization with no obligatory content and no power to make claims upon its members. In this way change is facilitated while the foundation of common belief is fragmented.

All these differences of opinion are advanced as justification

for the reappropriation of our Mormon past within the critical and reductive terms of a whole variety of competing ideological persuasions, which in turn are used to legitimate change by recasting the "meaning" of the Church and its past in new vocabularies. By discrediting the historical validity of the Church's claims and by diluting the content of Mormon self-understanding, the organization would then become exposed to the buffeting of every wind of change and subject to external pressure and manipulations through media campaigns and other political maneuvers.

In fairness, though, I *do not* want to assert that the foregoing "pre-texts" constitute anything more than a chaotic mix of overlapping concerns and issues that work in the margins of the revisionist text under the cover of disinterested scholarship. Yet they do share a common "interest" in transmuting the Mormon past in order to recast the future of the Church; thus, in one respect they walk in tandem.

In pointing to the political element—the "pre-text"—of revisionist historiography, I make no claim to an exhaustive description of such issues, nor do I wish to censure those who have different views from my own. The free discussion of the matter is indeed important, and only by bringing the political out from behind the pretense of only looking for the "objective" truth, by bringing what is concealed into the open, can we secure a larger measure of honesty to the advantage of all. Therefore, taking in earnest the ethical responsibilities involved in a fair exchange and not losing sight of the "pre-texts" that guide aspects of revisionist discourse, I should like to answer Thorp and other apologists for the revisionist position in a manner that takes seriously the language of their texts and responds in good faith to their concerns. To begin with, I believe that a fruitful dialogue can be best achieved by clearing away what seems to be the "deadwood" or non-issues that impede an open exchange, followed by an effort to restate the question more broadly.

CLEARING THE WAY FOR A PROPER QUESTIONING

*What believing historians are not trying to do,
and what revisionist historians cannot do.*

TO prevent misunderstanding, I need to point out what those of us who have sought to defend the possibility of a believing Mormon history are *not* trying to do. We do not deny to historians the right to compose historical accounts in whatever way they wish. Given our long personal conversations, I was genuinely surprised that Thorp's essay had me arguing that there must be only one kind of history about Mormons. After all, it is a free country, and revisionists are at liberty to use *objectivist*, *environmentalist*, *positivist*, *naturalistic*, or whatever other mix of vocabularies they wish to script their stories of the past. So I stress again that our only in-

terest is to examine the methodological claims to "truth" implicit in those vocabularies and define their limit, a point that in another context most historians would probably agree with enthusiastically.

Furthermore, we do *not* try to defend any and every attempt to write from within a standpoint of faith. Again, Thorp and others wish, inappropriately I believe, to portray revisionists as rigorous and demanding, while seeing their faithful counterparts as sloppy and without standards. It is at this point that revisionists introduce the specious argument of *professionalism*. Revisionists like to label believing histories as "sentimental" and "gullible" for not submitting to all of the orthodoxies currently popular in the American historical establishment, without ever feeling the need to justify the methods and criteria that make up these ever-changing professional standards. One need only consider recent publications by D. Michael Quinn in which Quinn uses professionalism as a defense. Unfortunately he does not seem to understand that these methodological claims of professional historiography are precisely what are in question.²¹ Unless they can be justified, the professional standards Quinn celebrates can be little more than a repetition of empty slogans or a call for a dull and bureaucratically regimented form of history. Clearly, the parallel assertion, that if one does not unequivocally embrace secular standards one has no standards at all, is simply false. To the contrary, we note significant differences of opinion and a whole range of qualitative distinctions among faithful histories. There will continue to be an ongoing discussion concerning criteria of adequacy, much of which will overlap a more general discussion of method (of which this debate is, I believe, a part) with many efforts to meet, exceed, or change those criteria. Clearly some attempts will fail while others succeed. In this and other essays, however, *the principal concern of critics of revisionism has been to defend the possibility and desirability—from the point of view of the believing community—of writing from a faithful perspective.*

I stress again that *no* effort is being made to question the "intentions" or integrity of historians. It has troubled me from the onset that Thorp and many others involved in this discussion have used this special form of pleading in which revisionist historians are represented as victims of calumny. They have misunderstood fundamental questioning of their position to be a form of persecution rather than an honest and necessary part of an open dialogue. The result is a distraction of the discussion away from its primary subject matter to an unnecessary exchange of accusations in which speculations about motives involving the worst kind of psychologizing come to replace clear thinking. It has led to the publication of personal testaments where historians have disclosed the most intimate details about their personal feelings and intentions in order to show that their motives are above reproach. All too often, and unwittingly I am sure, these biographical sketches end up portraying revisionist historians in heroic terms and those who identify problems in their work as villains. Unfortunately, in the process, the difficult questions that revisionist histories must answer if they are to reestablish the primacy of their po-

sition get pushed into the background and often go completely unaddressed. In every article I have written on Mormon historiography, going back to 1983, I have warned of this danger. On the other hand, critics of revisionism are obviously not perfect and in the measure that they might share responsibility in some way for this confusion, I should like to again reassure all involved that our questioning of revisionist histories has only to do with the way that language is used in historical accounts to constitute the past. *While historians' intentions may be properly considered a private matter, the language they employ in crafting their stories is in the public domain and ought to be subject to question.*²²

Although the critique of revisionist history is necessarily a methodological critique, we do *not* seek to mandate one or another kind of method as the appropriate way of doing history. Rather, such criticism seeks to clarify the assumptions and thus also define the limit within which every approach to historical composition works. In the process, the criticism seeks to qualify ungrounded claims and assure that the reader has some sense of how the theoretical and explanatory language of the historian operates to structure in advance the historical account. It seeks to audit the various vocabularies at work in the scripting of the Mormon past and expose how they belong to given traditions of understanding whose metaphysical foundations are generally hidden from view.

On the other hand, this discussion ought *not* be misunderstood as an exchange over how the flawed categories and language of objectivist historiography can be salvaged by using language more tentatively and avoiding the most embarrassing terms altogether. Rather it is a question of *finding a logical foundation that can justify their use at all*. For example, when historians try to retreat to safer ground by arguing that they are only trying to approximate neutrality and objectivity in their writings, they miss the point altogether; and in not seeing this, they betray a fundamental failure to understand the problem. This is because neutrality and objectivity cannot even be approximated.

If we reflect upon the matter even in a common sense way we realize that while we all continuously make approximations, few of us would claim that our approximations are objective, that they are working within some absolute universe or describing some deep structures of "reality." Rather, we see them as working within agreed-upon universes whose boundaries and standards of measure are a product of history, defined by conventions which for one reason or another we decide to use. If we define, for example, a uniform area and call it a "football field," and if we agree on a way of dividing it into sections, then we are in a position to approximate distances from various points on the field and invent games to be played within its boundaries. In all of this, we realize that our approximations only have validity within the framework of the conventions upon which they are based. Similarly, historians need to acknowledge that instead of approximating objectivity that would necessarily presuppose an absolute standard of measure rooted in a historically unconditioned universe, they are only struggling to satisfy the conventions of the tradition of

A reduction of the Mormon "experience" to secular categories denies in advance that such a Restoration could ever occur.

historical scholarship they have accepted or into which they have been socialized.

Defenders of faithful history do *not* argue that believing histories must reduce every aspect of historical understanding to an instance of the "sacred." As will be argued later, making the opposition *sacred/secular* an airtight dichotomy is wrong headed. However, believing historians do properly insist on the unique and sacred character of the subject matter of Mormon history and correctly oppose it being "totalized" or "normalized" by supposedly more "objective" and universal modes of secular discourse. For this reason all such modes of discourse will be subject to scrutiny in order to lay bare their assumptions and define their limit.

Similarly, faithful history *does not* seek to totalize "human reality" into a single or even a dialectical whole in which everything is accounted for in some absolute way. As will be shown later, Thorp's assertion that this is the case is not only unsubstantiated, but raises questions about his understanding of Gadamer, the very author he uses to legitimate his stance. Indeed, Mormons are suspicious of all such attempts because they are usually the means of reducing the "Mormon experience" to a mere instance in the explanatory life of some theory or ideology. Mormonism does not hold that God is the final cause of every historical act, although it affirms that God intervenes in human history to assure his higher purposes. The Mormon view of God, time, and agency is incompatible with traditional eschatologies and their metaphysical assumptions and resists every attempt to reduce Mormon understanding to some kind of theology. In the course of this paper, I hope to clarify what I believe to be the proper relationship of faith to history and why it does not deny, but actually insists upon the most rigorous kind of thinking.

Again faithful history *does not* involve the imposition of a self-righteous and dogmatic set of moral judgments on our past. Thorp's text tries to portray secular history as wisely refraining from ethical judgments in contrast to the supposedly narrow and hasty judgments worked out within the language of faith, judgments that cannot adequately deal with the mix and muddle of the past.²³ Such a position is untenable. The very authors that Thorp cites to support his position insist in other places that there is no ethically neutral ground from which to advance a value-free account of the past; and, frankly, the revisionist text is everywhere involved in opposing certain practices and advancing its own opinions.²⁴ It is precisely because historians are thrown into history—that is, cannot stand outside of time—that their every judgment and choice will *already* involve the ethical. We are born into a way of using language that is *already* normative and there exists no alternative language purged of ethical content with which to frame a non-judgmental, that is an objective, Mormon history. The historian must choose how the past is to be scripted, what will be

its theme, who will be its central characters, and how the plot will unfold these characters as either "good," "bad," or "in between." Clearly, such choices are not made randomly. They necessarily end up expressing the preferences and normative commitments of historians.²⁵

I much prefer research in which no effort is made to hide the guiding prejudice of the writer over that which feigns neutrality. For the believing historian, no such pretense is necessary. Christian discourse accords the writer a rich and nuanced vocabulary of ethically sensitive terms. At the same time, it admonishes anyone who would judge to be fair and honest, to show humility, restraint, and mercy, for we too are guilty and shall be judged, and "with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again" (Matt. 7:1-2). Certainly many revisionist historians are careful in judgment, and I applaud them. But it remains true that secular discourse left to its own resources has at best a weak and unsatisfactory "vocabulary" for the articulation of such judgments.

Finally, this discussion is *not* over the veracity of the central truth claims of the Church, as if secular historians had at their command a set of methodological criteria that could make objective determinations on these matters. Such is not the case, and, again, it is precisely the duty of this and other critiques of revisionist histories to deconstruct every attempt to "normalize" the Mormon past as a necessary part of some "natural" historical unity by exposing the ideological character of every such attempt and showing the limit of its truth claim. In the end, the hope of this and other critiques is to sustain and encourage the serious "re-presentation" of the Mormon past in a language of faith.

RETHINKING THE TERMS "NEW MORMON HISTORY"
AND "TRADITIONAL MORMON HISTORY"

Every claim to reduce history to an objective understanding is an instance of intellectual violence.

IN ADDITION to clarifying what the attempts to defend faithful history are *not* trying to do, common understanding can be advanced by resolving problems of definition. Although coined by revisionist historians themselves, I share with Thorp and other historians an uneasiness about the term "new Mormon history" as a proper category for defining revisionist scholarship. Of course definitions are not true or false, only more or less adequate. The inadequacy of the term "new Mormon history" results from a number of problems.

In the first place, is the "new Mormon history" actually new? Is it not also an expression of a given *tradition* with a stipulated *orthodoxy*? Later in this paper I attempt to demonstrate that this is the case through an exploration of the genealogy of this tradition of historical writing and its naturalistic canon.

Similarly, the very use of the word "new" as opposed to "traditional" implies without justification that something "better" or more "progressive" is underway; it is precisely this kind of ungrounded claim that I question. For example, despite itself, Thorp's article uses the word "new" numerous times to imply, without justification, that important changes, advances, or progress have been made by the "new Mormon history."²⁶ Indeed, many historians seemed to be so fascinated with the "new" that their work risks bordering on the journalistic. They come to accept uncritically—because of recent origins—what is little more than speculation, fabrication, or outright forgery.²⁷

Second, in what way is this history a *Mormon* history? Only in that it is about a people who have identified themselves as Mormons, but not in the sense of a believing account of the Restoration and of the unique "experience" of its people. Rather it is a reduction of this "experience" to secular categories that deny in advance that such a Restoration could ever occur. What is authentically Mormon is held hostage by the vocabulary of a given theory or as merely a moment in a more global historical treatment, such as the story of *Western Americana*.

Again, the term "new Mormon history" cannot group together coherently all those historical accounts that in a certain sense belong together. Derrida has shown how dichotomous thinking (logocentrism) is unable to give play to middle terms, totalizing them violently into terse and fixed categories. Initially, the restrictive character of the term "new Mormon history" was justified by the claim that as an objective and neutral approach to the study of the Mormon past, it occupied a sort of middle ground between sectarian extremes.²⁸ I think all would agree that such a claim has been shown untenable. Objectivity and neutrality are not possibilities in historical writing, and it is obvious that secular vocabularies necessarily do violence to religious and sacred histories. Without a way to justify this neutral middle ground, there is no longer reason to exclude such writers as Fawn Brodie and Dale Morgan, whose works had been exiled to the "margins" of the "new Mormon history."²⁹

Finally, this term also marginalizes some believing historians who, while committed to rigorous and careful scholarship, feel trapped by the prejudice of the secular vocabulary in which revisionist accounts are framed. Having written accounts of the Mormon past in which the "sacred" and religious character of the textual record was not compromised, they nevertheless felt it significant to stress the importance of thorough research and prudent reflection. They, too, found themselves on the "margins" of the term "new Mormon history."

What then is a better rubric to encompass that activity that was at first the focus of criticism in the "new Mormon history" debate? What is it that is being questioned? What concerns lead the discussion? Clearly it is the revision of the way believing Mormons understand their past. It is the recasting of that past in different terms, ones that belong to a linguistic horizon or tradition that has no believing words for the "sacred." What is being questioned is a secular mode of discourse that trans-

lates that past with the implicit and always unsubstantiated claim that it constitutes a "truer past." Although sectarian efforts to displace faithful history are also revisionist, they often move from a different tradition, from a different way of using language, to justify conclusions. For this reason, I have in earlier articles interspersed "secular" along with "revisionist" to clearly show the revisionist tradition to which I am referring. For all the above reasons, in this essay I use the term "revisionist history" instead of "new Mormon history."

In the same sense that the term "new Mormon history" is insufficient for a full questioning of negative changes in Mormon historical writing, so, too, is "traditional Mormon history" inadequate. First, the word "traditional" is misunderstood to mean inflexible and intractable, dogmatic and narrow, conservative and stagnant. I think that this misappropriation of the word "traditional" above all reveals the "progressivist prejudice" of revisionist writing rather than what is going on in faithful accounts. To the contrary, as this essay will show, a believing history, properly understood, is never finished; it always seeks to make "better" sense of the historical texts. In a certain way, it is more, not less, "open" to new possibilities than secular discourse.

Second, as has been noted, every way of doing history fits into a tradition, or is a part of a larger intertextuality of historical understanding. No discourse can lay claim to an unconditioned point of departure, that is, to an a-temporal or objective meaning. For this reason the use of "traditional" to distinguish one mode of historiography from another—where one is found progressive and the other obdurate—is not helpful. Every way of understanding has its genealogy or lineage. Appropriately understood, a faithful history will displace or change a "tradition" that is no longer convincing—in a different way, but just as readily as secular approaches to the past. Indeed, this is why it is problematic to refer to "the past" as a kind of fixed or hypostatized thing. As I have tried to show in all my essays and will also emphasize here, the past is not a fixed place. It is not like a picture or a puzzle in which all of the pieces can be fitted together once and for all. Historical understanding is rather an ongoing activity. It is the continuing re-appropriation or making present of the meaning of what went on before. Language itself is historical and always underway—it has no objective or a-temporal ground—and consequently it must continually re-present the meaning of the historical text as a constituent part of its own being. Although the past is constituent of the present, there is an alterity (an irreducible difference) that keeps the past from being absolutely accounted for. It is always more, less, or other than what our histories can define it to be. Indeed, every claim to reduce that history to an objective understanding is an instance of intellectual violence.

Still, as Richard Bushman argues in one of the earliest and best essays on Mormon historiography,³⁰ a believing history does have its mooring in faith whose claims and requirements will themselves change as each generation seeks to understand the meaning of the Restoration for itself. Its language will work within a scriptural and non-scriptural tradition which encoun-

A believing history does have its mooring in faith whose claims and requirements will themselves change as each generation seeks to understand the meaning of the Restoration for itself.

ters the sacred in its application to meet the challenges of an ever-unfolding but not random future. Its language is also anchored in the believing community and the possibility of affirming revelation manifest both to the Church and to individual members who sincerely seek it.

RESTATING THE QUESTION

Secular modes of discourse do violence to the sacred.

MUCH can be done to encourage a more generous and even-handed understanding of this subject matter by exploring in greater depth what is being questioned. In review, criticism of revisionist history does *not* seek to question the personal religious beliefs of historians or their right to compose histories in whatever way they please. It does not endeavor to impose a global framework or insist on a given language for the scripting of all historical events. It does not seek to exonerate the truth of the Restoration, which in any case needs no exoneration, since it stands beyond the power of secular discourse to authorize or annul. Above all it seeks to “avoid” a protracted polemic in which central questions get brushed aside as principals personalize the discussion in terms that portray them as mistreated victims.

Although expressed in many ways over the last decade, the focus of the question under discussion is precisely to define the limit of secular discourse and to question its truth claim for the understanding of sacred history. Revisionist histories have drawn on a variety of vocabularies to script or structure their stories about the Mormon past. Still, naturalistic, objectivist, positivist, environmentalist, and historicist modes of discourse and all of their sub-registers—and indeed all of the theories constructed within these registers—overlap greatly. It is the task of criticism to explore how they relate to each other and to question the implicit universal truth claims advanced in these vocabularies by exposing their underlying assumptions and identifying the metaphysical traditions within which they work. In the Heideggerian sense, it is the remembering, the re-collecting of that which has been forgotten; it is bringing back into clear view the ungrounded assumptions hidden in what has come to be understood as the “natural order of things.”

Similarly, criticism of revisionist history has from the beginning questioned the power of secular modes of discourse to frame religious history. The concern is that secular modes of discourse do violence to the sacred—that is, to sacred texts and to texts involving believing discourse—by reducing them to a moment in the life of a theory that claims universal validity. Generally speaking, psychological vocabularies are implemented to “normalize” believing discourse, thus making it subject to naturalistic “explanation.” Critiques of revisionist histories question this repressive and indeed violent way of framing the religious past, of totalizing the sacred such that its

being is lost and its voice can no longer be heard.

THE CENTRAL ISSUE

Do believing accounts deny “rational discussion”?

GIVEN the forgoing objection, it is easy to understand why the “motivation” of this and other criticism is to disengage faithful history from an undeserved and distracting burden, where it has been unduly called to respond to a secular interrogation of its own understanding. Revisionist history has often required answers to questions that inappropriately privilege secular over believing accounts with the implicit claim that its questions, methods, and conclusion—that is, the way in which it uses language to frame the past—is of universal significance, while the understanding worked out in believing history is only of parochial import. Believing historians end up responding to issues of importance to secular historians, defending their terrain with secular language, and trying to justify the beliefs of the Mormon community by satisfying the unfounded standards and criteria of enlightenment reason. In the end believing historians are asked to work out an account of their past within a hostile and repressive mode of discourse that not only cannot frame the sacred, but also inherently annuls its very possibility.

It is here that I believe we have come to the central differences between revisionist and faithful history. Thorp’s essay states straightforwardly an opinion felt by many revisionists: that to make space for a believing account or to frame the Mormon past in a language open to the sacred would be to reduce the discussion of the Mormon past to the irrational or, presumably, to the superstitious. He asserts more specifically that such a language would “den[y] all possibility of rational discussion.”³¹ I hope I do his essay justice in concluding that such a position would hold that secular discourse is the universal and valid mode of discourse which alone can broker rational discussion and thus alone constitutes the preferred register for the writing of all Mormon histories. For him and other revisionists, secular history occupies a *higher ground* and is the standard that can produce better accounts, ones that “image reality,” indeed the standard against which all other accounts ought to be judged.³² I realize that Thorp along with many revisionists might hedge a bit, preferring less direct language. But in the final analysis, I do not believe it matters; a more equivocal posture would end up, under pressure, at the same point.

To justify this position, Thorp’s essay relies on what seems to me to be an incomplete reading of Hans Georg Gadamer’s *Truth and Method*, a reading that has Gadamer defending positions he spent his life opposing. Although done with earnestness and candor, Thorp misconstrues Gadamer’s efforts to account for how we are able to arrive at historical “under-

standing" as a demonstration of the validity of an ecumenical understanding in which differences in historical interpretation are resolved in the higher and presumably universal claim of "reason," the very position *Truth and Method* was written to contest (and a position that Gadamer refuted in responding to Habermas³³). Due to this, and also to the fact that Gadamer has been widely used by all sides in this discussion, I believe that clarity can be brought to the question by a careful reading of the central elements of *Truth and Method*. Such a reading will demonstrate that revisionist claims cannot be sustained. Indeed, it will properly show why Thorp's and other revisionist characterizations of "reason" are untenable, and why naturalistic explanation³⁴ and objectivist methodologies cannot warrant claims to a better understanding of the past, and why far from negating the sacred, the secular and profane must necessarily presuppose its priority.³⁵ Finally, in relying mostly on Gadamer, I do not wish to conceal the fact that other post-modern philosophers such as Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida, and Levinas have undermined the pretense of enlightenment discourse in an even more radical way than Gadamer.

TRUTH AND METHOD:
GADAMER'S CRITIQUE OF ENLIGHTENMENT REASON
The deficiency of naturalistic explanation.

OBVIOUSLY we are dealing with a complex subject. However, as already noted, the price of a defensible opinion on these matters is a willingness to work through the arguments. Revisionist historians have often criticized faithful history as naive, as reluctant to raise questions about its own assumptions, indeed as unwilling to "heroically" deal with the complexities that characterize the past. If that is the case, then it is only just and equitable that revisionists be prepared to deal straightforwardly with the same questions and that they not expect that the language in which they frame their stories can be justified by simple appeal to self-evidence or naive reliance on the comforts of common sense discourse with all of its closures and blind spots.

In the original outline to *Truth and Method*, Gadamer clarifies candidly the central thesis of his work: a frontal assault against the superstitions of "enlightenment rationalism" and the "naturalism" it authorizes. He demonstrates why the many explanatory registers of naturalistic discourse, including *positivism*, *objectivism*, *historicism*, and *environmentalism* with their often interrelated vocabularies, cannot be used to establish the claim of secular histories to be "higher," "better," that is, "truer," than other histories.³⁶ In its place, he argues to justify an independent kind of understanding appropriate for the humanities,

whose reduction to the ideal of natural scientific knowledge is impossible, and where the idea of the greatest possible approximation to the methods and certainty of natural sciences is even recognized as absurd . . . it does not concern another, unique method, but rather a completely different idea of knowledge and truth.³⁷

In order to show that framing human history in the language of the natural sciences is inappropriate for the understanding of human activity, and has led to unjustified claims to objective knowledge, Gadamer authored one of the great philosophical works of our century, *Truth and Method*. He begins by arguing that, philosophically speaking, the historical understanding of the modern world moves within a language of "scientific rationalism" whose "schema is the conquest of mythos by logos. What gives this schema its apparent validity is the presupposition of the progressive retreat of magic in the world."³⁸ Here the thought of the enlightenment, and the science that it authorized, understood itself by means of a false dichotomy. Scientific reasoning (logos) would progressively expose and correct superstition and error (mythos) through naturalistic explanation. The methodology of science aspired not only to discover and master physical nature but "human nature"—and thus historical nature—as well. Its final ambition was nothing less than an objective knowledge of the principles that govern the world.

Central to this methodology is René Descartes's procedure of systematically doubting all "received opinion." Doubt, it is asserted, allows a clearing—a neutral perspective—to open up where "reality" is experienced directly, and reason, finally liberated from layers of accumulated falsehood, is said to gaze unencumbered upon the natural forces that drive history. In this way, moving from doubt to certainty, the "natural order" is identified by specifying the "natural causes" that are understood to impel human experience and structure human events. The totality of these relationships and the overarching principles that govern them are said to form a natural unity that can be known and manipulated.

With regard to history, enlightenment rationality not only seeks more than a mere *understanding* of historical texts, it seeks to understand them *better* than they were understood when they were written, *better* than their authors understood them. This is supposedly because empirical rationality, beginning with systematic doubt, allows the historian to escape historical prejudice—the authority of traditional historical understanding—and occupy a position exterior to the past, from which the past can be encountered and "explained" in rational, that is, natural terms. From here, a higher kind of knowledge is presumably achieved, because through *scientific explanation* the historian claims to be able to identify the underlying natural causes that actually motivated the writing of historical texts and thus account for their full content.

We should not be surprised that the reduction of human history and the humanities in general to a kind of calculus operating within an arena of natural law said to govern human relations elicited criticism of important writers from early on. Gadamer reviews this critique from Vico and Shaftsbury, through Hegel, Schleiermacher, Ranke, and Droysen, to Nietzsche, Dilthey, and Collingwood. In the process, he shows how each critique of enlightenment reason becomes subverted in one way or another by the object of its criticism and thus fails in the end to fully supersede the enlightenment heritage. A good example is Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), a German

Secular modes of discourse do violence to the sacred—that is, to sacred texts and to texts involving believing discourse—by reducing them to a moment in the life of a theory that claims universal validity.

philosopher and historian. On the one hand, he sought to escape from the speculative philosophy of Hegel, only to find himself increasingly in its grasp. On the other hand, he sought to detach the human sciences from the natural sciences, only to end up harmonizing them.³⁹

Gadamer recounts how Dilthey had sought to defend the human and cultural sciences against the encroachments of enlightenment science. He benefitted in his critique of *naturalism* and *causality* from the exhaustive analysis and scrutiny of enlightenment rationalism found in the first edition of Husserl's *Logical Investigations*, published in 1900–01. Husserl had "bracketed" (isolated and interrogated) all the terms used in "naturalistic explanation" in order to follow them carefully to their basic assumptions. Even *Cartesian doubt* would be bracketed, for it was not at all clear that doubt could be construed as a method capable of opening up a neutral and objective perspective in which reason could gaze upon the "undoubtable," i.e., the self-evidence of pure experience and the forces that are said to move it. Not only this, it was not hard to show that *Cartesian doubt* concealed an unjustified objective standard that always went "undoubted," an objective standard that both authorized doubt as a method and identified that which was an appropriate object of doubt. But why indeed should not the *Cartesian method*, with its standards and rational processes, also be subject to doubt? Obviously, following this line of reasoning would involve us in an endless regress. Moreover, since doubt is supposed to take us to certainty by dissolving the residue of error that keeps the truth from being seen, *Cartesian doubt* must implicitly assert that the truth is essentially self-evident and thus beyond doubt. As will become clear later on, none of these assumptions can resist Husserl's phenomenological analysis. For clearly, what seems worthy of doubt is always historically conditioned and in the case of Descartes, the very truth that seems beyond doubt and indeed does not get doubted is enlightenment science's own idealized version of the world, of science, and of scientific rationality.

But Gadamer shows how Husserl's analysis goes further. Not only does *Cartesian doubt* fail to provide the historian with an objective point of departure, but *naturalistic explanation* itself cannot claim to provide a justifiable methodology capable of objectively accounting for human activity. Consequently, it is an inadequate foundation for historical scholarship. Gadamer follows Husserl in his painstaking investigation of the assumptions inherent in naturalism and shows why they cause problems not only for Dilthey, but also for revisionist historians.

To demonstrate this inadequacy, Gadamer relates how Husserl disputes the argument that naturalistic understanding can ever be based upon brute or raw perception. This, of course, is the claim made when historians say that the truth was clear from just looking at the facts, just reading the histor-

ical texts. And, despite Thorp's qualifiers, this is what he and other revisionist historians claim to do.⁴⁰ Actually, naturalistic explanation *never gets to nature or the brute facts*. In a certain sense, Kant had already demonstrated that experience is not something external or exterior to consciousness that comes in from the outside to inform consciousness. Rather, as Kant points out, all understanding is cooperative. In the absence of a "mind" or a state of "consciousness" capable of organizing the inflow of sense data into discernable patterns, we could not have understandable experiences at all. Imagine, for example, a hose running water out into a street.⁴¹ Of course nothing builds up because there is nothing to contain the water. But were one to put the hose into a round pool, the sides of the pool would contain the water and form it into a circle. So it is with sense data or perception. Without concepts provided by the "mind" to contain and form (organize) incoming perception, there could be no experiences and thus no understanding. Perception could never be more than an undifferentiated flow of sensations with no meaning at all.

This, in part, is what Husserl is getting at when he argues that all claims to empirical knowledge must presuppose the prior existence of the unifying activity of consciousness. This state of consciousness (or mind) is already structured by an integrated set of ideas (by a worldview) capable of intelligibly organizing the inflow of sense data into some kind of understanding. Otherwise there could only be a diffuse and inchoate influx of sensation. Another example might help. When we see a book, what we really understand as a book is *not* how book atoms feel. Rather, it is how in consciousness a stream of perceptions are apprehended, processed, and organized under an ideal meaning (or concept) called a book. Gadamer emphasizes Husserl's surprising conclusion that the "real world," the "natural world," is never found in, but rather *precedes*, our apprehension of "raw experience," or the "brute facts." Indeed, it is always within the categories of this *ideal world or preconceived reality*—categories already present and underway in the unifying activity of consciousness—that the influx of sense data gets connected together and grasped.

So much for the claim that naturalistic explanation is only passively mirroring the "truth of nature." Every understanding of "nature" is already mediated by a pre-existent idea in the unity-of-consciousness about what constitutes nature! But Husserl takes the analysis a step further. What is the central "ideal" around which naturalistic explanation organizes the flow of sense data into "objective knowledge?"

As Kant had long ago demonstrated, the "natural world" is a material world, defined by the notions of objective time and space, and linked together by the concept of *cause*. Obviously materiality, time, space, and cause are not sensations. For example, what would a causal atom feel like? Therefore, the hidden causal chains that naturalistic explanation seeks to use in

order to define the "real" or the "truth" could not possibly be known directly through concrete sensation. As has already been shown, they are rather the idealized meaning imputed to concrete perception by naturalistic theories. *Oddly enough, then, by sorting and linking together in succession the influx of concrete perceptions according to a set of naturalistic categories, "consciousness" ends up producing the very causal sequences it is supposed to be discovering!* This is why "experience" or the "raw facts" can never objectively verify naturalistic theories and the explanations they harbor.

At this point, Gadamer raises the more crucial question of "consciousness" itself? How does it fit into the natural world and how can it be explained in natural terms?

First, as Husserl has shown, the unity of consciousness is the "site" or at least the unifying activity of "mind" where all "truth" is discovered and knowledge arrived at. It is necessarily prior to the sensation that it is supposed to order. For this reason the study of the psyche, or psychology, should then be the queen of all sciences because it aspires to explain how "consciousness" works. It seeks to know the principles or causal sequences that determine the mental activity that produces knowledge in all other fields of inquiry.

However, Husserl quickly points out that this very claim *uncritically presupposes the very conclusion it should be discovering*, that is, that "consciousness" is determined by a sequence of physical causes and therefore is something to be understood naturalistically. Obviously then, when naturalistic theories describe consciousness in materialistic and causal terms, it is not due, in the first place, to empirical evidence. Rather the very categories that naturalism uses to make sense of empirical data require that it be ordered in such a manner. By definition "consciousness" must be understood as emanating from some bodily organ or vital function. In order to be consistent with itself, naturalism must show that the material world and the consciousness within which it appears are somehow connected causally—that is, "naturally." In this way, "sensations, perceptions, and ideas must by definition be the result of a causal action of reality on consciousness."⁴² By definition, "the whole of conscious life is only a flux of inert states of psychic atoms: evidence is an atom among other atoms, truth is only this feeling of evidence." All this, then, is defined in a rather loose way as the experience in which knowledge is somehow located.⁴³

Clearly, naturalism is caught in a double bind. On the one hand, Husserl has already demonstrated that naturalistic explanation cannot be justified on the basis of direct, concrete experience (because the concepts that constitute naturalistic explanation and the unifying activity of consciousness to which they belong are necessarily prior to the experience they organize and give meaning to). On the other hand, since naturalism must understand the unifying activity of consciousness as merely a part of the "natural order," psychology, the study of consciousness, would not either provide an independent site where the assumptions of naturalistic explanation could be tied down because it too shares in those same assumptions. Psychology has no way of getting outside of the unity-of-consciousness or dispensing with its mental activity to objectively

validate against some kind of "pure experience," the ideas, the concepts, and the theories, it uses to structure psychological explanation. *To explain psychological processes, it must assume in advance what those processes are!* Every psychological attempt to justify psychological cause will fall back into the very psychology it is trying to explain! Husserl calls this *psychologism*.

Gadamer shows that psychologism is a crucial weakness in every naturalistic explanation. Psychologism is a fallacy for Husserl because it *reflects the inability of naturalistic explanations to give a satisfactory account of consciousness in natural terms, and yet recognizes the dependence of naturalistic explanation on the unity of consciousness for all knowledge of "natural" things*. But not only is psychologism internally contradictory, it makes assumptions that reduce human beings to the mere function of a biological machine. "Consciousness" itself can only be the accidental byproduct of the operation of this biological mechanism, and all human activity is understood beforehand as the product of the mechanism in relation to its environment. Thus, naturalism inherently denies the possibility of human agency as well as the possibility for authentic moral action. What is more, we are left to wonder what function "consciousness" plays in the "natural order." Is it some kind of strange opening in nature where nature becomes aware of itself? And why is this "consciousness" continually preoccupied with its own being and how it produces a world in which percepts can be gathered together under ideal meanings and knowledge achieved? And what is the relationship between individual consciousness and the historical consciousness within which the individual defines itself? Finally, naturalism places into question the very possibility of *authentic change*. History is reduced to a routine of change governed by objective laws and principles that are not conditioned by time. Human beings, like automatons, act out the roles of history according to a script written by nature.

Having reviewed the weaknesses that Husserl had shown to be inherent in naturalistic explanation, Gadamer shows how, in the light of this critique, Dilthey understandably wanted to move away from naturalistic explanation toward "verstehen," or understanding. The *Geisteswissenschaften* (more or less the human sciences), Dilthey argues, require something different than causal explanation and naturalistic theories. We are able to understand human phenomena because we are in a sense inside the phenomena. This "insight" into the meaning of human events is inherent in our very humanity and allows us to relive the meaning and the "living" contexts out of which past events were produced. By making the recovery of meaning the principal task of the historian, Dilthey's historicism refocuses the writing of history on the worldviews within which events were understood and acted out. Human behavior does not follow from a set of "natural causes." Rather, it only makes sense within the framework of meaning, the "world" or the "worldview" of the historical moment in which it occurs. Thus, every event—every objectification of meaning—had to be traced back to the context of meaning, to the environment that produced it. For these reasons the basic task of the historian is redefined as a hermeneutical one where through interpretation

As sides of the pool contain water and form it into a circle, concepts provided by the "mind" contain and form (organize) incoming perception. The "real world," the "natural world," is never found in, but rather precedes, our apprehension of "raw experience," or the "brute facts."

understanding is achieved.⁴⁴ Unfortunately Dilthey's historicism and thoroughgoing environmentalism seemed to involve the worst of all possible worlds. It risked collapsing into Hegelian idealism on the one hand without being spared *psychologism* on the other. This is because the historian's power to interpret past meaning through "in-sight" relies on psychological assumptions that, as we have seen, Husserl has already discredited. In order to make transparent the meaning of ideas and thus also the events occurring in different historical moments, "in-sight" must presuppose a *universal psychology* common to all humans no matter where and when they lived. But this position could only be justified if it were possible to claim in advance a knowledge of the underlying psychological causes that determine all human mental activity. And this naturalistic assumption is precisely what Husserl has labeled a *psychologism* and what Dilthey had sought to escape.

This is why Thorp's and revisionist historians' acceptance of environmentalist explanations begs the question by presupposing as self-evident the necessary or natural relationship between the rise of Mormonism and, for example, religious and magical practices extant in nineteenth-century America.⁴⁵ Yet every conclusion arrived at in this manner conceals an unexamined psychology that necessarily involves the problem of *psychologism* that assumes in advance the very psychological nature of the human activity it is supposed to explain. Therefore, moving from their own prejudice about human nature, historians script the Mormon past to include such relationships, with little concern for or awareness of the methodological fallacies they involve.

It is worth noting that not only does a careful reading of Gadamer bring us to this conclusion, but a fair "repetition" of the ideas of Foucault and Derrida (authors that Thorp cited) would have articulated an even more radical critique of contextualist and environmentalist explanations.

THE PROBLEM OF TIME AND CONSCIOUSNESS

It is not possible for a historian who is in history to elucidate historical experience through concepts that are historically unconditioned and universal.

CLEARLY, Dilthey fails in his effort to implement Husserl's critique of naturalism to move beyond naturalistic explanation to firmer ground upon which to found the writing of history. Indeed, he falls prey to the very problem of psychologism he wanted to avoid. Gadamer shows us, however, that by taking Husserl's concepts to a more fundamental conclusion, more promising alternatives are available for understanding history. Gadamer notes that Husserl's later work involves an increasingly "radical critique of objec-

tivism . . . and the objectivist naivete of all previous philosophy."⁴⁶ His rigorous phenomenological inspection of naturalism reveals its hidden metaphysics and shows how its constituent concepts—*experience, objectivity, and causation*—founder on the shoals of an unresolvable psychologism. In the face of all of this, it is not surprising that Husserl concluded that "applying the objective concepts of natural sciences to the human sciences was nonsense."⁴⁷

Gadamer shows that in order to avoid psychologism, Husserl abandons the psychologically tainted concept of "consciousness" in favor of what he called *life* and *life-world*, "the anti-thesis of all objectivism."⁴⁸ He moves away from the naturalistic metaphysics that holds that "reality" can be known on the basis of universal and natural principles that stand outside of time in order to explore alternative possibilities inherent in *time* itself. He asks how it is possible to account for the concepts or the ideal meanings that organize perception and produce "knowledge." Hegel had already convincingly argued that the broad and diverse array of concepts, that is, the terms or the language within which understanding is worked out, must necessarily be historical and given to change and transmutation. For this reason, Hegel concludes, it is not possible to understand consciousness a-historically, that is, from a stand point outside of history. Said in a different way, it is not possible for a historian who is in-history to claim to elucidate historical existence through concepts (theories) she claims are a-historical, that is, historically unconditioned, universal, and objectively true.

Moving from this insight, but not wanting to be trapped by Hegel's historical idealism, Husserl implements the concept, *life world* or *lebenswelt*, as an open ended *horizon of meaning* in which we live as intentional "historical creatures." A *horizon* could never be reduced to an absolute or objective universe because it is always moving.⁴⁹ In describing Husserl's thought, Gadamer states:

The infiniteness of the past, and above all the openness of the historical future, is incompatible with the idea of a historical universe. Husserl has explicitly drawn this conclusion without being frightened by the "specter" of relativism.⁵⁰

The term *Horizon* captures "the way meaning merges into a fundamental continuity of the whole. A horizon is not a rigid boundary but something that moves with one and invites one to advance further."⁵¹ Husserl's point is how our incoming perceptions always get organized into a whole, but not a fixed or objective whole or universe. Rather it moves in time as the horizon moves, that is, it moves in time with us. In the same way, a horizon is something that includes us, but unlike "consciousness" is not inside of us. Within a horizon we are neces-

sarily engaged in a way of life, in a present where at one end stands a past moving through the present toward a future.

Heidegger draws radical consequences from the concept, showing that human understanding always gets worked out in a horizon. Indeed Heidegger's use of the notion of human facticity relies on the idea of horizon. It is more precisely being "fallen" into a world (horizon) already moving toward a future; it is always already being situated historically within a structure of relatedness or meaning that is underway and has a direction. Being is time. And what is "Dasein's" (humankind's) specific way of being in the world? It is by way of understanding.⁵² It is only in the understanding or horizon of humankind that anything gets disclosed (gets made sense of). Thus, "the concept of understanding is no longer a methodological concept. . . [it] is the original characteristic of the being of human life." Our very way of being human is to move understandingly, that is, to project ourselves understandingly in our relatedness within a temporal horizon. In this sense, the past is always in the present moving toward a future. Human understanding is inherently historical in that we must constantly reappropriate the past in order to constitute the future, but obviously there is no objective point of departure for this appropriation. We are born into a "way of life," into a way of understanding things, a way of disclosing the world, a way of using language that is already underway. To us then, the world "is already there" even as we continue to disclose it. Heidegger calls this the "givenness of being," or the "givenness of the world." For us, that way of life, that way of understanding, that "language" or that "world" seems "natural," indeed, the way things are or have always been. In our very relatedness to our environment through language, we reappropriate the past toward the future within the terms of the way of life in which we find ourselves and, of course, give stability to the very world which made the initial assessment possible, the very world we will in a thousand ways continually supersede.

Thus, the language we use to make sense of things, within which we at the same time disclose ourselves and the "world" that surrounds us, is historically conditioned and a part of a tradition of understanding that came before and necessarily prejudices in one way or another the conclusions we arrive at. This is why Thorp's efforts to characterize believing history as *traditional* and revisionist history as *progressive* is wrong. *In fact, both histories work within traditions* that have long pedigrees where an absolute point of origin would be impossible to define. Both are bound to a set of prejudices and commitments that allow histories produced within each tradition to have an identity, although here, too, lies ambiguity; for while nominally separate, their vocabularies overlap and blur at points. Certainly, within a given tradition of scholarship where historical accounts script the past in a given way and make appeal to an accepted set of standards and criteria, it is more or less possible to talk of better and worse histories. But all such verifying languages, all such standards and criteria are themselves historical and work within the limit of time. They, too, are subject to change and transmutation. For this reason, Thorp's reference to the "ecumenical Gadamer," whose approach is said to

authorize a standard against which certain accounts can be judged better and others worse, simply fails to do justice to the text.⁵³ According to Gadamer (Husserl, Heidegger, Foucault, and Derrida), there is no external or universal a-historical standard against which historical accounts worked out within different traditions can be judged "stronger" or "weaker."⁵⁴ To claim that there exists a verifying language that has no limit merely repeats the prejudice of "enlightenment reason."

THE SACRED

*A language open to the sacred
in no way cuts it off from reason.*

THORP'S essay repeats an assertion made by other revisionists: that because of what he characterizes as the private or self-enclosed nature of sacred discourse, its use to frame the Mormon past would be unacceptable because it would eliminate "all rational discussion on the subject."⁵⁵ In advancing such an argument, Thorp once again repeats the prejudice of "enlightenment rationalism," a prejudice that seems to permeate Thorp's essay. Moreover, it is surprising that Thorp would want to assume such a posture, since it has been discredited by modern linguistic theory and also refuted by Gadamer. Wittgenstein long ago displaced arguments for a private language, a point argued even more forcefully by Derrida.⁵⁶ Obviously, a private language would not be a language at all. Language is necessarily public. A language always presupposes a reader or hearer. It is our common "human" way of disclosing or sharing the world. Furthermore, the fact that a language is open to the sacred, to the possibility of belief, in no way cuts it off from reason. To the contrary, Gadamer shows that the distinction between the sacred and the profane is a relative one in which the sacred has historical priority.

Let us review Gadamer's argument. For Gadamer, questioning the past is not a negative activity designed to progressively rid historical understanding of error in order to establish its objective truth. It is not exorcising history of its superstitions and its naiveté by steadily displacing the sacred with the profane, that is by reducing the sacred to something that can be fit into the secular universe of naturalistic explanation. This is the narrow and dichotomous project of "enlightenment reason," and its very pursuit involves a fundamental misunderstanding of history, an ungrounded method, and a naiveté about the capacity of the present to interrogate the past. Gadamer insists that "Philosophy must make this clear to an age credulous about science to the point of superstition."⁵⁷ It is precisely because the use of naturalistic discourse does not understand its limit, believing unsuspectingly that its methods and standards are guarantors of truth, that histories worked out in its terms are naive and end up producing their own kind of superstition. Emmanuel Levinas repeats the same warning with regard to the exegesis of Jewish scripture by showing how those who claim to be able to de-mythologize the sense of the religious in which Jewish wisdom operates only end up imposing their own more obscure and heartless myths.⁵⁸

Gadamer clearly foresaw the unnecessary separation of the

A believing history works within a language of faith that affirms that an honest account written in genuine earnest and in accord with one's best efforts to constitute a past in believing terms and can open up a space in which the Spirit may attest to the truth of what is given.

sacred from the profane in his critique of naturalism and the narrowness of "enlightenment rationalism." He notes that in the Classical age there existed only a nominal separation "since the whole sphere of life was sacrally ordered and determined."⁵⁹ It was actually within Christianity that this distinction became understood in a somewhat stricter sense, one in which "this world" is distinguished from the realm of God as the profane in rebellion against, but not exterior to, the sacred. It alludes to the powers of the "world" which opposes the powers of "heaven" and defies its higher law, and, more specifically, to those who live a life which profanes God's teaching. In both cases, Gadamer stresses, the meaning of the profane must presuppose the sacred it profanates. This dependency accounts for why we find parallel and overlapping vocabularies in both secular and sacred discourse for the description of a variety of things ranging from basic selfishness to carnal desire. This is also why sacred accounts of the Mormon past can and do use, although generally in a negative way, language that is analogous to that used in some secular accounts. In any case, while in refusal of the sacred, it is quite clear that the profane is always understood as in a *dependent and ultimately expiring relationship* with what it refuses. So, Gadamer concludes that even though Christianity opens up a space for the secular state, giving a broader meaning to the word profane "does not alter the fact that the profane has remained a concept related to sacred law and can be defined by reference to it alone. There is no such thing as profaneness in itself,"⁶⁰ its use always presupposes the prior claim of the sacred.

Gadamer's questioning of the absolute opposition between the secular and the sacred necessarily leads us to question as well the almost "airtight" (logocentric) opposition that Thorp and others establish between the related ideas of the sacred and the rational. Although "enlightenment rationalism" seeks to purge rationality of every trace of the sacred, it only does so, as we have seen, by unduly privileging naturalistic discourse, reducing the sacred to a mere "feeling" or "sentiment" in consciousness, one to be explained psychologically. Clearly, this reduction is an act of intellectual violence—justified in the name of science—to drain the language of faith of its power by discounting it to a mere effect of psychological cause. In the end such a claim floats in air, for, as Husserl has shown, every such reduction ends up as a *psychologism* unable to rationally ground its own conclusions. And of course, this is exactly the point that Gadamer makes when he talks about the credulity of our age where science produces its own superstitions. Is not this also the meaning of Levinas's warning that the effort to demythologize the religious ends up creating myths of its own, obscure and heartless ones.

Interestingly enough, it is in the myth of "enlightenment reason"—of naturalistic explanation—and not a discourse

open to belief where we find a totalitarian temptation. It is naturalistic discourse that seeks to reduce all rational discussion to its own narrow form of logocentric racination—to "colonize" under its unchallengeable hegemony every other way of using language. It is only here in the prejudice of "enlightenment rationalism" that reason must be bifurcated such that intellect and faith find themselves in an unequal and tense opposition. Such a narrowing of rational discussion could not account for the rabbinic tradition and its effort to get clear on the word. It could not understand ancient, medieval, and even much of modern philosophy. And it certainly could not account for the Mormon *unwillingness* to see spiritual understanding reduced to a mere flush of irrational feeling.

Paradoxically, in a mute and concealed manner and despite itself, naturalistic discourse recognizes the priority of the claim of the sacred on the profane with a dim and indistinct hope that could only be justified by faith. Here the disorder that characterizes human relations and certainly human history is harmonized and elevated to actually constitute a higher order, a *natural order* not immediately evident in experience, over which nature itself presides. Surreptitiously, *nature is sacralized* and thus returned to its primordial heavenly status.

In the end the Lord does call us to "reason together," but it is a higher form of reason in which there is an opening for faith and for the sacred as well as a space for the refusal to believe. The opening present in believing discourse does not, of itself, assure in any way that the account is "true," or "sufficient." It does not, of itself, make "bad" history "good" history. Rather, a believing history works within a language of faith that affirms that an honest account written in genuine earnest and in accord with one's best efforts to constitute a past in believing terms can open up a space in which the Spirit may attest to the truth of what is given. The writing of such a history must be seen, then, as an act of generosity, where the author constitutes a past designed as a gift to the reader, but also as a gift to the Most High. There could be no more elevated standard, for here there is no room for professional jealousies or private vanities. Would an imperfect gift based on shoddy workmanship and incomplete effort be anything but a source of shame? And what would be its value?⁶¹ Since the claim of the re-presented past on the reader remains incomplete without the warrant of the Spirit, language open to belief is not enough to validate such an account. The text itself must frame the story so that it is worthy of being warranted, and the reader must be open to God's attestation.⁶² I am well aware that such straightforward language might be embarrassing to some LDS historians, but in the measure that it is, it reveals the closure of a thinking that rules out in advance God's truth-affirming power only to insert a worldly standard in its stead.

SUMMARY

Naturalistic explanations introduce their own superstitions, totalizing the past in its own language and repressing the expression of the sacred and silencing its claim.

WHERE has this long and complex excursus into the assumptions of revisionist history taken us? Although ostensibly it was written to respond to Professor Thorp's effort to reassert the primacy of secular approaches to history, it was also an excuse to look into the problems of revisionist history in general. In responding to Thorp, I have tried to raise honest questions that, while keeping in view the "pre-text" of the discussion, focus on Thorp's reading of Hans Georg Gadamer. I have shown that despite disclaimers and qualifying statements, the language of Thorp and other apologists seeks to reinstate a variant of "enlightenment reason," that privileges secular accounts of Mormon things. Secular discourse becomes the universal and valid mode of discourse, which alone is said to broker rational discussion and thus alone constitutes the preferred register for the writing of all Mormon histories. For Thorp, then, revisionist history does occupy a "higher ground," and is the standard that can produce "better" accounts, ones that "image reality," indeed the standard against which all other accounts ought to be judged.

I have further shown that such a position is thoroughly opposed to the position advanced by Gadamer (and, in fact, the position of other authors Thorp cites such as LaCapra, Foucault, and Derrida). Indeed, Gadamer's *Truth and Method* is a frontal assault against the pretensions of "enlightenment rationalism." By carefully working his way through Husserl's critique of "naturalism," Gadamer demonstrates why naturalistic explanation fails. He demonstrates why its various explanatory registers, including *positivism*, *objectivism*, *historicism*, and *environmentalism* with their often interrelated vocabularies, cannot be used to establish the claim of secular histories to be "higher," "better," that is, "truer," than other histories. Indeed, Gadamer shows why naturalistic explanation, locked in *psychologism* as it is, ends up miscasting the very activity of historical understanding it seeks to embody. Claiming to possess an objective methodology, such an approach "heroically" understands itself as bearing the standard of reason and truth against myth and superstition, when in fact, as Gadamer clearly demonstrates, it is only introducing its own superstitions. It seeks to totalize the past in its own language, such that the sacred is reduced to a moment in its explanatory categories. Nevertheless, the resulting histories do "violence" to the very sacred language they are seeking to subsume, repressing its expression, silencing its claim. And yet the trace of its absence remains a voiceless witness to its exile. The abundance is gone. What remains is a phantom wandering aimlessly on an arid plain where withered fields attest to famine and desolation. ☞

NOTES

1. In *Being and Time* Heidegger refers to this kind of blindness. It is somewhat like a person who has been wearing glasses so long that they are no longer con-

scious that they are wearing glasses and that the way in which they see the world is affected by the curvature of the lenses. This leads to a kind of intellectual discussion dominated by *chatter*, where the framing language within which "reality" is presented is repeated variously and continually, but no new ground is actually explored because it is not even anticipated, so natural seems the "world" that language frames. Note also the similarities to Husserl's *natural position*.

2. Since I had first published "No Higher Ground" in 1983, similar arguments had been raised in a much more comprehensive way within the American historical establishment. Peter Novick, a University of Chicago history professor authored a highly critical and very exhaustive treatment of objectivism and positivism in the American historical establishment. Moreover, he had also addressed new Mormon historians at the 1988 Sunstone Symposium. Philosophically speaking, Novick's critique had much in common with my "No Higher Ground," and supplemented arguments of Dominique LaCapra's books published in the early and mid-1980s, which called for a rethinking of how history is written. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 379-80. Dominique LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), chapters 1 and 4.

3. Edmund Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen*, 2d ed., vol. I & II (Halle: Neidmeyer, 1900). As is well known this work came out in various editions with important corrections. His arguments against *psychologism* are further developed in *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie* (Halle: Neidmeyer, 1913). Finally Husserl's direct references to the historical character of human understanding can be found in his *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendente Phänomenologie* published in the *Husserliana* VI, extracts of which can be found in *The Search for Being*, ed. Jean T. Wilde and William Kimmel (New York: Noonday, 1961), 377-412.

4. I remember Malcolm commenting in the early 1980s (although not necessarily in an approving manner) that the growing methodological criticism of the "new Mormon history" was nothing more than a tempest in a teapot because *friends* controlled the avenues of publication and would not let these criticisms see the light of day. On the whole, he was right. To its credit, SUNSTONE did publish several articles questioning the claims of the "new Mormon history," including Ronald K. Esplin's "How Then Should We Write History? Another View," SUNSTONE 7:2 (March-April, 1982) and Neal W. Kramer's "Looking for God in History," SUNSTONE 8:1 (January-March 1983). But in 1982 when SUNSTONE considered my "No Higher Ground" essay, unsolicited letters were written to the editor of SUNSTONE to repress the article's publication; indeed, such letter writing campaigns have been used in a number of places to forestall criticism, arguing that to raise questions about the revisionist position constituted a personal attack against historians. See Scott C. Dunn, "So Dangerous It Couldn't Be Talked About," SUNSTONE 8 (November-December 1983): 47-48.

In addition to writing letters, revisionist historians called on the dean of the college of social sciences at BYU to censor critics of the new Mormon history, and to require the deletion of all references to revisionist historians, not only from the relevant texts, but even from the footnotes of works critical of revisionism. For years *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, a journal that presumably advocates the liberal and free discussion of ideas, would only publish articles friendly to revisionist accounts. When the editors did relent, it was after a protracted (more than two years) and tasteless struggle to unduly edit and rewrite an extensive essay from M. Gerald Bradford, currently executive director of the Western Center of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Indeed, emasculating critical texts through forced rewrites and unjustified editing has frequently been a preferred means of deflecting criticism of the new Mormon history.

This is not all. To avoid dealing with intellectual issues, many historians preferred to reduce the discussion to personalities. Take, for example, attacks against Louis Midgley, professor of political philosophy at Brigham Young University. He has been vilified by historians and even accused of "intentional . . . misrepresentation and obtuseness" (Thomas G. Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective," *Dialogue* 19 [Fall 1986]: 44-45, n.5.) Yet few historians have wanted to deal with Midgley directly on the issues presumably due to his mastery of the subject matter.

It is disappointing that the very people who claim to have been *victims* of libel end up libeling Midgley; and the same people who warn against censorship end up repressing articles critical of their work. I could give many more examples, but it should be enough to point to BYU professor Dan Peterson's introduction to the *1992 Review of Books on the Book of Mormon*, which chronicles in some detail similar political problems in Book of Mormon research.

5. Take for example a recent book ironically entitled *Faithful History*, edited

by Gary Bergera for George Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992.) Here a variety of historians endeavor to repost the revisionists standard, but disappointingly none really face up to the task. For example, Edward Ashment draws from a dated secondary work on history and religion authored by Van Harvey that neither directly engages the central questions nor references the critical texts under examination in this discussion. I am surprised that moving from a position of such obvious weakness, Ashment everywhere uses a tone of condescension and derision. Another contributor, Paul Edwards, retreats to an eclectic subjectivism, and D. Michael Quinn responds by reasserting the rhetoric of orthodox professionalism as if no further arguments were required. It is troubling that Quinn apparently finds it regrettable that the general authorities find discomfort in the exploration of "the Mormon experience" by academics, while Quinn himself is unwilling to risk a careful examination of the methodological problems involved in founding the kind of knowledge claims implicit in his writings. Without such a foundation, Quinn will himself be condemned to take flight from or at least ignore the uncomfortable truths that cast a shadow upon his work. See D. Michael Quinn, "150 Years of Truth and Consequences about Mormon History," *SUNSTONE* 16 (February 1992).

6. The general reader may not be acquainted with many of the theorists referred to in this essay. To keep these already too lengthy endnotes from further expanding, I will here merely include the full names to facilitate later bibliographic reference for those interested. They include Friedrich Nietzsche, Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Paul Ricoeur, Jürgen Habermas, Jacques Derrida, Philippe Lecoue-Labarte, and Jean-François Lyotard.

7. David Couzens Hoy, *The Critical Circle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.) This good introduction to hermeneutics and the problem of intentionality.

8. *Faithful History*, 250–56.

9. *Faithful History*, 250–56. Note also Louis C. Midgley's letter to the editor, *SUNSTONE* 16 (February 1992), 9–10 as well as critical letters found in the August 1992 issue, 4–10.

10. I raised these questions with Jim Faulconer, chair of Brigham Young University's philosophy department, who referred me to a piece in Jacques Derrida's *Limited Inc* (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1988), 111–54, entitled "Toward an Ethic of Discussion."

11. Derrida, *Limited Inc*, 110–60, citation from 112. Here Derrida reflects upon his highly charged exchange with John Searle in which he, Derrida, had used ridicule and mockery to reveal the failure of Searle's arguments to genuinely advance the discussion. Accounting for the failure of true dialogue to develop, Derrida notes that his initial derisive response to Searle criticism was occasioned by what he understood to be Searle's apparent unwillingness to take his, Derrida's, arguments seriously. But in the same vein, Derrida finds himself obliged to ask if he fully took Searle's concerns in earnest, and, thus, if his response to Searle was fair.

12. Derrida, *Limited Inc*, 112.

13. It is worth noting that while Gadamer and Derrida agree on much, Derrida argues that it is impossible—or not even desirable—to fully dispense with the political, while Gadamer seems to believe that in the opening of the dialogical relationship the political can be superseded. Derrida also explores the ontological priority of the question in *Spirit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) where he explores the "Zusagen" in Heidegger, the "yes, yes," the promise, the more original origin. In this extraordinarily rich text, I would alert the reader not to miss the footnotes, especially to chapters 8 and 9. I do not see this as an undermining of Gadamer, but as furnishing it a more fundamental "ground."

14. Hans Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Crossroads, 1989), 372. Hereafter cited as *TM*.

15. *TM*, 372.

16. Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity* (Pittsburg: Duquesne Univ. Press, 1969), 183.

17. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 42–52.

18. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 50.

19. This theme has been developed by Midgley in a number of places, most notably in his review of *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* by Peter Novick, in *John Whitemer Historical Association Journal* 10 (1990): 102–04. This, of course, is the appropriate place since Novick treats in great detail the whole issue of professionalism in American historiography.

20. The intent here is not to indict a given historian, but rather to allow the text to be encountered in terms of the larger discourse of which it is a part, including whatever obvious interests and motivations might be found there.

21. Note the redefinition of objectivity by D. Michael Quinn and how it depends upon an assumed standard of professionalism, "Editor's Introduction," *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), vii–xix. It is also useful to examine the very glowing and uncritical terms in which Quinn deals with professionalism in "On Being a Mormon Historian (and Its Aftermath)," *Faithful History*, 69–111. But the most revealing is Quinn's letter to *SUNSTONE* (16 [March 1993]: 4–5), in which he assails the critics of new Mormon history for dichotomous reasoning and falsely stigmatizing the writers of new Mormon accounts. It is troubling, indeed, that Quinn does not seem to grasp in even the most elementary way what the discussion is about. It has nothing to do with saving the Church from embarrassment or sanitizing its past. It has to do rather with deep and complex issues that Quinn has never confronted. It explores the way historians use language to constitute the past and the limit of the claims that can be made for their accounts. Above all it opposes *revisionism* which for us is the recasting of the Restoration in language that explains the sacred in *naturalistic* terms, making genuine belief impossible. Revisionism is not simply "getting the details straight," or "the facts right." Actually, every generation of Mormons will necessarily "re-present" their common past differently than those who went before. They will struggle with different issues and different questions; they will in some measure write a different script. But it will, nevertheless, work within the shared conviction that the Church was restored by God's power.

But in a larger sense, I find it difficult to understand why it should bother Quinn that we explore unexamined assumptions? Why should he be disturbed that we investigate the various vocabularies at work in the scripting of the Mormon past and expose how they belong to given traditions of understanding whose metaphysical foundations are generally hidden from view. Does not honest scholarship require this? Would we not all benefit from the greater circumspection, humility, and charity that recognizing limits necessitates?

Finally, the accusation of dichotomous reasoning makes very clear Quinn's failure to read carefully, if at all, essays critical of revisionist history. While it may be politically useful to represent one's opponents as a mere caricature, the practice makes genuine dialogue impossible. For example, in all of my articles, I have recognized that the sacred/secular distinction was only nominal and not absolute. Language is necessarily ambiguous and does not yield absolute or objective distinctions. Certainly this essay should leave little doubt where I stand on the issue. It is rather the present generation of professional historians who advance such airtight distinctions, believing as they do that scientific rationalism—and in particular that variant found in the social sciences—has given us a mode of discourse—a new meta-language—that can assure neutral and objective historical accounts. It is revisionist historians and their friends who have scoffed at treatments of our past worked out in believing language. It is they who label it "bolstering, uncritical, and pollyannaish." It is they who have found Hugh Nibley and others "outrageous" because these writers did not shrink from framing the Mormon past in faithful terms.

22. For example, the foregoing discussion of the "pre-text" that operates in the margins of revisionist accounts is not a discussion of anyone's intention, but rather an effort gain a better understanding of the motivation of the text by bringing into view the language that works in its margins.

23. Here, of course, I am thinking about Gadamer, Foucault, Hoy, and LaCapra.

24. One only need read the pages of *SUNSTONE* and *Dialogue*; Quinn's article cited earlier is an excellent example.

25. Even the reporting of judgments or conclusions made in historical texts is not a "value-free" activity, since the text will likely include a variety of judgments. The historian is faced with which ones to report and how they will be made to fit into his or her overall account.

26. See Malcolm Thorp, "Some Reflections on New Mormon History and the Possibilities of a 'New' Traditional History," *SUNSTONE* 5 (November 1991): 39–46. I invite the reader to carefully inspect Thorp's article for the proof of the assertion. Throughout his piece, Thorp justifies history in terms of the *new*. For example, "And, as is also the current practice, historical accounts that stand out as insightful will be those which raise new and meaningful questions, or which make available *new* or significantly different readings of familiar texts, thus carrying the discussion further." (Italics are mine.)

27. In the past I have referred to the Hofmann forgeries and continue to do so because I feel that they would not have been possible had the ground for their acceptance not have already been prepared by revisionist longing for the kind of "documents" that could justify their speculations. I can remember many conversations with historians at lunch and in their offices and often with Thorp himself. Reference was often made to the flood of new documents like the "Salamander Letter" and later the "McLellan Papers" that, according to secret insiders (Hofmann

himself), would soon be available. Almost always, mention of such documents was with allusion to the kind of trouble they were going to cause the Church and how historians had been right all along about these matters.

28. In fact Marvin Hill refers to "sectarian and secular extremes," a position that has become increasingly unclear over the years. See Marvin S. Hill, "Secular or Sectarian History: A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*," *Church History* 43 (March 1974): 78–96, then see Louis C. Midgley, "Which Middle Ground?" *Dialogue* 22 (Summer 1989): 6–8. The best analysis is found in Midgley's "The Challenge of Historical Consciousness: Mormon History and the Encounter with Secular Modernity," *By Study and by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, vol. II ed. by John Lunquist and Stephen D. Ricks, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1991), 502–51.

29. Louis Midgley argues that Hill underrated the degree to which Dale Morgan and Fawn Brodie understood the underlying methodological issues. See *Mapping Contemporary Mormon Historiography*, 2–8. Also see references in the preceding endnote.

30. Reproduced in *Faithful History*, 1–17.

31. Thorp, "Some Reflections on New Mormon History," 41.

32. Thorp, 39, *passim*.

33. The debate between Habermas and Gadamer is well known. It involved an effort on the part of Habermas to reinstate the claim of a universal and rational standard of social criticism in the form of an "ideal speech situation," where led by reason, participants of good will come to similar conclusions. Gadamer challenges this position in "Replik," in *Hermeneutik and Ideologiekritik*, ed. K. O. Apell, et al. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1971, 283–317) where he argues that although all interpretation operates in a tradition of understanding, it remains critical because interpretation necessarily involves the restatement and re-presentation of what has been given. This involves reflection and, in a certain measure, distance between what has been said and what ought to be said. But at no point is there an objective standard capable of resolving in some final way the interpretation of the past. Habermas continues to argue the same position, although with refinements, against Derrida. See Habermas's contribution to *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians Debate*, ed. Jürgen Habermas, trans. Sherry Weber Nicholson, intro. Richard Wolin (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989). The position is refuted by Fred Dallmayr in *Margins of Political Discourse* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 39–72.

34. The following bibliography comes from the research of Louis Midgley, who seeks to record the more explicit references to naturalism in Mormon historiography:

Leonard J. Arrington has called for Mormon history to be done in "human or naturalistic terms." See Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism," *Dialogue* 1 (Spring 1966): 28. According to Arrington, "Most of those who have promoted both the [Mormon History] Association and *Dialogue* are practicing Latter-day Saints; they share basic agreement that the Mormon religion and its history are subject to discussion, if not to argument, and that any particular feature of Mormon life is fair game for detached examination and clarification. They believe that the details of Mormon history and culture can be studied in human and naturalistic terms—indeed, must be so studied—and thus without rejecting the divinity of the Church's origin and work." Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism," 28. For other apologies for naturalistic explanations, see the preface to Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), viii–ix.

Hill has quoted with approval Arrington's original apology for his use of naturalistic explanations of the causes of revelation. See Hill, "The 'New Mormon History' Reassessed in the Light of Recent Books on Joseph Smith and Mormon Origins," *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 115, 117. See also Hill, "Critical Examination of *No Man Knows My History*," by Fawn M. Brodie, copy of a manuscript in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, n.p., n.d., 17. The acceptance of "a deterministic, environmental interpretation of Joseph's history" he once called "a naturalistic interpretation of Joseph Smith." This bias can be seen in his efforts to advance his version of "environmentalism," as he now calls his naturalistic *a priori*, against Bushman's account in *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, where the story of Joseph Smith is told in a way that separates the core of the message of the Restored Gospel from narrow environmental causation, or from simplistic product-of-culture explanations. See Hill, "Richard L. Bushman: Scholar and Apologist,"

Journal of Mormon History 11 (1984): 126; and also his "The 'New Mormon History' Reassessed in the Light of Recent Books on Joseph Smith and Mormon Origins," *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 115, 117. Sterling M. McMurrin endorses naturalist humanism in his *Religion, Reason, and Truth* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982), 279–80, 166–67. Explanations that are labelled as naturalistic have obviously been attractive to some Latter-day Saint historians. Despite expressing confidence that the use of "human and naturalistic terms" would not lead to a rejection of "the divinity of the Church's origin and work," in 1966 Leonard J. Arrington indicated that an unidentified historian had raised with him the question of whether it is "really possible to humanize all phases of Mormon history without destroying church doctrines regarding historical events." He then acknowledged that this "is a subject which warrants a full essay." Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue* 1 (Spring 1966): 28, n.44. In the 1940s, Dale L. Morgan, who rejected the prophetic claims upon which the Mormon faith rests, argued that naturalistic explanations necessarily undercut the foundations of the Mormon faith. But it was not Morgan who was the unidentified historian mentioned by Arrington. In a letter to Arrington commenting on a draft of Arrington's "Scholarly Studies," Morgan indicated that he wondered "whether 'one reader' is not truly your own alter ego, merely a literary device for getting over some important points, 'without stirring up trouble.'" Morgan to Arrington, 19 November 1965, 2, Morgan Papers (microfilm), Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

Foster naively assumes that his naturalistic approach actually reconstructs "precisely what Joseph Smith actually experienced." See Foster's "A Radical Misstatement," *Dialogue* 22 (Summer 1989): 5. He thought this would allow him to "come to grips with the actual experience itself in all its power and mystery" (5). He asserts that his approach affords the possibility of getting behind the texts, and also behind what the faithful credulously believe to have happened, "to what really happened" (6). This wonder is accomplished by focusing "on the naturalistic components of those experiences" (5). He has also attempted to suggest "some of the sources that could contribute to the development of a comprehensive naturalistic explanation of the Book of Mormon—an explanation which could go beyond the conventional Mormon view that it is a literal history translated by Joseph Smith or the conventional anti-Mormon view that it is a conscious fraud" (*Religion and Sexuality* [Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984], 294).

In *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington call attention to the naturalistic explanations or assumptions of Morgan, Brodie, and Bernard DeVoto (117, 119, 123); they also stress (131–32) that Arrington "did not hesitate to give a naturalistic interpretation to certain historical themes sacred to the memories of Latter-day Saints," as they quote with approval the passage from the preface to *Great Basin Kingdom* (vii–viii) in which Arrington defends his use of naturalistic explanations of the causes of divine revelations. For additional Latter-day Saint historians who use or defend the use of naturalistic explanations, see Thomas G. Alexander, "The Place of Joseph Smith in the Development of American Religion: An Historiographical Inquiry," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 15; Alexander, "An Approach to the Mormon Past," *Dialogue* 16 (Winter 1983): 147; Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective," *Dialogue* 19 (Fall 1986): 25, 30, 40–44; Marvin S. Hill, "Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal," *Dialogue* 7 (Winter 1972): 73; Hill, "A Note on Joseph Smith's First Vision and Its Impact in the Shaping of Early Mormonism," *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 90, 95, 97; Hill, "Richard L. Bushman: Scholar and Apologist," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 125; and also his "The 'New Mormon History' Reassessed in the Light of Recent Books on Joseph Smith and Mormon Origins," *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 115, 117; and his letter "Afterword," *BYU Studies* 30 (Winter 1990): 117–24; Sterling M. McMurrin, "A New Climate of Liberation: A Tribute to Fawn McKay Brodie," *Dialogue* 14 (Spring 1981): 74; Davis Bitton, "The Mormon Past: The Search for Understanding," *Religious Studies Review* 11 (April 1985): 115. For non-Mormon acceptance and use of the label, see Jan

Shipp, "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 11, reprinted in *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past*, ed. by D. Michael Quinn (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 294–97; Foster, "A Radical Misstatement," *Dialogue* 22 (Summer 1989): 5–6; Mario S. DePillis, "Bearding Leone and Others in the Heartland of Mormon Historiography," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 85, 88, 97; DePillis, Review of Richard L. Bushman's *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, in *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 293; and LeAnn Cragun, "Mormons and History: In Control of the Past" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, December 1981), 130, 157, 185–86, 189.

35. Despite reference to naturalistic explanation in his essay, Thorp does not seem to understand its full import in this discussion. Indeed, in his efforts to deal with naturalism, he seems unaware that there is a problem at all, which is strange when one considers that *Truth and Method*, a text important to Thorp's position on the nature of historical understanding, is a frontal attack against naturalistic explanation. For example the following statement taken from Thorp's text is simply confused:

language is essentially naturalistic (evolutionary) and historically situated. This indeed is at the root of one of the most serious problems in Bohn's essays. He assumes, because terminology employed by historians (and, for that matter, all other scholars) often originates from positivism and naturalistic disciplines, that language use remains within the original mode of understanding. This is clearly not so, for language changes in meaning and context, and hence scholarly usage. Moreover, the use of secular vocabulary does not necessarily presuppose any ontological grounds for belief or disbelief. (Thorp, "Some Reflections," 43.)

To mistake *naturalistic* for *evolutionary*, and further to mean *historically situated*, scrambles together concepts that have different genealogies. In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer makes clearer the problems involved in naturalism.

I also thought that it was odd that Thorp would state that I had somehow suggested that it was a "sin" to use naturalistic discourse. I do not believe in print or private conversation I have ever said that. My only effort in more than ten years of writing on the subject has been to show the limit of naturalistic discourse in framing the sacred. I don't consider myself in a position to judge other people's sins! Thorp, endnote 52.

Finally, in the next sentence he says that "naturalistic language is rooted in all human language." That is false and certainly runs counter arguments of Gadamer that Thorp ought to have known. But Thorp's polemic boarders on a grotesque form of mockery when he implies that I am calling for some kind of new language, a sort of "God-Speak." Thorp, endnote 52.

In all of this, Thorp does not seem to have fully understood how the concept of *intentionality* overcomes the subject-object distinction and renders nominal and indeed unnecessary absolute distinctions. We are born into a tradition of understanding in which secular and sacred are already related to each other. Indeed, it is precisely the claim of secular discourse to have superseded the sacred which must be justified, a claim that Thorp continues to assume in the foregoing citations.

36. Also see Gadamer's, *Reason in the Age of Science* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 1–21.

37. This material was provided by Professor John Grondin from copies of unpublished material in the Gadamer Archive. In addition, his unparalleled discussion of Gadamer at the 1992 session of the *Collegium Phenomenologica* held Perugia, Italy, was valuable in the preparation of this paper.

38. TM, 272.

39. TM, 224

40. David Bohn, "Unfounded Claims and Impossible Expectations," in *Faithful History*, 227–63. It seems to me that an effort to get to the truth by tracing it back to the facts, back to the brute or raw perspective which have been glossed over, always falls prey to originary thinking. In addition to Husserl, the critical texts here are Derrida's *Edmund Husserl's Origin of Geometry: An Introduction* by Jacques Derrida (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989) and his *Speech and Phenomenon*.

41. In the end, even in Kant, phenomena could never be more than the way the mind presents sensation to itself, since thought can never reach beyond the sensation to the supposed object itself.

42. This is an excellent book on Husserl by the preeminent philosopher,

Emmanuel Levinas, *The Theory of Intuition in Husserl's Phenomenology* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 13. Also see pages 31–42 of Jean-François Lyotard's *Phenomenology* (Albany: State University of New York Press).

43. *The Theory of Intuition in Husserl's Phenomenology*, 15.

44. Dilthey's preference for hermeneutics is not accidental. He was Schleiermacher's biographer and was fully apprised of the possibilities involved in applying hermeneutics to a more general study of history.

45. D. Michel Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987). Strange that he even uses the terms "world view" which reflects Dilthey's environmentalism.

46. TM, 243–48 and TM, 245.

47. TM, 261.

48. TM, 247.

49. TM, 247.

50. TM, 247.

51. TM, 254.

52. TM, 257.

53. "Some Reflections," 40. Thorp misunderstands Gadamer's position in *Truth and Method* when he argues against me that:

The hermeneutical position developed by Hans-Georg Gadamer (which Bohn uses in his Critique) is an ecumenical endeavor aimed at clarifying the process in which understanding takes place; it is not an endeavor that creates battle lines between radically different approaches. As Gadamer says, mediation makes insightful sharing possible, thus throwing light on the conditions of understanding in all modes of thought. Bohn, however, seeks to divide, not to bring about reconciliation and multi-perspectival understanding.

To the contrary, Gadamer does not try to reconcile differing positions, making final judgments between competing explanations. Rather he seeks to show how it is that we can *understand* each other from within different horizons. In fact, Thorp's call for "bringing about reconciliation and multi-perspectival understanding" is inherently contradictory, and seems to me to be a longing for the kind of *finality* of judgment that *objectivism* claimed to make possible. Rather, it is precisely because different approaches frame the past in different terms that they cannot be reconciled, although they can be understood. Finally, Thorp uses nihilism and relativity as a "scare" tactic in order to draw historians back to objective approaches to historical composition, but at the same time uses the term "multi-perspectival understanding." He must be aware that "prespectivism" is a term largely traceable in methodological discussions to Nietzsche whose relativism rigorously argued against any final reconciliation of views.

54. "Some Reflections," 40. Thorp again fails to see that the "rigorous criticism" that gives rise to "stronger and weaker formulations" continues to work within a horizon and are conditioned by the pre-understanding that both makes them possible and legitimates such judgments. It seems to me that everywhere in Thorp's paper is the *subrosa* appeal to finality, which despite all qualifications calls for an *objectivist* metaphysics. In the end, Thorp's claim is that reconciliation of differing accounts is possible with some coming out as "stronger" and others as "weaker" in terms of some over-arching standard. That certainly does not fit with his later tongue-in-cheek call for a "Foucaultian probing" of discontinuities in Mormon history, a position, by the way, that Derrida has deconstructed because of its privileging of the vocabulary of power.

In his footnotes (particularly #52) as well as in private conversations with me, Thorp has argued that Gadamer's idea of suspension allowed for a setting aside of faith in order to assure an open reading. Again, I believe that Thorp has misunderstood the textual usage of "suspension" in Gadamer's text. In the first place, Malcolm's reference to *Truth and Method* does not cite faith, only the suspension of prejudices. It then proceeds to define two kinds of prejudice, recognizing that in the more fundamental sense it is our prejudice, our preunderstanding that brings us to the text and makes the reading possible. Suspension in no way involves a kind of neutrality or detachment as in objectivist historiography, for as Gadamer notes, to do so would be to deny the historicity of the historian and the effect of history on interpretation. Rather suspension takes the form of a question that is formed as the text addresses the interpreter. As we have seen, questioning is not Gadamer's way of calling for Cartesian doubt, it is rather a call for an openness in which the question can be explored (TM, 300).

I believe that revisionists are far more guilty of Thorp's charge of not remaining open to the meaning of the text. Many dismiss the believing language of the text by reinterpreting it in the light of the explanatory language of naturalism, which is secular in character (environmentalism for example). Their end is not *understanding*, it is rather *explanation*. Also in the same section Thorp references, Gadamer

advances arguments drawn from Heidegger to show that the meaning of a text is not fixed, for not only is the text historical, but the historical horizon in which it will be interpreted by the interpreter is historical (underway). For this reason, the reader looks for the possible meanings of the text, indeed explores the play of language exhibited by the text.

I have carefully examined the thirty-six instances in which Gadamer used the word *faith* in his most recent revised edition of *Truth and Method*. Nowhere does it address the subject of *faith* in the way that Thorp argues. In any case, Mormons would not necessarily understand the claim of faith in the same way as Gadamer and traditional Lutheranism. Clearly, we are born into a condition of faith, that is, already with the light of Christ. Through the way in which we live our lives, we can distance ourselves from its call, indeed, at times only the absence of its presence—the haunting emptiness of our understanding and our lives—may remain as we stand in refusal of faith and its light. But we could never actually suspend it, for as already argued, even the secular language we replace it with echoes the void. Interestingly enough, Gadamer argues that Heidegger also saw the need to deal with *faith* differently and hints in the direction of an understanding not entirely opposed to that noted above (see *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, 207–08).

Finally, in endnote #52 of his piece, Thorp cites Gadamer in a way that does not give full expression to the text. The reader might wish to continue on and read the next page in *Truth and Method* (210).

55. "Some Reflections," 41.

56. The best arguments can be found in Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* (trans. G.E. Anscombe [Blackwell: Oxford, 1953]), although they were anticipated by Descartes in his mediation on the *evil genie*.

57. *TM*, 552.

58. Emmanuel Levinas, *Du sacré au saint* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1977), preface.

59. *TM*, 150.

60. *TM*, 150.

61. In the end, all standards are necessarily historical and will work within a horizon that is momentarily satisfying to writers and readers.

62. Richard Bushman has elegantly stated the difficulty of framing the truth of the Mormon past. It involves more than the artful use of technique or imposing symmetry by implementing the latest models. Its requirements are higher. "The trouble with wishing to write history as a Mormon is that you cannot improve as a historian without improving as a person. The enlargement of moral insight, spiritual commitment, and critical intelligence are all bound together. We gain knowledge no faster than we are saved." (Reprinted in *Faithful History*, 18.)

There is a sense in which all of us would like a cheaper way to the truth, one that would obviate coming to terms personally with our failings. But that is not a genuine possibility.



SALT CRUSTED ON AUTOMOTIVE GLASS

Between me, safe in my seat on this bus,
 And the decadent majesty of the salmon-red
 cliffs of eastern Utah,
 A ghost landscape stands sentinel,
 As if etched into the glass by a cadre of
 capering goblins.
 The residue of a hasty window washing—
 Loops and whorls of dirt left untouched,
 uncleansed,
 Unrepentant, at the bottom of the glass on each
 fluid upstroke—
 It sparkles, gritty and salt-sharp in the
 oblique sunlight,
 Like a series of pearly solar flares,
 Or a graph of the desert's pulsebeat,
 Or spectral negatives of a washed-out sandstone
 arch,
 Photographed in stages over eons of time—
 Snapshots from a child-god's flip-book—
 Frothing, leaping, peaking, then falling back
 into the ground
 Like fountains of earth,
 A time-lapse planetary signature
 That will melt and return to dust
 With the next unlikely rain.

—D. WILLIAM SHUNN

THE WIND CRIES

The wind cries:

I am the scouring hiss of wind and sage,
 the voice of the high-flown eagle
 looking down with cold, golden eye.

The mountain sighs:

The brow of the skirted butte
 is my crown;
 my skin the clotted clay:
 weathered hide of old bony
 mountains, asleep in the sun.
 Antelope traverse the threaded trails,
 finding grass at dawn,
 and hidden springs at night.
 The jackrabbit knows
 where the coyote lairs,
 and the laughing wolf finds
 the high ridge path
 where the lightning dances.
 But the mysteries that beckon here
 are seeds you have forgot.

The desert sings:

I will taunt your thirst with vanished water.
 I will haunt you with forgotten dreams.
 I will pick your tangled bones
 with the comb of the wind,
 And fill your empty eyes
 with visions of eternity.

—ELIZABETH H. BOYER

I think that when we can arrive at some reconciliation of the opposites of male and female, when they are held in creative tension, then we are not either/or, but are both. Maybe even something better than both.

RECONCILING THE OPPOSITES

By Helen Candland Stark

WHEN ESTHER EGERTSEN Peterson occupied this spot, she looked back over the significant events of her relatively long life.¹ Her conclusion asked the audience to judge what kind of Mormon they thought she was. She had recounted events undergirded by the Mormon values of her pioneer heritage: hard work, integrity, and sacrifice. These values became central to her later achievements in the labor movement and in politics.

Often physically impaired, I never expected, nor even wanted, to live so long. I felt I was just an ordinary person whose oddity was to set down in words my experiences and concerns—in letters (to women, to editors, to friends and family at Christmas), in diaries, in verse, and in assorted articles—which I felt surprised and pleased to see occasionally published. Apparently, by some quirk of genes, I am a writing woman now grown old.

When I was first approached about talking tonight, I was overwhelmed. What could I say? I have never been a public individual. Would it suffice to



HENRY M. AND HELEN CANDLAND STARK

My experiences have taught me something of the dark night of the soul. Out of that struggle, there has emerged a sense of awe at the goodness of God.

conclusion of this talk.

WORK

Those who are too busy with their affairs cannot heed their Lord.

IN the beginning God created the earth, the seas, and all that in them are. He separated the light from the darkness in the six days of creation. Male and female, created he them. And

rework a rough draft essay titled "Women and Symbols"? It is, after all, the Age of Aquarius, a female symbol.

But I thought you deserved more from me. At age ninety, I might look back on my years to see if any themes stood out. Several did. They have become facets of the crystal that symbolizes my psyche. Quoting mostly from my writings, I hope to explore my experiences in these areas: (1) work, (2) grief and loss, (3) Mother Earth, and (4) patriarchy. This sounds like a much too ambitious outline, sort of covering the cosmos. Be reassured that I will deal only with my own limited experiences, mostly from my published or unpublished material. I will conclude with the reconciling process, which came to me in mid-life from the Society of Friends.

So what kind of a Mormon am I? I will tell you up front: I am a Quaker-Mormon, as I hope you will agree at the

HELEN CANDLAND STARK lives in Provo, Utah, and is a matriarch of Mormon feminists. Over ninety, she has been a teacher, actress, wife, mother, writer, environmentalist, and feminist. This paper was presented at the 1992 Sunstone Symposium closing banquet in Salt Lake City, Utah.

then on the Sabbath day, he rested. God was a creator; he was not a workaholic.

Like Esther Peterson, I grew up with the Mormon pioneer work ethic: "Put your shoulder to the wheel, push along." One is lucky if the work is fulfilling; but even if it is tedious, boring, and dull, "the work to do is here for you," so "do your duty with a heart full of song." For certainly, "there is work enough to do ere the sun goes down."

I was, alas, a rebellious spirit, but even so, I was a hard worker. You can be little else as the eldest of nine brothers and sisters. We spent our summers on a Sanpete County ranch and our winters in Provo going to school. We canned, dried fruit, made soap from mutton tallow, and sewed on an ancient treadle sewing machine that I had reconditioned with coal oil.

One day my assignment was to turn a bolt of outing flannel into winter pajamas for my five brothers. At day's end I was so tired that I began to weep. My mother took me for a walk along a dusty country road. She held my arm, but said nothing. Now, these many years later, I understand the words she did not say: "This is the way it is, Helen. This is the way it is."

I was an accepting participant in the way it was. But two limits I insisted upon. Sunday afternoons on the ranch were to be mine. I spent those hours putting together a newsletter, complete with columns, headlines, short stories, and editorials, for three absent college friends. And I would not darn. If I managed, purposely, to complete an assigned task early, my mother was wont to say, "Good, Helen. Now you have time for a little darning." No way. The basket of hose for eleven people was bottomless.

But chores were evidence of a good woman, so when I married belatedly and gratefully, I was determined to be the best wife known to man. That meant that I would never just open a can of beans; I would do tedious and intricate things to them.

And as the years went by, the pioneer work ethic remained important. Our children remember their early lives on our five acres in Delaware as picking and selling raspberries eleven months out of the year. In the struggle of our small LDS group to earn money for a chapel, our family raised and sold—in addition to the raspberries—corn, apples, and squash. I operated a bread route. With a laden basket, once a week one of the children delivered loaves to the neighbors. And I was known as a specialist in salvaging borderline produce. Seventeen split cantaloupes in the morning became seventeen jars of cantaloupe butter by night. The celery crop that wasn't supposed to freeze, but one night did, became quarts of puree for soup. A blender and assorted ingredients turned overripe corn into pudding. Eastern guests got the grand tour of our house and gawked at the row on row of bottled produce.

But with all this work, I found myself in a dilemma that came out in a poem titled "Martha Speaks":

My sister, when our Lord had gone,
Brought me a drink fresh from the well.
I said, "O worthless one." I struck
The cup of water so it fell.

She laid her fingers on my arm.
I threw them off. I would not stay.
The heavy house is quiet now;
She sought my Lord and went away.

My hands are Martha's hands, alert,
Skillful, strong, and swift to hurt:
But, ah, my soul, could I surprise
The look of Mary in my eyes.

The story of Mary and Martha in the New Testament became for me a recurring riddle, laden with perplexities. The account from Luke reads like this:

Now it came to pass, as they went, that [Jesus] entered into a certain village; and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house.

And she had a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.

But Martha was cumbered about much serving, and came to him and said, Lord, dost thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? bid her therefore that she help me.

And Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things:

But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her. (Luke 10:38-42.)

Why should Jesus reprove Martha? By her industry he was fed. Order, cleanliness, and physical comforts are not the fruits of contemplation. Is not Martha the worker-bee? Is not household proficiency a high good? (Prov. 31:10-31.)

Why should Jesus commend Mary? The obvious answer is that she sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his words. She sat and listened. What is the nature of this higher life for which she has become the symbol?

Modern analytical psychology has advanced the theory that in every human being, whether male or female, there exist two contradictory but at the same time complementary approaches to life: the masculine and the feminine, the animus and the anima, the *yang* and the *yin*. The masculine concerns itself with doing, accomplishing, performing, executing. It is the driving force. The feminine is deeply aware. It feels and intuits and broods.

Each of us faces the problem of expressing intelligently and with balance these two sides of the psyche. No man should be all drive and purpose; conversely, no woman should be all feeling.

There are few such women today. The pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. The woman of today lives in a world where the test of worth is deeds. From the Who's Who of the high school annual to the final obituary notice, the emphasis is laid not on being or becoming, but on doing.

However, the other side of the scale hangs heavy with deprivation. To the edge of insanity, humanity has been over-masculinized. The machismo of competition, aggression, and brute force has thrust us all to a cultural brink. Both now and in the past, we have relied on war and aggression as the means of solving problems and dealing with insecurities. In this jockeying for power by both sexes, who will be left to mind the creative storehouses of compassion and intuition?

There is still, as in olden time, a mystery that broods upon the waters and a voice that speaks out of the whirlwind. Whether they be managing a factory, working in an office, or running a home, those who are too busy with affairs cannot heed their Lord. Their spirits cannot sit and listen. The shape of the daffodil, the sound of dry leaves, the stricken eyes of a returned soldier, these must fall into the dark cup of the heart as the seed is taken into the womb, to be nourished in silence and respect.

The conditions of mortality require that we continue with our Martha tasks. They are essential to our physical survival and to our achieving the work of the world. But I wish I could pass along my realization that there is a creative blending of roles possible. We must all become both Martha and Mary so that we can "sit at the Lord's feet and listen." Part of a poem I wrote to my husband Henry on our first wedding anniversary talks of our own struggle to learn the balance that will make us truly blessed:

From "Sequence for the First Marriage Anniversary"

II

Across resisting waters our Norse sires
Exhorted struggling settlers to apply
Force. Their legendary funeral pyres,
Crimson and dark against a hostile sky,
Stand stark against the years that followed after,
A monument to strain. As heritage we
Have the drive of effort. The heavy rafters
And the perverse steel must yield to urgency;
Utmost endeavor only can oppose
The parching earth; you muscle down defeat.
By labor deserts blossom as the rose;
Weariness choked off yields shining wheat.

So came we to marriage, bent to wrest
From it tranquility, to shape its good
By resolutions—only to find a best
That is of other kind: as of a wood
Sweet with the peace of pause or linnets trill,
Or one of our hushed mountain peaks above
The checkered fields at home, serene and still.
So in repose we learned to find our love.

Roses from deserts are a brilliant yield
If we prize, too, the lilies of the field.

GRIEF AND LOSS

*The darkness of loss is a necessary
contrast to the light of wonder.*

TO return to the creation story, Genesis tells us that God divided the light from the darkness, but God did not do away with darkness. This suggests that darkness is a part of creation, of earthly experience, and we must accept it. In fact, standing open-eyed in terrible places is essential; some things can be learned from grief and loss that can be learned in no other way.

My first experience with grief was the death of my mother. We all loved her deeply, especially my father. I remember him asking us at dinner, "Isn't your mother beautiful? Just look at her, children."

In 1931 she became terminally ill with encephalitis. Our stake president blessed her that she would recover and rear her family. Then she died. This was too hard for my father to accept. He never spoke of her again. She was the center, the glue that held us all together. When she died, our family disintegrated. My father, in his grief, decided to move to Salt Lake City to a rented and desolate house—to be near a half-sister who didn't really want to be involved. It was the depths of the Depression. No one came from the ward to counsel, "Don't do this. Stay here in your Provo home where you at least have a roof over your heads and some kind of support group." In Salt Lake my father never found work. The younger children were displaced persons in the big city schools. My sister Louise had no center of reference in her new world as a student nurse. We were left spiritually adrift when we needed help.

As for me, the school where I had been employed closed for lack of funds. I became ill and faced an operation for which I had no money. I met a young man whom I naively believed had come into my life to take the place of my mother. But he soon told me good-bye, leaving me a bound volume of blank pages with a farewell poem on the last page.

When our family moved back to Provo, our world regained some degree of normalcy, though we were never to coalesce as a family again nor to know, as a family, economic security. We were all anchorless, locked into our own grief, and each of us who endured that tragic year set out on a personal and lonely search. The last time my brothers and sisters were together was at our father's funeral in 1938.

Years later I worked with a psychologist who suggested that inside I was still weeping for my mother. Even now I am driven by a desire to gather all of my family members again. I have just completed a project that is my belated attempt to assuage my grief at my mother's death and the disintegration of our family. With two other family members, I have prepared a display of photographs titled "The Candland Family" that shows my parents in the center and each of their children as adults in an arc over their heads. At the bottom of the display is an additional picture of each child as a youth. Between my parents, in calligraphy, is a copy of a sonnet I wrote after my mother's death:

PREFACE FOR AN ALBUM

How she loved life who gave life in such measure;
 Greens from her garden; shining row on row
 Of prisoned plums and pears, a glass-sealed treasure.
 No money in the bank? Then mend and sew.
 Let resolution cut the coat or find
 The fee that sends us paid again to school.
 Tired? Bluebells against a whitewashed wall are kind.
 Sleep gently, she has turned the music stool.
 Now this the ripened grain, the garnered sheaf.
 The harvesting she could not stay to reap
 Is gathered here. Turn us leaf by leaf—
 Nine sons and daughters. Mother, in the deep
 Everlasting where His spirits dwell,
 See us today and find you planted well.

A copy of the display and the photos will go to each of my mother's children, and a photocopy to all of their descendants. Included with the display will be my mother's patriarchal blessing. I am trying, in my mother's memory, to bring our family back together. I feel that with this memorial, everything has come full circle.

I use this example to illustrate one thing I have learned about sorrow and loss. Life may be essentially tragic, and no amount of passive acceptance can make it less painful. But grief can be reconciled by making a memorial or in some other way giving new life to the person who is lost.

For example, Alice Louise Reynolds was a great teacher at Brigham Young University. Her classes influenced both me and my mother, as well as hundreds of other students. In addition to teaching, she headed a community-wide effort to raise enough money to buy the books of a retired judge, which collection became the basis of the entire BYU library. A few years ago Algie Eggertsen Ballif, Naoma Rich Earl, and I began a campaign to establish the Alice Louise Reynolds room in the Lee Library. Her former students donated generously to this fund, and now a beautiful meeting room on the sixth floor of the library bears her name. There is also an annual Alice Louise Reynolds lecture delivered in this room. As often as people gather in the Alice Louise Reynolds room, as long as the yearly lecture is presented, the teaching and the service of Alice Louise Reynolds are remembered and she is given new life.

My own writing has become another kind of memorial for me. Two years after I was married I learned that scar tissue from a previous operation had closed my fallopian tubes, so I could not conceive. I wrote this poem expressing my feelings at that time:

BLIGHT

August is the month of broken dreams:
 The amber pear splits in the grass, worm eaten;
 The fish drift sideways in the shrunken streams;
 And in the fields the fecund shocks lie beaten
 With hail. What are those puny stalks of gray
 Seen through a midday dusk of drifting soil?
 Listen! The crickets work on stubbled hay,
 And canker takes the perfect rose as spoil.

And I who kept my body for this fruiting,
 Know now the wandering seed can find no rest—
 Part of the waste of August's heavy looting,
 Part of the waste of nature's heavy jest.
 September, can your gentler hands redeem
 The scattered fragments of the broken dream?

Verse has been for me a way to spiritual insights and release in times of crisis.

As we went through the process of adopting our three children, I was able to write a book about adoption, which helped me to examine my own experience and my own heart, to come to love and be grateful for the process by which we were able to have a family.

My experiences have taught me something of the dark night of the soul. Out of that struggle, there has emerged a sense of awe at the goodness of God. The great wonder of religion to me is that God can turn darkness into light. This power of redemption is at the heart of the universe, and we are able to participate in that redemption as we accept the darkness of grief and loss as a necessary contrast to the great light of peace and wonder.

MOTHER EARTH

We must develop a new tenderness.

ONE of the evidences of the imbalance in our collective psyches toward the masculine qualities of thinking and doing is our lack of sensitivity to the earth and to other creatures that share the earth with us. Read again the radiant first chapter of Genesis, and then ask yourself if it is in this spirit of joy and wonder that we see our world today. Many never consider the vital relationship that exists between humans and the world, that we are able to sustain life only because of it. Rather, we often see the earth as something to exploit economically. Even Brigham Young, in condemning such a vision, uses metaphors of commerce:

[T]here is only so much property in the world. There are the elements that belong to this globe, and no more. We do not go to the moon to borrow; neither send to the sun or any of the planets; all our commercial transactions must be confined to this little earth, and its wealth cannot be increased or diminished; and though the improvements of the arts of life which have taken place within the memory of many now living are very wonderful, there is no question that extravagance has more than kept pace with them.²

Evidence of such extravagance is all around us in the pervasive mentality that is willing to destroy for quick profit. For me, this greedy exploitation and lack of concern for the earth were epitomized in my unsuccessful efforts to preserve a little cattail marsh in Salem, Utah, near the home where Henry and I lived when we returned from Delaware.

Natural wetlands are a vital link in a balanced ecology. A

giant sponge, they can absorb sixteen to eighteen times their weight in water, soaking it up fast enough to prevent flash floods and releasing it slowly enough to replenish the water table. Nutrient-rich, blessed by sunlight and rain, wetlands harbor a complex cycle of plant and animal life, including the beautiful water birds, many now in danger of extinction. Furthermore, wetlands are lovely and gentle; we should seek after them for their own sake and for our own healing.

In the attempt to save our marsh, we tried many things: We enlisted ecology classes at BYU to write a history of Salem Pond. The Nebo School District showed concern by putting out a nature guide, detailing creative uses of the marsh by school children. I published an article in the *Ensign* in 1972, the first on ecological concerns ever to appear in that magazine. We circulated a petition calling for the preservation of the pond. For a while we thought that it would be safe. Eventually, however, the marsh fell prey to those who had something to gain economically from its destruction.

Town officials, looking through the distorted lenses of exploitation, saw the marsh as a potential sight for a landfill. As one of them said, "I hate marshes. They are to be filled or drained." When the city demolished its old city hall and fire station, truckloads of rubble and huge blocks of concrete were dumped into the marsh, irrevocably damaging it. As the expanse of disturbed earth widened, harsh weeds pushed back the benign green of cattails and grasses. The damage was irreversible, and the blight will remain for years. My little marsh has become a symbol to me of all the brutal and irrational desecration perpetrated on whatever is innocent and lovely.

The bulldozer mentality, the attitude that anything is expendable for quick money, has put our earth at risk. We have listened too long to people with vested interests who have the most to gain economically from environmental destruction.

Misinterpreting the terms *subdue* and *dominate* has led many into evil ways. Ecologist Don Fabun writes of human insecurity in our relationship with nature: "The purpose of the life of [humankind] . . . was to 'conquer' nature, 'tame' the wilderness, 'make war' on pests and vermin, 'control' the rivers. Life was a 'battle' against the elements; only the fittest survived."

What we were actually commanded to do was not to subdue and dominate the earth by destroying it, but to nourish it

in stewardship. That suggests that we must somehow get back or move forward to a we relationship with the planet. We have much to learn from other people in this regard, particularly from Native Americans. Chief Seattle's oft quoted, but probably apochryphal lament, "The Land Is Sacred to Us," is one of the most beautiful, prophetic statements about a people who understand their relationship to the world:



*We are women who love the Lord, the gospel,
and the Church; we have served, tithed,
and raised righteous children in Zion.*

*We plead for the opportunity to continue to do
so in an atmosphere of respect and justice.*

Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing, and humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people. The sap which courses through the trees carries the memories of the red man. . . .

This we know: The earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth. This we know: All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. All things are connected.

Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not weave the web of life; he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself. . . .

In *Walden*, Henry David Thoreau says, "The laws of the universe are not indifferent, but are forever on the side of the most sensitive."³ Stewardship! It is one of the loveliest words in our language. We must develop a new tenderness toward the earth.

PATRIARCHY

*Our century has valued the masculine traits
more than the feminine traits.*

I HAVE come to believe, in my ninety years of existence, that there is a difference between one acting as a prophet and one acting within a patriarchy. One of Christ's analogies in the Sermon on the Mount has been useful to me in understanding that difference. Christ asks:

Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know

how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him? (Matt. 7:9–11.)

A prophet, like a good parent, will respond to the questions and needs of God's children, will bless them. A representative of the patriarchy will be more concerned with dogma, procedures, or expediencies than with people, and consequently may wind up giving them a stone or a serpent when what they need and are asking for is to be fed.

Let me illustrate with two occasions when I was given a stone rather than bread. For a time during our years in Delaware, I taught a Sunday School class of bright teen-aged girls. Their fathers were Ph.D.s. We could talk freely as mutual friends. During a lesson on the Godhead, we pondered the fact that the Holy Ghost represents compassion, insight, tenderness, and guidance. Someone suggested that if we had a Father and a Son, we have two sides of a triangle. The third side might perhaps be the Mother. We thought this was a great idea, and we could even get it confirmed by an authority, since a young Bruce R. McConkie was our conference visitor. So naively I asked him, "Do you think the Holy Ghost could possibly be the Heavenly Mother?"

He rose to his considerable height and thundered, "Sister Stark, go home and get down on your knees and ask God to forgive you. And if you never sin again the rest of your life, maybe he will."

I did not repent, but I did feel betrayed. Even if Elder McConkie felt I was wrong, I deserved a compassionate response. I was asking a question motivated by sincere religious desire. My need and the needs of these young women for a feminine principle in deity came up from our hearts, like a river bursting forth. But Elder McConkie responded with harshness and anger. He did not just give us a stone; he threw it at us. And I cannot help but wonder about his deep-seated, underlying feelings concerning women, considering that he found it so offensive for me to suggest that a woman might be part of the Godhead.

My second example concerns the opposition of Church leaders to the Equal Rights Amendment. For many thinking and progressive LDS women—women who had been leaders in ward, stake, and community affairs—the Church's adamant stand against the ERA was not only baffling but vindictive. Although some claimed that pro-ERA Mormon women had free agency, the reality was that discrimination against ERA advocates resulted in some women having their temple recommends withdrawn, being released from ward or stake positions, and certainly suffering many instances of ostracism and disapproval.

I was one in a group of Mormon feminists from Provo who wrote to President Kimball about this issue. An excerpt from our first letter suggests our concerns:

We desperately need to know whether, after serious consideration, soul-searching, and prayer, you indeed and in fact find us unworthy, a minority open to

attack, and ultimately expendable. If not, *can the word get out* that Mormon feminists are not to be subjected to intimidations, rejection for Church assignments, loss of employment, and psychological excommunication. . . . We are women who love the Lord, the Gospel, and the Church; we have served, tithed, and raised righteous children in Zion. We plead for the opportunity to continue to do so in an atmosphere of respect and justice.⁴

President Kimball, in a departure from his usual prophetic leadership, did not reply to our letter himself; inexplicably he turned the matter over to a secretary who wrote to ask for permission to send copies of our letter to our stake presidents. The next correspondence we sent brought the same results. After eight letters we realized that we were going to be left to our own resources for solutions. Our final letter ended, "Sometimes I feel like a motherless child."

These examples show what a patriarchy lacks—compassion. Those who try to deal with a patriarchy may feel that it has no regard or concern for them personally, but for following channels or upholding doctrines or maintaining the proper forms or appearances. The symbol that represents patriarchy is a man behind a desk or a pulpit, with his arms folded, concerned with protecting himself, his institution, and the status quo. A prophet, on the other hand, stands in the open with arms uplifted before the people. This gesture makes a prophet vulnerable, but it is a gesture of inclusion, love, and support.

Elined Kotschnig, a Quaker psychologist who had studied with Carl Jung, was the one who most greatly altered my viewpoint about prophets, as well as my entire perspective about life. She taught me that Jung believes people to operate in four ways: mind (thinking), hands (sensory), heart (feeling), and intuition (extra-sensory). These functions may be visualized in a simple mandala, a chart of four quadrants. On the right are the masculine quadrants of thinking and doing. On the left are the feminine quadrants of feeling and intuition. (These are not, of course, to be construed in explicitly sexual terms but in the spirit of the yang and yin opposites.) Those at the top of the chart are the extroverted functions, intuition and thinking. Those at the bottom are the introverted ones, feeling and doing.

A person's genetic endowment along with his or her environment tends to strengthen one or another of these four functions, to the minimizing of its opposite. Thus, the individual who is overly the organizer, overseer, delegator, or administrator too often represses the feeling or "heart side" of life. This then becomes a "shadow" or unlived experience, which one may fear, repress, or project onto others.

Repressing, fearing, and projecting are things we all do, thus creating the dark side of our psyches. Each of us has a witch or a warlock within, whom it is very difficult for us to acknowledge. The tendency is not to recognize what one is projecting onto others. For example, often we are guilty of the very behavior that most angers us when we see it in another. As Eliza R. Snow's hymn teaches:

Once I said unto another,
 "In thine eye there is a mote;
 If thou art a friend, a brother,
 Hold and let me pull it out."
 But I could not see it fairly,
 For my sight was very dim.
 When I came to search more clearly,
 In mine eye there was a beam.⁵

Rather than looking within for the source of our reaction, we project evil intent onto the other, thus blinding ourselves to that person's divine spark.

What we should do is to recognize our own witch, but not to punish her—to invite her in, to acknowledge and listen to her, and try to understand her. Healing can begin when I befriend my alienated self. I must honor the creative potential within my own witch. She may help me learn what I have feared about the quadrant where I am uncomfortable and how to act more authentically there. She may help me to reconcile my weakest quadrant.

The ideal is to find a balance, to be able to move from one quadrant to another as circumstances require, using mind, hands, heart, and spirit. This is a process of a lifetime. We don't just learn the truths of life once and then have them under our control. We have to go back and back and back as though we've never learned them before. Certainly we will make progress, but no one experience should be considered definitive or final. There is always more to take in, each experience adding a new facet to the crystal of the psyche, or in some cases re-polishing an old one.

This approach to life helped me to feel increased wholeness. I began perceiving life as a mandala with a central core of self. The Church had always provided me with form and structure; the Quakers gave me openness and experimentation.

But as I said in my discussion of work, our century has valued the masculine traits of thinking and doing more than the feminine traits of feeling and intuiting. In fact, I am beginning to wonder if all of us, given the opportunity, would not choose the power quadrant as our preferred dominant quadrant. None of us wants to risk the pain that comes with feeling; we aren't willing to sit and listen to others or to be still enough to understand the great power in the universe that might teach us. Or perhaps our desire for power goes back to the war in heaven:

We still are attracted by Satan's plan. Everyone wants to take away the free agency of others and impose his or her own will. And perhaps this tendency to power is what characterizes the natural man that is an enemy to God.

At any rate, this will to choose power may account for the current preponderance of patriarchy over prophets. For indeed, prophetic inspiration comes from feeling and intuition, which are feminine qualities.

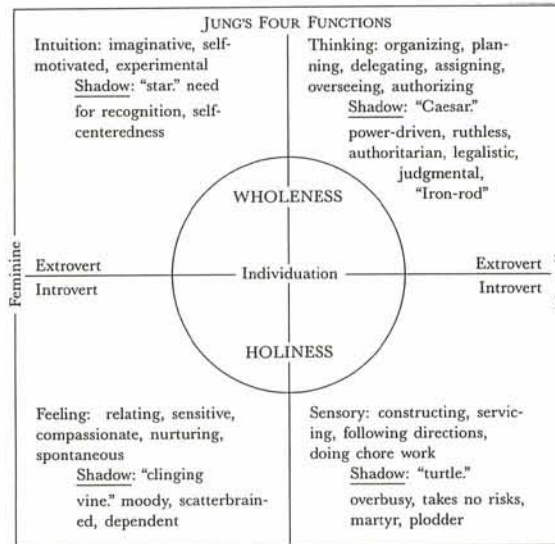
Consequently, a prophet is not necessarily male. Nor female. Prophet is a generic title, available to anyone who nurtures the qualities that allow her or him to receive revelation. It is in the nature of prophets to be individualistic, imaginative, open, and risk-oriented. They are also perceptive and loving. Our Western culture has not overly rewarded such voices, not even in women. The Church, for example, mandates that women be assigned the two quadrants of feeling (providing nurture) and sensory (doing chores).

Across the spectrum of our institutions and governments, the thinking, organizing, administrative quadrant has become increasingly manipulative, legalistic, and power-driven. Workers under such an authoritarian regime grow inert, non-creative, hopeless, or dangerously rebellious. How it must pain God to see his creatures more and more addicted to greater and greater manic forces.

Many men as well as women have been wounded by the patriarchy. They, too, require healing in the feminine quadrants of feeling and intuition, but they must heal themselves. For too long women have been assigned or designated to feel and nurture for men. Men must reclaim the feminine aspects of their being. Women cannot do this for them. I do not think that giving women the priesthood is the answer. Like men, women do not need to further emphasize the masculine qualities. Moving

women into the management quadrant, without having men make a corresponding shift into the feeling quadrant, will only create a new set of problems.

Rather, women's power should arise from its own creative center, not from rituals created by men. Women need the space to evolve, in our own time, unique images that express our being. What does it mean to be a woman, wholly and in holiness? This is a question for women to answer, and it is a question that is crucial to our time. This knowing must come from a deep well within ourselves, some inner wisdom that cannot be handed to us by a patriarchy, no matter how silver



Carl Jung believed people operated in four ways: thinking, sensory, feeling, and extra-sensory. A person's genetic endowment along with his or her environment tends to strengthen one or another of these four functions, to the minimizing of its opposite. The ideal is to find a balance, to be able to move from one quadrant to another as circumstances require, using mind, hands, heart, and spirit.

the platter nor how golden the pedestal. After all, to date revelation has given us very few feminine symbols.

A decade ago, I was ill for most of a year. Before a blessing for healing I was asked, "Sister Helen, what is the desire of your heart?"

I answered, "I need insight. What am I supposed to learn from all this pain?"

Not long after this, I chanced upon a magazine containing a photographic essay on women. One shot showed an older woman with her hands touching in prayer. The caption, a line from Gerard Manley Hopkins, read, "Mine, O Lord of life, send my roots rain."⁶ In my need I began to weep. Strangely I found myself amending the poem: Mine, O Mother of Life, send my roots rain.

Rain is a feminine symbol. Soft, gentle, nurturing rain. I cried out from a great deprivation not only for myself but for our missile-ridden, power-drunk culture. Send our roots rain!

Surely we shall be held to an accounting of why we have chosen to stress the masculine quadrants with their emphasis on *subdue* rather than *stewardship*, *organization* over *becoming*, *form* over *beauty*. But the opposites must become reconciled if we are to achieve wholeness. The intuitive feminine *prophetic* quadrant must become a part of all human experience, available alike to scientist, artist, housewife, and cleric. Only then can we walk in the shadow of the holy of holies, aware of the transcendent nature of human existence. Before that mystery we must stand still and listen.

If we are to survive, we need, I believe, a prophetic shift in the kaleidoscope. It must include a viable, profound feminine symbol—the Great Mother. In the Apocrypha, she is described in the book of Wisdom:

Though she is but one, she can do all things,
and while remaining in herself she renews all things;
In every generation she passes into holy souls
and makes them friends of God and prophets—
For she is more beautiful than the sun,
and excels every constellation of the stars—
She reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the other
And she orders all things well.

(Wisdom of Solomon 7:2–8:1.)

I think that when we can arrive at some reconciliation of the opposites of male and female, when they are held in creative tension, then we are not either/or, but are both. Maybe even something better than both.

The next step of religious insight may well be under way. A Quaker friend wrote, "There is a strange immensity coming. It is there with incredible gentleness, as tender as a new leaf in spring and as easily destroyed. It is utterly vulnerable, and so everlastingly indestructible." To the end of our comprehending this paradox, may our Heavenly Father guide us to understanding, and may our Heavenly Mother nurture us. This is my prayer for each of us. □

NOTES

1. Esther Petersen, "The World Beyond the Valley," *SUNSTONE* 15 (November 1991):21–25.
2. *Journal of Discourses* 13:304.
3. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (New York: Signet Classics, 1960), 148.
4. Letter to President Spencer W. Kimball, in author's files, BYU Archives.
5. Eliza R. Snow, "Truth Reflects Upon Our Senses," in *Hymns* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 273.
6. Gerard Manley Hopkins, *The Poetical Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Norma H. Mackenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 201.

SELECTED WRITINGS OF HELEN CANDLAND STARK

1. "Aging: The Challenge and Rewards," *Exponent II* 13:1 (Fall 1986):2–3.
2. "Another Kind of Tithe," *Ensign* (October 1972):38–43.
3. "An Early Frost" (poem), *Inward Light* (Fall-Winter 1975–76):32.
4. "BYU Student Life in the Twenties," *BYU Studies* 28:2 (Spring 1988):17.
5. "Christmas Sonnets from Other Years," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19:4 (Winter 1986):16–17.
6. "Decisions: A Meditation," *Exponent II* 16 (1991):2.
7. "The Good Woman Syndrome. Or, When is Enough Enough?" *Exponent II* 3:2 (December 1976):16.
8. "Grains of Life: Fragments of a Sonnet Cycle," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19:1 (Spring 1986):18–83.
9. "Making Hay at the Grass Roots Level," *Exponent II* 2:4 (June 1976):10.
10. "My Hands Are Martha's Hands," (BYU Women's Conference address, April 1990), *Women and the Power Within*, (Salt Lake City:Deseret Book, 1991).
11. "My Last Sacrament Meeting Talk," *Exponent II* 11:1 (Fall 1984):13.
12. "Pilgrimage to Bethlehem," *Exponent II* 11:1 (Fall 1984):13.
13. "Prophet: A Meditation," *SUNSTONE* 5:4 (July-August 1980):36–37.
14. "Sabbath" (poem), *Inward Light* 30:72 (Fall 1967):36–37.
15. "The Task," *Exponent II* 14:1 (1987):10.
16. "Three Meditations on Mary and Martha," *Exponent II* 2:2 (December 1975):5.
17. "A Touch of Death," *Exponent II* 4:4 (Summer 1978):6.
18. "An Underground Journey Toward Repentance," *Mormon Women Speak: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Mary L. Bradford (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1982), 31–36.
19. "The Wheat and the Tares," *Inward Light* (1954):17–21.



POTATOES

Grandpa said, Push
steady, straight
down; feel ground
dig into wet stones.

Grandpa never dug a hole
too deep
or too shallow.
He wanted potatoes to grow,
he wanted me to see
into the earth,
he wanted me to feel
soil in his hand.

—WILLIAM POWLEY

THIS SIDE OF THE TRACTS

THE TEMPLE EXCURSION

By Samuel W. Taylor



Was there something I'd missed? Yes, the temple experience was fulfilling—but the ordeal of getting there and back was something else.

FOR A HUNDRED and ten years after Sam Brannan founded the first Mormon colony in the West, California Saints had no temple. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, temple excursions began with groups of the devout going to the Endowment House in Salt Lake. By the time the Salt Lake Temple was dedicated in 1893, some excursion buffs would visit it, St. George, Manti, and Logan temples in one trip.

After the Los Angeles Temple was dedicated in 1956, the excursion from the San Francisco Bay area was more convenient. By this time my ever-loving wife Gay and I were turning gray, but by the same token we'd been married long enough to want it to last, so we joined an excursion from Redwood City to Los Angeles.

SAMUEL W. TAYLOR is the author of *Nightfall* at Navoo.

aroma, the worse the tantalizing torment of not having any. While I had a doctor's prescription for coffee, it hardly seemed the time and place to take my medicine. But how, I wondered, surveying the happy throng, could these people really enjoy hotcakes and syrup with nothing to drink except cold water—in fact, with a cube of ice in the glass? My admiration for their fortitude was matched by my self-pity.

We arrived at the temple with two hours to spare before it opened. Ah, the blessed relief. Now I had the entire rear seat to stretch out and sleep.

"All out!" bawled the heartless driver. So we lined up at the temple door in the thin chill of the morning smog, waiting, while our arches sagged and veins swelled. Nobody said anything; we were too numb.

Finally, the doors opened. "This line for the living," the lady said, "and this line for the dead."

"Which one," Gay muttered, "for the half-dead?"

Well, the ceremony was every bit as spiritually fulfilling as others had said it would be. Yet I must admit that while facing the prospect of the return trip, I felt like the condemned man eating a hearty last breakfast.

We were seated the same on the return trip, with me on that devilishly slick rear seat: the same square wheels, bad springs, and fumes; the same shuttlecock ride and the same singing. But one good thing, it didn't last all night. We arrived at Redwood City about one A.M.

I tottered to church next morning with my eyes full of sand and rust in my joints. To my astonishment, I found my fellow excursionists chattering like magpies with ecstasy. What an absolutely wonderful trip! They'd enjoyed every single minute of it! My goodness, we must do it again! Somebody actually began lining up people for an excursion the following month.

I was baffled, boggled, and bewildered. How could this be? How could they all be so bright-eyed and bushy-tailed? Were they made of sterner stuff than I was? Was there something I'd missed? I just couldn't understand it. Yes, the temple experience was fulfilling—but the ordeal of getting there and back was something else.

I awakened in the night, and, thinking back, found the answer to the puzzle. Reviewing my heritage, everything fell into place. My grandfather converted during the Kirtland period, then went through the persecution and expulsion from Missouri. At Nauvoo, the escalating hostility was cli-

maxed by the martyrdom of the Prophet at Carthage Jail, during which John Taylor received five bullets. Then again in Utah the opposition grew until he went underground for the final two-and-a-half years of his life. And he died with a price on his head.

My parents went through a time of extreme pressures. My mother was alternately a lady of position as the wife of a high Church official, then she was in hiding under an assumed name. She became so well known by the underground name that she used it the remainder of her life. After her husband's premature death, she and his other five wives raised their large families without a single word of complaint. They had dedicated their lives to the Principle, which wasn't supposed to be easy. It was indeed the furnace of adversity, designed to burn the dross from the gold. And I am convinced that each and every one of them proved to be solid gold.

As I lay there in the night, all this explained the stars in the eyes of those who had gone on the temple excursion. The trip was of enormous value, something to be treasured, not *despite* the hardships, but *because* of them. They had paid a stiff price for the experience, and the higher the price, the more valuable the rewards.

I realized that I hadn't reacted to the excursion as had the others because it was, for me, a first trip. The others were old-time excursionists who knew how to appraise its worth; in fact several had made the Utah temples circuit tour. I remembered a similar trauma back during World War II, when I walked away from a bomber crash that killed two men. The shock—we called it flak-happy in the Air Force—left me shaken, trembling, teeth chattering; but as it went away it was replaced by a golden euphoria. It happened two days before Christmas, and my Christmas present was the gift of life. I saw everything with new eyes. Though I'd been based in London more than a year, now I walked the streets as an explorer. I greeted friends with new love and appreciation. The birds in Hyde Park sang as they never had sung before. I was born again.

Deja vu. As the trauma of the temple excursion went away, the same golden euphoria filled me to overflowing. Instead of a horror story, I saw the excursion to L.A. as high comedy. Hey, I thought, I'd better sign up for the excursion next month—and make sure I get a front seat on the bus.

Old-timers of the Redwood City Ward still treasure the memory of the temple excursions. Today, with the Oakland Temple only an hour away, somehow it just isn't the same. ☞

REVIEWS

GLORIOUS PRINCIPLE WORTH INCARCERATION

PRISONER FOR POLYGAMY:
THE MEMOIRS AND LETTERS OF RUDGER CLAWSON
AT THE UTAH TERRITORIAL PENITENTIARY, 1884–87

edited by Stan Larson

University of Illinois Press, 1993, 256 pages, \$24.95



Reviewed by Dan Erickson

STAN LARSON'S *Prisoner for Polygamy* joins David and Roy Hoopes's 1990 work *The Making of a Mormon Apostle: The Story of Rudger Clawson* and Larson's editorial work *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diary of Rudger Clawson* in illuminating the heretofore largely overlooked life of Rudger Clawson. Clawson's life is an interesting study for a number of reasons. First, his prominent position as president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles for twenty-two years left him just a heartbeat away from the Church presidency. Second, Clawson was the first polygamist tried, convicted, and sentenced for polygamy and cohabitation under the infamous Edmunds Act. Sentenced to prison at the age of twenty-seven, he was thirty at the time of his release and had served longer than any other convicted polygamist. And third, Clawson was a prominent member of the Church hierarchy who married a post-Manifesto plural wife.

As a convicted polygamist, Clawson remained dedicated to plural marriage. His commitment to the "principle," and the significance of Mormon polygamy, was a major theme of his prison memoirs and letters. Considering his jail sentence as a "mission to the penitentiary" (6), Clawson proclaimed,

DAN ERICKSON is pursuing a master's degree in history at California State University at Fullerton and is currently writing a thesis on nineteenth-century Mormon polygamy.

"As I emerged from the prison walls my faith in the principle of plural marriage was just as firm and unshaken as when I entered" (15).

The volume is divided into two sections. The first consists of the prison memoirs; the second contains a selection of Clawson's prison letters to his plural wife Lydia Spencer. Larson demonstrates his prodigious research in examining additional contemporary documents and skillfully uses these sources in the introduction and endnotes to clarify ambiguities, rectify errors, and provide the reader with the pertinent historical context.

Larson's stated goal was to present the memoirs as Clawson intended. As such he meticulously scrutinizes all manuscript versions, highlighting changes from earlier manuscripts, and pointing out anachronisms and inaccuracies. Larson acknowledges the concerns of editing a memoir, as the author's self-image and perception of events changed over time. Nevertheless, the memoirs are valuable in relating the interaction between Clawson and other Mormon officials, in dealing with prison phenomena such as an execution, the inevitable "sweat box" where Clawson was once confined for disciplinary purposes, and the personal and emotional issues faced when prisoners are separated from spouses and families.

The memoirs detail the poor living conditions and the persistently bad food, described by Clawson as "stale meat and maggoty soup" (73), which he regarded with

suspicion and invariably subjected to "a close inspection before partaking" (58). Also exhibited are the difficulties of dealing with prison employees and the warden, and the intricate planning needed to smuggle out letters and journals without detection. Although Clawson and others found ingenious ways to pass their communications to the outside, their actions underscore the diffi-

culty of maintaining confidence that journals and letters would remain unmolested.

While incarcerated, Clawson became closely associated with prominent Mormon prisoners such as Angus M. Cannon, Parley P. Pratt Jr., and Abraham H. Cannon. Of particular significance was the relationship that developed between Clawson and Apostle Lorenzo Snow. Clawson had great admi-

ration for Snow, who had suffered persecution during the early days of the Church, and, at seventy-two, was now called to "enter a loathsome prison for conscience sake" (127). Clawson relates how he and other Mormon prisoners discussed theology and doctrine with the apostle for hours at a time. Clawson considered "those hours—passed in prison—as among the most profitable of

RECENTLY RELEASED

New titles from Mormon publishers; the descriptions are usually taken from promotional materials. Submissions are welcome. SUNSTONE does not offer these titles for sale; contact your Mormon bookseller.

FICTION

Washed by a Wave of Wind, Science Fiction from the Corridor. Ed. by M. Shayne Bell. Signature Books, \$18.95.

An anthology of stories by twenty writers, all with ties to the West, who "craft believable, near future stories which reflect the region's subtleties."

ARTS & POETRY

Crazy for Living. By Linda Sillitoe. Signature Books, \$10.95.

A new book of poetry that explores joy and the struggle against absurdity.

CHRISTIAN LIVING

Tolerance: Principles, Practices, Obstacles, Limits. By John J. Carmack. Bookcraft, \$10.95.

Explores the need for racial, religious, and ethnic tolerance, and the serious societal problems caused by bigotry and a lack of tolerance.

SCRIPTURE & THEOLOGY

Aliens and UFOs: Messengers or Deceivers. By James L. Thompson. Horizon Publishers, \$18.95.

An attempt to examine the phenomenon of UFOs in the context of LDS theology.

The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Era Dawns (videotape). The Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, \$7.95.

A clear and succinct introduction to the content and history of the scrolls and the controversy that has surrounded them since their discovery.

A Latter-day Commentary on the Old Testament. By Ellis Rasmussen. Deseret Book, \$25.95.

A book-by-book commentary on the Old Testament that provides an LDS perspective and incorporates all of the standard works.

"Promised Lands" in Clark Memorandum. By Hugh Nibley. The Religious

Studies Center, Brigham Young University, \$1.50.

Focusing on the Hopi Indians as an example, Nibley discusses Indian beliefs and practices that are closer to the teachings of the Book of Mormon than is American culture. He argues that we must learn from the Indians more ways of thinking and acting in harmony with those teachings.

Restoration Studies V: A Collection of Essays about the History, Beliefs, and Practices of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Ed. by Darlene Caswell and Paul M. Edwards. Herald Publishing House, \$18.00.

Offers eighteen scholarly articles covering a wide range of subjects, including "The Pursuit of Peace," "Theological Perspectives," "Identity and Mission," "Scripture Studies," and "Biographical Reflections."

Searching the Scriptures: Personal Scripture Study (2 audio cassettes). By Gene R. Cook. Deseret Book, \$13.95.

Elder Cook identifies ways to search and understand the scriptures, including identifying scriptural patterns, marking and cross-referencing, and pondering the scriptures.

Searching the Scriptures: Family Scripture Study (2 audio cassettes). By Gene R. Cook. Deseret Book, \$13.95.

Elder Cook explains how regular family scripture study can be made enjoyable and rewarding.

Teachings of the Book of Mormon. By Hugh Nibley. The Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, \$59.80.

Transcripts of an 1988-90 BYU Honors Book of Mormon class.

Unraveling the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls (2 videotapes). The Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, \$24.95.

A conference held at Stanford, sponsored by F.A.R.M.S., plus an interview with Hugh Nibley.

HISTORY & BIOGRAPHY

Early Members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Susan Easton Black, compiler. The Religious Studies Center,

Brigham Young University, 6 volumes, \$300.00.

Research of the RLDS archival records on early members with birthdates between 1769 and 1849. Includes biographical references.

History of Idaho. By Leonard J. Arrington. University of Idaho Press, 2 volumes, \$45.00.

Commemorating the Idaho Centennial, these volumes present the story of Idaho from its earliest times to the present day.

Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists. By Martha Sonntag Bradley. University of Utah Press, \$29.95.

Brings together the story of the 1935, 1944, and 1953 police raids on the polygamist town of Short Creek, Arizona.

Overland in 1846, Diaries and Letters on the California-Oregon Trail, Volumes I and II. Ed. by Dale Morgan. University of Nebraska Press, cloth: \$45.00 each volume; paper: \$14.95 each volume.

Vol. I focuses on letters and diaries of pioneers making the passage west. Vol. II offers a view of what it was like to go west in 1846 and describes what was found in California and Oregon.

Salt Lake City Underfoot: Self-Guided Tours of Historic Neighborhoods. By Mark Angus. Signature Books, \$10.95.

"From cathedrals to pioneer gambling halls, Mormon temples to genteel saloons, fraternal lodges to brothels, *Salt Lake Underfoot* reveals the heritage of one of America's premier western outposts."

The Temple: Dedicated to Peace. By Laurie Smith Monsees. Herald House, \$60.00.

The story of the RLDS temple in Independence from initial planning to the ministries of today.

HUMOR

Utah: Sex and Travel Guide. By Calvin Grondahl. Signature Books, \$9.95.


In over 100 drawings, Grondahl "tackles the complexity of Utah in the 1990s . . . sprinkling his humor with social commentary."

my life" (128).

The admiration was not one-sided. Snow nominated Clawson to receive his second anointing soon after Clawson's release from prison, and within a month Clawson was made a stake president. Apostle Snow also frequently visited the bookkeeping classes taught by Clawson. Clawson believed it was Snow's visits to these classes that led to his (Clawson's) membership in the Church auditing committee (137). Later, during Snow's administration, Clawson was called to be an apostle.

Larson includes seventeen letters from Clawson to his plural wife Lydia Spencer. Although he does not indicate how many letters he viewed, and on what basis the selection was made, the letters reveal an intense love and devotion to Lydia, to the Church, and to the institution of polygamy. These letters impart Clawson's recurring certainty that "we have been faithful to the great principle which will exalt us in the presence of God" (170).

Clawson's success as tutor to the warden's two children allowed him the privilege of securing "private" meetings with Lydia. His letters divulge that these visits included the opportunity for conjugal relations, and Lydia became pregnant during one of their meetings (176). The letters to Lydia also reveal the difficult emotional tensions faced by a plural wife. Since Clawson's first wife divorced him while he was in prison, should he and Lydia remarry legally, as Lydia seems to suggest, so as to make her a legal wife? What will the community think of her pregnancy in the midst of Clawson's years in prison? What legal rights will her children have? What would her status be should Clawson marry someone else legally, thus keeping Lydia on the margin of society? By addressing real problems faced by polygamous families, the letters provide an intimate view of the inner thoughts, concerns, and emotions of those affected during this difficult period.

The in-depth view of this volume is a rich contribution to the study of nineteenth-century Utah prison life and plural marriage, attesting to the intensity of belief in the "principle" by these early western pioneers. Rudger Clawson's memoirs and letters leave no doubt as to the fervor of Mormons' conviction that as a people they were "struggling to introduce and maintain, in opposition to the whole world, one of the most glorious principles ever revealed from heaven" (169). As such, Larson's work is a valuable addition to the study of the Church's "peculiar institution," heightening our insight into the Mormon pioneer heritage. 

"MESSIAH IN CONTEXT"

THE MESSIAH DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLIEST
JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

edited by James Charlesworth

Fortress Press, 1992

597 pages, \$40.00



Reviewed by Stephen E. Thompson

THIS BOOK REPRESENTS the published proceedings of a symposium held at Princeton Theological Seminary in October 1987. Twenty-five distinguished scholars presented papers examining "the concept of the Messiah and related figures in first-century Judaism and earliest Christianity, with concentration especially on Palestinian phenomena" (xiv). The contributions are grouped into six sections: an introduction by the editor; "Messianic Ideas and the Hebrew Scriptures"; "Messianology in Early Judaism and Early Rabbis"; "'Messianism' in Social Contexts and in Philo"; "'The Messiah' and Jesus of Nazareth"; and "'The Messiah,' 'The Christ,' and the New Testament." One participant at the symposium noted that "the conference made available an enormous amount of data that will not easily yield to systematic organization" (459). I will nevertheless attempt to present some of the information found in this volume that I believe should be of particular interest to Latter-day Saints.

For Latter-day Saints, the concept of the Messiah begins in pre-mortal life when the plan of salvation was established, which called for Jesus to be born into mortality as the Messiah who would atone for the sins of the world. Adam knew of the future coming of the Messiah, as did all of the prophets from his time onward, and their writings include prophecies, sometimes detailed, about his life and mission.¹ It is commonly taught that because the Jews of Palestine in the first century were looking for a political

messiah who would deliver them from Roman occupation, they failed to recognize how the life, ministry, and death and resurrection of Jesus fulfilled these prophecies.² The historical evidence, however, does not support this reconstruction (4-5).

The word "messiah" means anointed. In the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), prophets, priests, and kings are referred to as having been anointed (39-40). In chapter 5, S. Talmon suggests that the ritual of anointing kings "was the formal expression of approval of the 'anointed' by representatives of the religious-cultic echelons of the society—prophet or priest, and by 'the people!'"—in whatever composition, representing the body politic 'in toto' " (89). It may come as a surprise to many Latter-day Saints to learn that of the thirty-nine occurrences of the Hebrew word for messiah in the Hebrew Bible, none refers to "an expected figure of the future whose coming will coincide with the inauguration of an era of salvation" (39). The nominalized adjective always, with the exception of the Persian king Cyrus in Isaiah 45:15, refers to the contemporary Israelite king (39). In fact, one of the unanimous conclusions reached at the symposium was that "the term and title 'Messiah' in the Hebrew Bible refers to a present, political and religious leader who is appointed by God" (xv), and not an expected figure of the future. According to Charlesworth, "the term 'the Messiah' (note the presence of the definite article) simply does not appear in the Hebrew Scriptures" (11).

If the Hebrew Bible does not record any expectations of "the Messiah," when did the idea originate? Charlesworth notes that the earliest "explicit use of the *terminus techni-*

STEPHEN E. THOMPSON received his doctorate in Egyptology from Brown University. He lives in Providence, Rhode Island.

cus—'Messiah' or 'Christ' is the first century B.C.E." (24, see also 27), and that "Jewish messianology developed out of the crisis and hope of the nonmessianic Maccabean wars of the second century B.C.E. Palestinian Jews yearned for salvation from their pagan oppressors. For an indeterminable number of Jews the yearning centered on the future saving acts by a divinely appointed, and anointed supernatural man: the Messiah" (3-4).

While the concept of "the Messiah" developed in the first century B.C.E., there never evolved a set script, or a normative set of expectations, for this messiah to fulfill. In fact, from the available material, it appears

that the expectation of a messiah was never particularly widespread in Palestine. R. A. Horsley observes that "the unavoidable conclusion remains that ideas or expectations of a 'Messiah' of any sort were not only rare but unimportant among the literate groups in late Second Temple Jewish Palestine" (280, see also 14). For those who were looking for "the Messiah," there were differing expectations of his mission and identity. While some were expecting a new Davidic king, others were expecting a non-Davidide, and possibly even a messiah who was not a king (20, 22). N. A. Dahl notes that "at the time of Jesus there existed no normative doctrine of the Messiah" (389). So the statement that "the

Jews" failed to recognize Jesus as "the Messiah" rests on the faulty premise that "the Jews" were expecting "the Messiah." Some Jews were expecting a messiah, and the nature of these expectations varied from group to group.

How would those who heard Jesus declare that he was the Messiah have understood him? Critical scrutiny of the Gospels reveals that Jesus did not claim to be the Messiah. J. D. G. Dunn notes that "a basic fact is that nowhere in the Synoptic tradition is Jesus remembered as having laid claim to the title or role of messiah on his own initiative," and that "since the earliest Christians certainly wanted to claim the title for him,

THE WORD BAZAAR

OUT - OF - PRINT & RARE EDITIONS

LDS BOOKS BOUGHT & SOLD

We pay top dollar for out-of-print, used, and rare LDS books. Thousands of LDS books (new & used) for sale. Out-of-print book search available. Call, write, or visit our shop. Open Mon.-Fri., 10-6, Sat., 10-4, BENCHMARK BOOKS, 331 RIO GRANDE, STE 300, P.O. BOX 9027, SALT LAKE CITY, UT 84109-0027, 801/532-3100 100

WOMEN'S PUBLICATIONS

EXPONENT II

Exponent II, a volunteer organization, publishes a quarterly newspaper addressing women's issues in an LDS context. For 20 years, this personal essay format has provided a forum for women to exchange life experiences in an atmosphere of trust and acceptance. Past issues have discussed drug abuse, authority, the socialization of young women, and the Mormon male. Regular columns by Judy Dushku, Emma Lou Thyne, and Laurel Ulrich. Edited by Sue Paxman. For a subscription, please send a check for \$15.00 (\$4.00 per issue) to: *Exponent II*, P.O. Box 128, Arlington, MA 02178. 099

BOOKS

EASY-TO-READ BOOK OF MORMON

Lynn Matthews Anderson's work can be purchased at Seagull Book & Tape or Benchmark Books. The Sunstone Foundation sells it for \$10 at the office or \$12 by mail order. 099

B. H. ROBERTS A SCRAP BOOK I & II

These two volumes are limited to 500 copies each and there are only 10 sets left, 518 pages and 528 pages respectively, with all materials previously uncompiled. Only \$100 per set plus \$5 for ship-

ping. Send your order today to: LYNN PULSIPHER, P.O. BOX 1607, PROVO, UT 84603-1607. AREA CONFERENCE REPORTS and select out-of-print books also available. Send your want list. Phone: 801/377-3046. Please leave a message. 097

EBORN BOOKS - MAIL ORDER

Free catalog of thousands of used LDS books! Also, reprints of early LDS classics. EBORN BOOKS, P.O. BOX 2093, DEPT. B, PEORIA, AZ 85380. 101

NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES

COUGAR SPORTS

Follow BYU athletics like you never have before. This colorful monthly publication features original, in-depth articles by professional sportswriters, previews, profiles, recruits, game stories, stats, and tons of photos. It is a wealth of information for the avid fan, and includes coverage of ALL sports, not just football and basketball. One-year subscriptions, \$36. *Cougar Sports Magazine*, P.O. Box 375, Provo, UT 84603-0375, or call 800/932-6847. 094

DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

Subscribe to *Dialogue* and join others who seek a Mormon studies forum during these changing times. *Dialogue* is an independent quarterly established in 1966 to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. Regular subscription rate is \$30 per year, and \$25 per year for students and seniors. *Dialogue*, P.O. Box 658, Salt Lake City, UT 84111-0658, or call 801/363-9988. 094

THE BEEHIVE

The *Beehive* newspaper has hundreds of LDS singles ads from singles in the Western United States. Pick up your FREE copy of the *Beehive* today, or call 1-800/200-4LDS. 094

The *Beehive* newspaper, the largest FREE LDS

newspaper, is now available at over 300 locations in Utah. The *Beehive* is always looking for qualified salespeople and writers. (800/200-4LDS) 095

JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY

Keep up with the best, ground-breaking articles on Mormon history by getting the semi-annual *Journal of Mormon History* with your membership in the Mormon History Association. You'll also receive the association's quarterly newsletter. One-year memberships: regular, \$15, student, \$10. Mormon History Association, P.O. Box 7010, University Station, Provo, UT 84602. 099

ARE RUSH LIMBAUGH AND HOWARD STERN

the two latter-day witnesses in Revelations 11, who "tormented them on the earth" for 1,260 days, and will destroy their enemies like "fire proceedeth out of their mouth?" (*Time* magazine cover, 1 Nov. 1993). For a fascinating full report, send \$5 to *Witnesses Newsletter*, P.O. Box 8191, Bonney Lake, WA 98390. 094

STUDENT REVIEW

BYU's unofficial student magazine is now in its eighth year! Examine the life and issues at BYU through essays written by students and faculty. Humorously, sometimes critically, but always sensitively. One-year subscriptions, \$15. *Student Review*, P.O. Box 7092, Provo, UT 84602. 099

BOOK EXCHANGE AD RATES

\$3.00 per line, minimum of 4 lines at \$12.00. Headline type counts as two lines. Lines counted at seven words per line. Other heading titles are negotiable (ie. magazine subscriptions, printing services, auto-graphed letters, books wanted). Payment must accompany the ad—we do not bill. For more information call 801/355-5926.

the silence of the Synoptic tradition is striking." He concludes that "the fact that no such claim is remembered suggests at least an unwillingness on the part of Jesus to associate his mission with that particular role" (375, see also 9, 12, 402). When Peter ascribed the title of messiah to Jesus (Mark 8:27-33), Jesus is shown reacting ambivalently, "neither welcoming or denying the confession" (375, see also 12, n. 25).

Not only were there no normative functions for Jesus to fulfill, thereby allowing people to recognize him as the Messiah, but his ultimate fate made that identification extremely difficult. Charlesworth notes that "there is no evidence that Jews during the time of Jesus considered that God's Messiah would come and suffer" (8). There is no evidence of a tradition that would allow for a crucified messiah (33). Even the resurrection is not indicative of Jesus' messiahship, since "post-mortem appearances, an empty tomb, and assumption to heaven were not aspects of messianic ideology" (390).

So how is it that Jesus came to be known as the Messiah? This is one of the thorniest problems dealt with in the book, and there is no simple or generally agreed-upon answer to this question. Dunn remarks that apparently "Jesus was as much shaping the messianic ideas of the time as being shaped by them" (381). D. E. Aune notes that "the meaning of the title Messiah or *Christos* when applied to Jesus . . . was determined primarily by *Christian* conceptions of Jesus rather than by conventional *Jewish* messianic notions" (410, emphasis in original). In applying the title of messiah to Jesus, his followers were adapting and revising an existent title by searching the Hebrew Bible for proof texts that would support this identification (411). This procedure involved taking passages of scripture that, in their original context, had nothing to do with a messiah (how could they, since the concept did not exist when most of the Hebrew Bible was created?) and applying them to a new context. Again, Aune notes that "the church . . . tried to revise the Jewish conception of the Messiah by arguing from OT proof texts that both suffering and death were integral aspects of the divinely ordained role of the Messiah" (410-11). The resurrection of Jesus seems to have served as one of the major motivating factors in this transformation. Earliest Palestinian Christians held "the conviction that through his resurrection, understood as his exaltation and enthronement at the right hand of God, Jesus *had become* both Lord . . . and Messiah" (404, emphasis added). This is an idea not well-known in Latter-day Saint circles, al-

though it is attested in the New Testament. Most members of the Church are only acquainted with Conception Christology, which maintains that Jesus was sired by God, and are unaware that, in "one of the oldest confessions in the New Testament [Romans 1:3-4]," we read "Jesus Christ, descended from the seed of David, *appointed* as Son of God *since* his resurrection from the dead" (437, emphasis added). M. Hengel notes that, "according to [this passage] Jesus, the Son of David, was appointed as the Son of

God through the resurrection" (447). Since it was particularly the death and resurrection of Jesus that ran counter to Messianic expectations, the early Christians "could not do otherwise than concentrate on this point that so radically contradicted the prevailing Jewish hope" (445-46).

This sketch may make it appear that the contributors to this volume are in complete agreement. As one would expect, this is not the case. One of the areas of major disagreement is on the nature of the phrase "Son of

DietAid 3000

AS SEEN ON T.V. ★ SPRAY AWAY THE POUNDS
DietAid 3000 is the only breath spray which acts as an appetite suppressant, relieving hunger pangs and the mental desire to eat.
This spray has a pleasant peppermint flavor.

● 100% NATURAL

- Use With Current Diet
- No Calories Per Serving
- Vitamin C
- Easy to Use
- Convenient
- Discreet

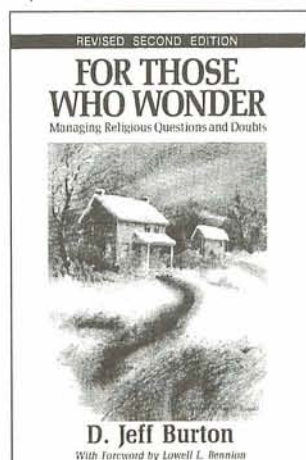
★★ORDER TODAY★★

Money Back Guaranteed! Please allow 2-4 weeks for delivery

ONLY \$19.95 FOR A 3 MONTH SUPPLY

(includes shipping & handling). Send cash, check or money order to:

HEALTHCARE PRODUCTS
3330 HILCROFT, STE. D-411
HOUSTON, TX 77057



Questioning your Mormonism?

Reader comments:

- "I just finished reading your book...and found much personal relief."
- "I felt a peace I haven't felt since before my mission."
- "Reading was...a spiritual boost and filled me with renewed hope."

Lowell L. Bennion: "D. Jeff Burton has rich and extensive experience counseling people who are troubled because their thinking has led them to question and even doubt...."

2nd Edition at LDS booksellers \$7

Published by IVE, Inc., 2974 So. 900 East, Bountiful, Utah 84010 ISBN 0-9623160-4-0

Benchmark's

"MOST WANTED"

List

These are the LDS out-of-print books most frequently requested by our customers (as of February 1994):

- Answers to Gospel Questions**, vols. 4, 5 (Smith)
- Biographies of LDS Church presidents** (Gibbons)
- Book of Isaiah** (Gileadi)
- Book of Mormon** (1st ed.)
- Comprehensive History of the Church**, hb (Roberts)
- Defense of the Faith and the Saints**, vols. 1 & 2 (Roberts)
- Doctrine & Covenants Commentary** (Smith/Sjodahl)
- Doctrines of the Kingdom** (Andrus)
- Early Mormonism and the Magic World View** (Quinn)
- Erastus Snow** (Larson)
- Footprints in the Wilderness** (Rhoades/Boren)
- From Heart to Heart** (Nelson)
- In Search of Lehi's Trail** (Hilton)
- Joseph of Egypt** (Petersen)
- Journal of Discourses** (sets)
- Mary Fielding Smith** (Corbett)
- Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri** (Nibley)
- Messages of the First Presidency** (Clark)
- Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah** (Esshom)
- Principles of Perfection** (Andrus)
- Reflections of a Scientist** (Eyring)
- Studies in Scripture**, vol. 2 (Millet/Jackson)
- They Knew the Prophet** (Andrus)

We pay top dollar for these and many other out-of-print and rare LDS books. If you have any you would like to sell, or if you are looking for out-of-print or rare LDS titles, call, write, or come to our shop in the Carpenter Bldg. (same bldg. as Sunstone), 3rd floor, Mon.-Fri., 10 am - 6 pm, Sat., 10 am - 4 pm.

BENCHMARK BOOKS

331 Rio Grande St., Ste. 300
P.O. Box 9027
Salt Lake City, Utah 84109-0027
(801) 532-3100

Man," that is, whether or not it designated an apocalyptic figure (xiv-xv, cf. 213 with 369 and 410). Also, the eschatological nature of Jesus' mission long held to be evident in the Gospels is now being seriously questioned, particularly by Burton Mack and those who accept the interpretation of Jesus as a Cynic³ (cf. 5, 372 with 192). J. J. M. Roberts argues that the later (i.e., post-Hebrew Bible) mythological conceptions of the awaited Messiah are due to Egyptian royal mythology, introduced into Israel at the time of the formation of the monarchy under David (43, 51). He notes that the "Egyptian influence on the Israelite royal ceremony brought with it the strongly mythological language of the Egyptian royal protocol" and argues that Egypt was the source of the notion of the divine sonship of the Israelite king (43). Elsewhere, however, Egyptologist Donald Redford has seriously questioned the extent of the influence of Egyptian ideas on the ideology of the Israelite monarchy.⁴

So what is a Latter-day Saint to make of the information available in this volume? Much that it contains is incompatible with many of the beliefs of the Church. The fact that the notion of the Messiah as an eschatological figure is not attested until the first century B.C.E. argues against viewing the Book of Mormon or Book of Moses as historical texts, since in both books the view of the Messiah, and even the occurrence of the term, is decidedly anachronistic. The fact that the contributors to the book are not in total agreement might be disconcerting to some. Occasionally instances of disagreement among scholars are taken as an excuse for dismissing the critical approach to the scriptures entirely, and relying on an uncritical, dogma-driven exegesis.⁵ The issue, however, in scripture interpretation, has been expressed well by Charlesworth, in another publication dealing with the topic of the Messiah. He wrote:

[O]ne must simply make a choice, either to read ancient writings so that they confirm one's own beliefs, or to struggle with the demanding task of attempting to discern what an author was intending to say to whom and who was influenced by him.⁶

The choice one makes will in large measure determine the value found in this book. For those interested in the historical development of the concept of a messiah, and its relationship to Christology and early Christianity, there is no better source of information. For those who wish simply to find confirmation that what they already know is

correct, this book may be profoundly disturbing. ☞

NOTES

1. See most recently D. Kelly Ogden and R. Val Johnson, "All the Prophets Prophesied of Christ," *Ensign* 24 (1994): 31-37.

2. Church Educational Systems, *The Life and Teachings of Jesus & His Apostles* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 143, sec. 20-10.

3. See B. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), and D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991). There seem to be two currents in "historical Jesus" research: one which sees Jesus more in the Hellenistic tradition, and one which places him in a primarily Jewish context. As examples of the latter, note the recent works by J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), and G. Vermes, *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

4. Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 366-69.

5. W. Hamblin seems to be implying such in "The Final Step," *SUNSTONE* 16:5 (July 1993): 12.

6. J. H. Charlesworth, "From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. J. Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. Frerichs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 227.



A SPECK IN TIME

Stillness permeates
the arid strength
of land
freckled with juniper
and sage,
powdered green
against
earth-red rock
and sand.

Massive
and solid
age-old sandstone,
fragile tons
of sedimentary rock,
dwarf
visitors.

In bold
nakedness
stone
stands unmoving
and unmoved,
where millenia
is a moment
and my passing
insignificant.

—PAT BEZZANT

NEWS

BYU TIGHTENS FACULTY HIRING PROCESS

A NEW step has been added to BYU's hiring process, placing a renewed emphasis on LDS church membership and orthodoxy. Under the new policy, candidates must receive preliminary and final approval by the board of trustees before a job offer is tendered. The former policy required only one board review.

This process was defined in a 10 January 1994 memo by Alan Wilkins, assistant academic vice

president for BYU personnel. The memo, initially distributed only to college deans, was subsequently leaked to the Associated Press.

Some administrators and faculty, speaking on condition of anonymity, told the AP that the changes will make it more difficult to recruit the best candidates. "The recruitment policy here is already slower than most other places. And this just adds to that problem," one administrator said. "We're anticipat-

ing it's going to affect the quality of our hires for that reason alone," said another. "We're losing our capacity to recruit Mormon candidates expeditiously. It also will raise flags for Mormon and non-Mormon candidates who are concerned about the climate at BYU."

Others told the AP that they were primarily concerned about the image projected by BYU as a learning institution where religious orthodoxy and faithfulness are

given precedence over academic achievement. Still others questioned the legality of requiring candidates to disclose age and marital status. These issues are still being explored.

While discussing the new policy with the AP, one troubled faculty member recalled an address given by First Presidency Counselor Gordon B. Hinckley to BYU faculty and staff in which he stressed the need for trust between the faculty and the Board. "The thing that I find so frustrating about this policy is that it's dictated by a fundamental lack of trust in the faculty," he said. ☐

NAME CLEARANCE

During this decade we will replace around 40-50% of our faculty (retirements and attrition). Judging from the past five years, we will give continuing status to approximately 95% of those who go up (including third year reviews). While not everyone we hire stays through the first six years, clearly a very large proportion of those we hire has been granted continuing faculty status. From this perspective, the hiring decision is at least as critical as the continuing status decision. However, it often represents much less effort and involves significantly less information than we have when we make continuing status decisions. We must make hiring decisions even more carefully than we have in the past if we want to maintain or establish even higher levels of excellence in faith, teaching, and scholarship.

At the request of the Board of Trustees, we have been discussing these concerns with them for the past several months. The result is the procedure presented below. They want to encourage us to demonstrate to them careful and thoughtful decision-making in our hiring. They understand that this procedure may make our hiring decisions take longer and they are willing to do whatever they can within this procedure to facilitate speed. However, their hope is that we will be more proactive, looking ahead to the possibility of retirements or attrition and forming relationships with LDS scholars who are potential BYU faculty members. They hope that we will encourage faithful and scholarly students we know to pursue doctorates and that we will track their progress. We should learn as much as we can about them prior to the year in which we make the hiring decision. Perhaps we can appoint standing selection committees and encourage them to creatively approach this opportunity to establish the BYU of the next cen-

tury. The Board is not interested in becoming "watchdogs" but rather in insuring that we have established processes and internalized the criteria of faithfulness and scholarship that will help us to achieve what we have the potential to become.

New Hiring Procedure

1. Before any authorized (or administration-funded) hiring visits to campus a candidate must receive preliminary clearance by the Board of Trustees. This clearance will require information about age, marital status, degrees (institutions, dates), current work position (where, dates), current church position, current location (city, state), mission (if any, where, dates). The office of the Associate Academic Vice President-Faculty will also obtain an assessment by the person's church leaders of their worthiness for temple privileges. The Board encourages us to have at least two people interviewed for each position. Their intent is to thereby enhance the quality of our decisions and to lessen the sense that we, or they, are rejecting an individual as contrasted with selecting between two qualified and good people.

2. Following a campus visit and our selection of an individual we want to hire, we must obtain final clearance from the Board before making the offer. We should send a summary of the interviews at each level (including who did the interviews) and our assessment of the individual regarding: (1) scholarly qualifications, (2) their teaching prowess (including where appropriate a willingness and ability to teach undergraduate and GE courses), and (3) faithfulness (deep and abiding faith in the Savior, the restoration, Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, support of the Brethren, and belief in and ability to use the Holy Ghost in their scholarship, teaching, and living). The General

Authority is likely to ask most directly questions about the Savior, the Book of Mormon, and personal worthiness. However, deans and chairs also have a particular responsibility to be sure candidates are aware of and fully accept the university's religious mission. In assessing the relative strength of competing candidates, no factor is more important than deep religious faith and loyalty to the Church. We should not hire people who are a threat to the religious faith of our students or a critic of the Church and its leaders. Thus, we must consider, as best we can, the "spirit" of the person to assess whether we think faithfulness is a part of their character. We recognize that candidates will not be perfect and hope that their presence at BYU will have a positive effect on those who come. We desire to work together with the Board to make the most informed and careful decisions we can.

The Commissioner's office is prepared to hand-carry our requests for final clearance and appointment when they come between formal meetings of the Board and circumstances preclude waiting for those meetings.

You will note a re-emphasis on faithfulness and membership in the Church in this procedure. While the Board has not entirely dismissed the possibility of candidates who are not members of the Church, they want us to give distinct priority to members of faith. Nonmembers are not likely to be cleared unless: (1) there are no competent faithful LDS candidates (which we can demonstrate through a careful search); (2) we have ample evidence of the good character of the candidate and of the candidate's understanding of, and willingness to abide by, the honor code; and (3) the candidate is demonstrably superior in teaching and scholarship. Most of the time appointments of nonmembers will be temporary.

BYU CHANGES HOUSING POLICY, SEPARATES STUDENTS FROM NON-STUDENTS

UNDER THREAT of legal action, BYU has changed its student housing policy to separate students from non-students. The change to the forty-year-old policy came after a tenant of a BYU-approved apartment asked the American Civil Liberties Union of Utah to challenge the legality of BYU's student housing policies. During a routine apartment check at Branbury Park in Provo, school officials found the tenant, whose name has not been released, to be in violation of BYU's residential living policy by displaying posters of scantily clad women. BYU officials asked him to remove the three posters or face eventual eviction. The tenant is a Geneva Steel employee and does not attend BYU.

ACLU staff attorney Kathryn Kendell told the *Daily Universe*, BYU's student newspaper, that the search and housing contract were unconstitutional and violated federal and state fair housing laws as well as the Utah Civil Rights Act. "There is no way you could apply that contract to an adult who wasn't a BYU student," she said. "It is a violation of the law to contract away someone's constitutional rights."

All residents, student or non-student, living in BYU-approved housing must sign a contract agreeing to abide by the BYU Honor Code. To attract BYU stu-

dents, apartment owners agree to uphold the standards and allow housing inspections. "Once they sign the contract, they're obligated to live up to it," BYU spokesperson Brent Harker told the *Deseret News*.


The ACLU, however, asserts that BYU's moral standards can't be applied to non-students and says the University needs to reform its policies. Kendell told the *News* that BYU's approved housing practice is "economic blackmail." She said students and others living in Provo have few choices of dwellings and that "it's essentially a contract of coercion." BYU maintains that all tenants know what they're signing. Facing possible legal action, BYU modified the policy and rescinded the eviction notice. By the beginning of January, BYU's team of lawyers had drafted a compromise that asks complex owners to divide their apartments into student and non-student quarters beginning September 1994, a move BYU says it had been considering for at least eighteen months anyway. Now, for the complex to retain its valued BYU-approved status, students and non-students will not be permitted to live in same apartment. "I think this is a positive step," Harker said. "It allows us to maintain our special atmosphere while at the same time allowing

non-students to live in separate arrangements."

While the new policy no longer imposes BYU's honor code on non-student renters, it does require the acceptance of a contract stipulating behavior "consistent with basic principles of modesty, decency and privacy in keeping with accepted community morals." Needless to say, the ACLU isn't pleased with this policy either. "It isn't acceptable," Carol Gnade, ACLU executive director, told the *News*. "Essentially nothing has changed, except that BYU is requiring landlords to make a decision on how they're going to discriminate." Harker disagrees:

"We don't consider [non-students] evil, awful gentiles. We just think they ought to have a different agreement," he told the *News*. "Community standards of morality are not the same as religious standards, although they're similar. We are not trying to impose our religious standards on people."

Many BYU students seem to share the ACLU's concerns. In addition to several student forums and discussions, the policy has consistently been a hot topic of articles and opinions in the *Universe*. A good number of the opinions expressed are concerned with or critical of the planned segregation.

The ACLU says the issue is far from over and will be pursued until a satisfactory agreement is reached. 



A CIRCLE OF LOVE PEACE MARCH

He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout,
But Love and I had the wit to win;
We drew a circle that took him in.

Edwin Markham

WHAT IS THE CIRCLE OF LOVE PEACE MARCH?

As Easter approaches, our thoughts turn to Christ's great love for God's children in all their diversity and in all their strengths and weaknesses. We believe that our church should be a refuge for those who stand in need of healing, encouragement, and love. We value inclusion rather than exclusion; this is our creed.

WHERE DOES THE PEACE MARCH START?

Please join us as we celebrate our dedication to Christ and our gratitude for his boundless grace. On 2 April 1994, 10:00 A.M., meet at the *Capitol Rotunda* (350 North Main), in Salt Lake City, where we will sing, read scriptures, and share inspiring words of wisdom on the theme of inclusion. We invite you to join others from across the country in a peaceful walk of celebration to the church office building, where we will sing and join hands in a special circle of love. As a thousand of us participate as families, friends, and neighbors in a Circle of Love, the multi-colored carnations we carry will signify the wondrous diversity of God's creations and our appreciation of that diversity.

WHO DO I CONTACT FOR MORE INFORMATION?

For those needing more information, or need housing and/or transportation—as well as for those who can provide housing—please contact *Laurie Passey* 734 E. Kensington Ave., Salt Lake City, UT 84105, (801) 485-4244. We will make arrangements with a local florist to provide flowers. Send \$1.50 for each carnation desired. Make checks payable to *Circle of Love*, and send to the address above.

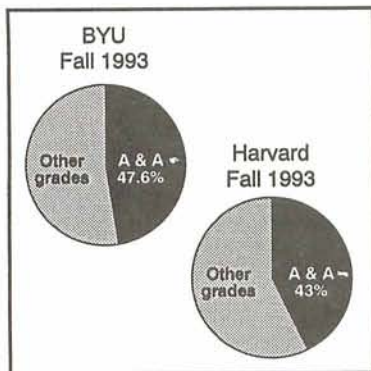
UPDATE

MORMONS ARE EASY RECRUITS

FLOYD COCHRAN, a former Aryan Nation member, told Weber State University students that Mormons are vulnerable to recruitment because of conservative attitudes, a history of polygamy, and what he calls "a mistrust of government." According to the Associated Press article, Cochran also named Catholics and Seventh-day Adventists as easy recruits.

BYU HITS RECORD GRADE INFLATION

BYU'S STUDENT newspaper, the *Daily Universe*, reported that grade inflation peaked during the 1993 fall semester, when 46 percent of all reported grades were A or A-minus. Harvard, another university sometimes criticized for grade inflation, gave A-range grades to 43 percent of its students this fall. Currently, the average BYU grade point average is 3.09.



COURTING THE LDS VOTE

BACKERS AND opponents of a statewide ballot initiative that would prohibit gay-rights legislation are courting Idaho's Latter-day Saints. The initiative's primary backer is Idaho Citizens Alliance (ICA), an organization pushing to get the initiative on the November ballot. In an effort to block the initiative, Eastern Idaho for Equality sent informational packets to nearly 400 Idaho Church leaders. "Our opponents are trying to drive a wedge between the ICA and the Mormon bloc," said alliance spokesperson Kelly Walton to the *Salt Lake Tribune*. "But we have no doubt where the Mormon bloc will vote. They'll vote for the initiative."

REBELS BOMB TWO LDS CHAPELS

IN BOGOTA, Colombia, leftist guerrillas bombed two LDS chapels and a Coca-Cola factory in protest of U.S. occupation. The worst attack in a string of assaults occurred in the northwestern drug trafficking center of Medellin, where rebels, after ousting 120 worshippers, blew up a building belonging to the Church.

THREE "SEPTEMBER SIX" APPEALS DENIED

ALL THREE of the "September Six" who have appealed Church disciplinary action ("Six Intellectuals Disciplined for Apostasy" *SUNSTONE*, Nov. 1993) have been denied. Last fall Lavina Fielding Anderson sent in a lengthy appeal, along with dozens of documents, to the First Presidency. According to the *Tribune*, Anderson claimed "serious procedural irregularities" and ecclesiastical abuse as issues which prevented a fair consideration of her case. Then, last month, she received a letter from her stake president which told her that Church leaders had "deliberated and pondered carefully and concluded that there was no reason to alter the decision reached by the stake disciplinary council." The letter continues: "These special servants of the Lord have asked that I convey their deep love and concern." Anderson told the *Tribune*, "I read the words. I believed

they were written sincerely. But somehow, it doesn't feel like love."

In addition to Anderson's appeal, those of Lynne Kanavel Whitesides, who was disfellowshipped, and Paul Toscano, who was excommunicated, were denied. Both challenged the definition of apostasy used to discipline them. Whitesides, the Mormon Women's Forum President, told the *Tribune*, "I have never repudiated the power of the Church or its authorities. I respect the men and the power they have. I have never been in opposition to the Church."

Toscano, a Salt Lake attorney, wrote in a letter to the Brethren: "I am not an apostate by any definition. I wish only to claim my rights and privileges under the revelations."

Neither Maxine Hanks, who was excommunicated partially for her feminist writings in *Women and Authority*, nor LDS historian D. Michael Quinn, who was excommunicated for his writings on Church history, have filed appeals. Hanks said she didn't see any point "to pouring my feminist energy into a male agenda and a male system." Quinn also told the *Tribune* he thought filing an appeal was useless. "That would be like appealing to the Supreme Court when one of the justices encouraged the prosecutor to instigate the case," he said, referring to discussions between Elder Boyd K. Packer and several of the dissidents' local leaders. Avraham Gileadi, who was reportedly excommunicated for teaching false doctrine, being predatory in teaching his theology, and believing dead prophets over living ones, has still chosen not to comment publicly.

WALLACE BENNETT DIES

WALLACE BENNETT, a former four-term U.S. Senator from Utah died 19 December in his sleep. Bennett's Senate tenure spanned six presidents, from 1951 to 1975. He rose to national prominence on economic issues despite serving in the Senate's minority party for all but two years. He lived to see his youngest son, Bob Bennett, win his former Senate seat in 1992.



Wallace Bennett

SUU CANCELS QUINN LECTURE

ABOUT TWENTY Southern Utah University students rallied in protest when the school canceled a campus lecture by excommunicated Mormon historian D. Michael Quinn. SUU President Gerald Sherratt told the *Tribune* that the lecture, titled "The Dilemmas of Intellectuals and Feminists in the Contemporary LDS Church," was "an attempt to utilize us to put some pressure on BYU, and we didn't think that was appropriate." Quinn said he was surprised by the cancellation and subsequent attention it received. "I don't want to create more conflict over this," he said. "I was complimented to receive the original invitation." He added that if he received another invitation, he would go.

CHURCH SUPPORTS YEAR OF THE FAMILY

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY issued a press release endorsing the worldwide designation of 1994 as the International Year of the Family. The statement noted that "Strong family life comes of the perception that each of us is a child of God, born with a divine birthright and with unlimited potential."

THE MORMON "BABYMAKER" AIRS

DURING THE first week of February, CBS aired the television movie *Babymaker: The Dr. Cecil Jacobson Story*. The movie is based on the notorious Virginia case involving Jacobson, the Mormon infertility doctor who was convicted two years ago on fifty-two counts of perjury and fraud for impregnating women with his own sperm and fooling women into thinking they were pregnant. Prosecutors said Jacobson may have fathered as many as seventy-five children.

NO PLANS FOR BYU DAY CARE

IN A question-and-answer session, BYU President Rex E. Lee said the university probably will not consider a day-care program. "The decision to enter the work force is individual," he told the *Universe*. "The Brethren have reached the conclusion that huge institutional attempts [at day care] do not work."



Rex E. Lee

BOOK CHAPTER ON GARMENT LEADS TO NEWS STORIES

A FORTHCOMING book that contains a chapter on the Mormon garment precipitated a widely distributed AP article. The straightforward report outlined the garment's history and purpose, and used a talk by Elder Boyd K. Packer, the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, and the University of Utah's Colleen McDannell, author of the unreleased book *Material Christianity: Kitsch, Bodies, and Rituals in America*, as sources.

In researching the garment chapter, McDannell, a non-Mormon, found contemporary Mormon attitudes on the garment particularly interesting. She conducted lengthy interviews with thirty-seven Church members and was surprised by their willingness to speak candidly. Many mentioned that wearing the garment is not unusual in a religious context, a theme McDannell attributes to a "double consciousness" among Mormons and other minority communities. "Their attitudes toward garments—that they are both uniquely Mormon and yet have parallels in other religions—reflects this double consciousness," she writes.

McDannell views the relative silence about garments within the Church administration as a form of social and individual control, which fosters speculation. She points out that evidence for that view can be found in the 1988 letter from the First Presidency counseling that the covenant to wear the garment is between the Church member and God. Thus, members "should seek the guidance of the Holy Spirit to answer for themselves any personal questions about the wearing of the garment."

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE CHAIR HIRED

FORMER MEMBER of the Relief Society general board Jeanne Bryan Inouye was recently appointed chair of the BYU Women's Conference, replacing Carol Lee Hawkins, who had been the chair for five years. Last year's three-day conference was extremely successful, attracting over 6,000 students, faculty, and community women. Unfortunately, it was also tainted by controversy. First, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Laurel



Jeanne Bryan Inouye

Thatcher Ulrich was rejected as a speaker for the conference by BYU's general authority-staffed board of trustees (see "Women's Conference Director Fired," *SUNSTONE*, Nov. 1993). Then, in July, Hawkins was told her contract would not be renewed, stunning conference participants and organizers. Hawkins now has a one-year appointment with the college of education to assist in planning its seventy-fifth anniversary celebration.

Inouye said she plans to continue the work of her predecessors and doesn't foresee conflict. "We're eager to build on the wonderful tradition of past women's conferences," she told the *Tribune*. "We don't anticipate any controversy. We will submit the theme and names of proposed presenters to the provost [Bruce Hafen]'s office."

For years there has been tension at the conference between Mormon housewives, who comprise the majority of attenders and the speakers, who frequently hold graduate degrees. Attenders have accused conference planners of holding up only academics as role models; the planners respond that the conference is, after all, a university-sponsored event. The tension increased several years ago when the Relief Society became a co-sponsor, making the conference an official Church event, and increasing the censuring of "controversial" topics and speakers.

Now, many BYU faculty who have spoken at the Women's Conference in the past privately say they won't in the future because they feel the content is being watered down to make it an Education Week for women.

DEAD SEA SCROLLS DATABASE IN WORKS

THE FOUNDATION for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (F.A.R.M.S.) is collaborating with BYU and the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation in Jerusalem to produce a comprehensive CD-ROM database of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) and related materials. The completed database will constitute the first major contribution from the LDS community to Christian and Jewish scholarship. A first edition is expected to be available in about two years and could eventually be linked to databases containing the Book of Mormon, Old Testament texts in Greek and Hebrew, the Greek New Testament, the Pseudepigrapha, the Apocrypha, and other related documents from the biblical period.

The *Universe* reported that BYU professor Truman Madsen and F.A.R.M.S. executive director Weston Fields came up with the idea while discussing how they could improve DSS scholarship. The completed database is expected to improve access to materials in two ways: It will give all scholars full access to materials currently scattered over many areas, and it will provide answers to questions almost instantly. The database will be built around computerized transcriptions of the scrolls. Since most of the scrolls are relatively deteriorated, transcription is the most demanding aspect of the undertaking.

The three most important components of the database will be the transcription of the scrolls, translations, and photographs. Transcriptions will appear on screen, line-by-line, in the same format as the original scrolls. Translations will be linked to the transcriptions, and each column of transcribed text will be linked to a photograph of that section of the scroll, enabling the simultaneous study of all three in separate windows on the same screen.

CHURCH SETTLES WITH ABUSE VICTIM

THE *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Church agreed to pay an undisclosed sum to settle a \$1 million civil lawsuit filed by a teenage girl against Church employee Christian Bearnson. Bearnson was convicted of molesting the thirteen-year-old girl in 1992. The jury

The 1994 Brookie & D. K. Brown Memorial

FICTION CONTEST

SUNSTONE ENCOURAGES all interested writers to enter its annual short story contest. Entries must relate in some manner to the experience, theology, or world view of the Latter-day Saints.

All varieties of form are welcome. Stories will be judged by a board of independent judges consisting of noted Mormon authors and professors of literature. Awards will be announced on 20 August 1994 at the Salt Lake City Sunstone symposium banquet; all entrants will be notified of the results by mail. Winning stories will be published in *Sunstone*.

CASH PRIZES up to \$400 per entry will be awarded by the Brown family for two kinds of stories: SHORTSHORTSTORY—less than 1,000 words; SHORTSTORY—less than 6,000 words.

RULES: 1. Authors may submit up to three entries. Entries must be delivered, in triplicate, to the Sunstone Foundation or be postmarked by 1 June 1994. Entries will not be returned. 2. Each story must be typed on one side of 8½ x 11 inch sheets of white paper and be bound by staples only. The author's name should *not* appear on any page of the story. 3. Each entry must be accompanied by a cover letter that states the story's title and the author's name,



address, and telephone number. Each cover letter must be signed and attest that the entry is the author's work, that it has not been published previously, that it is not being considered elsewhere for

publication, that it will not be submitted elsewhere until the contest results have been announced, and that if the entry wins, *Sunstone* has one-time, first-publication rights. Cover letters must also grant permission for the manuscript to be filed in the Sunstone collection at the University of Utah Marriott Library Archives (all literary rights are retained by the author). Sunstone discourages the use of pseudonyms; if one is used, authors must clearly identify their real and pen names and state the reasons for using a pseudonym.

1993 BROOKIE & D. K. BROWN AWARDS: *Sunstone Awards*—Michael Fillerup, "Missionary Farewell" (short short story), and Brady Udall, "Beautiful Places"; *Moonstone Awards*—Phyllis Barber, "The Fiddler and the Wolf," Margaret Young, "Zoo Sounds," Pauline Mortensen, "The Gledhill Foot and the Reflexologist," Carol Quist, "By Their Fruits" (short short story), and Margaret Young, "Project" (short short story).

THE SUNSTONE FOUNDATION: 331 South Rio Grande, Suite 206, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101 (801/355-5926).

had found the twenty-nine-year-old guilty and also held the Church liable for ignoring previous improprieties.

RICKS WANTS MTV BANNED

FIVE YEARS ago, Ricks blocked cable music video channel MTV from airing at on-campus dorms. Now the college would like to ban the station from all off-campus complexes as well. Ric Page, Ricks housing director, told the AP that much of what is seen on MTV would be classified as R-rated by Ricks officials, a breach of the honor code, since watching R- and X-rated productions is not allowed at the college. Some students and apartment managers say Ricks shouldn't be censoring what is seen in students' homes; others say they will stick with the rules and not watch it or allow it in the apartment.

LDS CONGRESSMAN PROMOTES UNITY

IN NOVEMBER, the *Washington Post* ran an article praising Dick Swett, an LDS civic-minded New Hampshire congressman, for distinguishing himself from many of his Capitol Hill peers by promoting what he calls "a sense of community." Two years ago, Swett began the arduous task of raising funds and organizing volunteers to build a playground in one of the District's most infamous drug markets. "Back home, we have what is called barn raising, where everybody pitches in to help a neighbor in distress." The amazing thing: Not only was there no motivating pressure from constituents, but his efforts were directed towards improving the Washington, D.C., area, a congressional rarity. According to the *Post*, had Swett set out to "steal the city blind, he would not have encountered so many arcane rules and regulations thwarting his efforts." Eventually the playground was built, largely through contributors like Vice President Al Gore, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, Brenda Sanchez Architects, and over a hundred others. The *Post* pointed out that building a playground in Montana Terrace didn't get Swett any political points at home, but for the District "he sure does make a good neighbor." The *Post* added, "If this kind of goodwill continues, it'll be just a matter of time before Washington becomes what it should be, a representation of the best that this nation has to offer."

Swett was initially elected to Congress in 1990. In 1992, he was the first New Hampshire Democrat in Congress to win re-election in 120 years. He is married to Katrina Lantos-Swett, a University of California-educated attorney who is now working as a political consultant. They have six children.

CORNWALL RESIGNS FROM BYU POST

MARIE CORNWALL has resigned from her position at BYU's Womens' Research Institute. Cornwall, who was the institute's director for four years, cited funding problems, a heavy administrative and teaching load, and a lack of support outside her college as some of the reasons for her resignation. Cornwall is now doing research on LDS Utah women as part of the Belle S. Spafford endowment chair at the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Utah. Her appointment is for one year.

KINARD FIRED FROM KJZZ

J. SPENCER KINARD was one of twelve employees of KJZZ (a Salt Lake City television station) to lose a job because of cost-cutting restructuring. Kinard, who was the KJZZ assistant general manager for eleven months, previously worked at Church-owned KSL for twenty-five years and was the voice for the weekly broadcast, "Music and the Spoken Word."

NEW BYU MATH/SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

BYU HAS named a new professional association of LDS mathematical and physical scientists after noted Church scholar/scientist James E. Talmage. "Our goal is to develop a sense of community among LDS scientists," said Randall B. Shirts, a BYU chemistry professor and the society's founder. The James E. Talmage Society plans to "publicize awards by LDS scientists, answer questions and publish essays on issues important to LDS scientists, and highlight important research being done by LDS scientists, both at BYU and elsewhere," Shirts said.

OPEN LETTER SUPPORTS BYU ADMINISTRATION

THIRTY-TWO BYU professors and faculty members signed an open letter that supports the university's rank advancement and tenure procedures used to fire assistant professors Cecilia Konchar Farr and David Knowlton. Steve Albrecht, co-author of the letter and director of the school of accountancy and information systems, said the letter was an attempt to represent the opinion of what he considers to be the vast majority of the faculty at BYU. The letter first appeared in the *Universe*, taking up almost half the opinion page. Some students and faculty were upset that the letter ran two days before Christmas break, eliminating the possibility of a timely rebuttal.

SOFTWARE EASES GENEALOGY LOAD

A NEW computer software program is now available that clears ancestral names for temple work in only a couple of days. The program, called TempleReady, works in conjunction with the Church's FamilySearch software. All Church units that have appropriately equipped computers will receive TempleReady.

PRESIDENT HUNTER RESUMES DUTIES



Pres. Howard W. Hunter

PRESIDENT Howard W. Hunter has recovered sufficiently from a May gallbladder surgery to resume his work at the Church Office Building. At eighty-six, President Hunter has "felt well enough to attend his regular meetings and to handle his responsibilities as president of the Council of the Twelve Apostles from his office," Church spokesperson Don LeFevre told the *Tribune*. President Hunter is in line to be the next prophet.

CHURCH PRINTING SITE TO BE RESTORED

THE CHURCH has announced plans to restore a building that housed the shop that printed the first edition of the Book of Mormon. The Grandin building, located in Palmyra, New York, will be closed early this year but should be reopened to visitors in 1995.



1994

MORMON SHORT VIDEO CONTEST

Since the camp classic *Trapped by the Mormons* hit the screen in 1922, Mormons have seen themselves portrayed, for better and worse, from hundreds of different angles. The 1994 Mormon Short Video Contest and Festival gives Latter-day Saints a chance to see themselves from the inside. Video entries must explore the Mormon experience or world view in some general way, but may be in any style or genre.

Imagine "Teenage Mutant Mormon Elders," Barbara Walters interviewing Brigham Young, a lip-sync music video of "Come, Come Ye Saints," "My Dinner with Spencer," "Seminary Tales," "Home Evening Blues," "One day in the life of Hyrum Cannon Smith Young," "The Making of the 5th Ward Roadshow," or even the road show itself.

In a serious vein, how about a documentary about divorced Mormon women, BYU's gay underground, or LDS missionaries in Russia; a dramatization of St. Paul's address on Mars Hill or Joseph's in Liberty Jail; an interview with the Church's youngest bishop or with its best postmodern Mormon philosopher; a youth conference testimony meeting.

What possibilities!—animation, documentary, dance, drama, fantasy, farce, interview, music (hymn) video, musical, mystery, personal essay, roadshow, romance, science fiction, situation comedy, tragedy, variety show, or western.

Finalists' videos will be premiered at the 1994 Mormon Short Video Festival held in conjunction with the 1994 Sunstone Symposium in Salt Lake City, 17-20 August. Winners will be chosen by film and video professionals and by viewers votes at the festival. Each winner will be awarded a cash prize of \$400, and the winning videos and selected finalists' videos will be collected on a videocassette that will be available for purchase from the Sunstone Foundation.

All individuals or groups of individuals are eligible to submit works. Entries must be accompanied by an official entry form (or photocopy) and a \$5 entry fee. All videos must arrive at the Sunstone office by 6 July 1994.

To obtain an official entry form, contact the Sunstone Foundation 331 South Rio Grande Street, Suite 206, Salt Lake City, UT 84101-1136 (801)355-5926; FAX 801/355-4043.

BYU WORKS TO CREATE FOUR-YEAR BACHELOR'S DEGREE

BYU HAS enlisted the help of more than a half-dozen committees to evaluate ways of streamlining its five-year bachelor degree. Among the possibilities considered are limiting most majors to sixty credit hours or less (some are already there, but other majors have bloated to ninety or one hundred credit hours), modifying general education requirements, requiring academic counseling, reducing majors that limit student enrollment, and increasing tuition for those students who take more than ten fall/winter semesters to graduate. One step already taken: Starting in 1995, spring/summer tuition will be cut by \$150 per term as an incentive to get students to enroll.

CHURCH HONORS BISHOP WEIGAND



Bishop William K. Weigand

AFTER THIRTEEN years at the head of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, Bishop William K. Weigand has left to take up new duties as bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Sacramento in California. Prior to his departure more than 800 Salt Lake religious and civic leaders honored him at a banquet. President Thomas S. Monson, second counselor in the First Presidency, was among the seven general authorities in attendance.

"He came as one unknown, then captured our hearts, kindled our faith, and prompted our action," President Monson said. "The spirit of cooperation among those of various faiths in the Salt Lake Valley has never been better."

CABLE STATION REJECTS GODMAKERS II

A WASHINGTON cable television station that operates a community access channel denied a citizen's request to air *Godmakers II* and *Catholicism, Crisis of Faith*. Cox Cable Spokane said it dropped *Godmakers II* upon learning that LDS church members feel it slanders a Mormon leader, distorts Church teachings, and could inspire viewers to hostile acts against the Church. James Roe, the Spokane resident who made the request to air the program, is the director of the Present-Day Saints Ministry. Cox and his wife are the ministry's only members.

CHURCH-SPONSORED NETWORK CHANGES NAME

VISION INTERFAITH SATELLITE NETWORK (VISN), a values-oriented cable television network the Church helped launch in 1988, is changing its name to the "Faith & Values Channel (F&V)." The *LDS Church News* reported that the change is intended to eliminate confusion and better reflect the network's purposes. The F&V Channel is sponsored by fifty-nine different religions and is on the air twenty-four hours a day.

TWO MISSIONARIES KILLED

TWO MISSIONARIES, Matthew Brown of Twin Falls, Idaho, and Christopher Phillips of Salem, Oregon, were killed with Steve Burnham, a local ward member, in a car-train accident. Burnham was

driving the missionaries to an appointment when the accident occurred, officials from the Nebraska Omaha Mission told the AP.

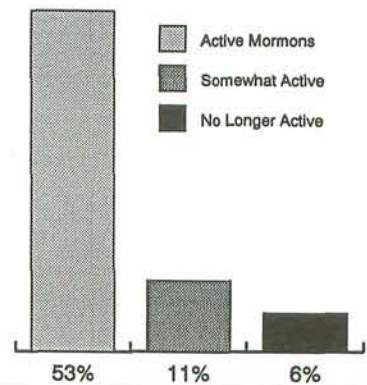
TABERNACLE RESTORATION PLANNED

IF THE Pottawattamie County Mormon Trails Association can match a \$25,000 grant from the Block Family Trust, it will rebuild the LDS tabernacle where Brigham Young was named prophet of the Church. The original building, which was located in what is now Council Bluffs, Iowa, was destroyed because it was built on top of a natural spring. If the project moves forward, the tabernacle will be rebuilt on a different site that has not been named.

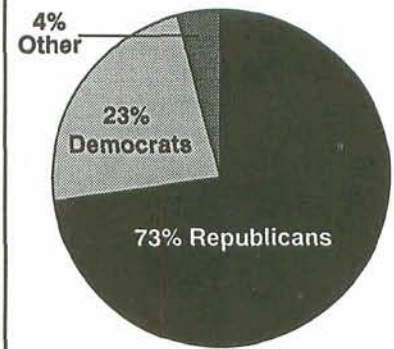
FIFTY-THREE PERCENT OF UTAHNS ACTIVE MORMONS

A DECEMBER poll conducted by Dan Jones & Associates for the *Deseret News* found that 53 percent of Utahns say they are active Mormons, 11 percent say they are somewhat active, and 6 percent say they were raised Mormon, but are no longer active. Using those statistics, 70 percent of Utahns are or were active members of the Church. Jones also found that 73 percent of active Utah Mormons consider themselves Republicans, while just 23 percent of active Mormons say they are Democrats. Jones told the *News* that active Mormons vote more than any other group. "They are well-versed in the issues and know the candidates," he said. "When a candidate's stand conflicts with their religious standards, it is difficult for them to choose." Jones also found that while being a Mormon in Utah politics isn't always necessary, it does help. One survey showed that nearly 80 percent of Utah's House and Senate are active members of the Church, as are four of the five members of the congressional delegation. On the other hand, neither current Salt Lake mayor Deedee Corradini nor former mayor Palmer DePaulis is LDS.

70 Percent of Utahns are or were active members of the Church.



Active Latter-day Saints in politics.



CHURCH STATEMENT DISCOURAGES SELF-AWARENESS GROUPS

AN OFFICIAL LDS church statement expresses concern and strongly discourages member-involvement with "groups that purport to increase self-awareness, raise self-esteem, and enhance individual agency." The statement says some of these groups falsely claim

Church endorsement and use methods that can be harmful. One part of the statement reads: "Church leaders and members should not become involved in self-awareness groups or any other groups that imitate sacred rites or ceremonies. Similarly, members should avoid groups that meet late into the night or encourage open confession or disclosure of personal information normally discussed only in confidential settings."

CHURCH ISSUES STATEMENT ON RELIGION IN PUBLIC LIFE

ANTICIPATING UTAH legislative discussion, the Church has released a statement reaffirming its position on religion in public life:

Under the U.S. Constitution, government must not sponsor religion or coerce the choices of individuals in religious matters. It is equally important that government not be seen as hostile to religion or the religious exercises of its citizens.

The right to free exercise of religion should not be more restrictive in Utah or any other state than it is in the nation as a whole. Religion should continue to have an honorable place in the public life of our nation. There should be no bar to invoking and acknowledging the blessings of Al-

mighty God by prayer in public settings. This, of course, should be done in a manner that respects the voluntary character of prayer and the religious diversity of the community.

Utah debate on the issue was intensified in 1992 when the Supreme Court reversed a Utah 3rd District Court ruling favoring the Society of Separationists, a group which had filed a suit claiming the city acted unconstitutionally when it spent public money to conduct prayers at city council meetings. The high court, taking a position considered middle ground between the Society of Separationists and Salt Lake City, found that governmental neutrality in the use of public money or property upholds the state constitution.

The ruling underlies the fact that the Utah constitution was designed to prevent religious domination in view that the state was settled by Latter-day Saints. However, the ruling states that there is not enough evidence to support a claim that allowing prayers before city meetings would open the way for religious domination.

BYU-HAWAII SEES RECORD GRADUATION

BYU-HAWAII awarded degrees to 140 students from twenty-one countries. The December 1993 graduating class was the largest in the history of the school.

SUNSTONE CALENDAR

THE BROOKIE & D.K. BROWN FICTION CONTEST deadline for short stories (maximum 6,000 words) or short-short stories (maximum 1,000 words) dealing with LDS issues is **1 June 1994**. A total of three entries per person is permitted. Contact: Sunstone Foundation, 331 Rio Grande, Suite 206, Salt Lake City, UT 84101 (801/355-5926).

THE ASSOCIATION FOR MORMON LETTERS has issued a call for papers on *The Boundaries of Mormon Literature*. Papers will be presented during a conjoint session of AML at the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association Annual Meeting, **27-29 October 1994**, at Antlers Doubletree Hotel in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Send abstracts by **1 March 1994** to Susan Howe, Department of English, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY will hold a conference titled "Family Expo: Making the Home a Sanctuary," **4-5 April 1994**. For information and phone registration call BYU Conferences and Workshops at (801) 378-4853.

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE FOR MORMON STUDIES will hold a conference sponsored by the Utah Institute for Biblical Studies **9-11 June 1994** at the Doubletree

Hotel in Salt Lake City, Utah. For further information call (801) 581-1900.

THE MORMON HISTORY ASSOCIATION will hold its annual meeting **19-20 May 1994**, at the Olympia Hotel in Park City, UT. Contact: MHA, P.O. Box 7010, University Station, Provo, UT 84602.

THE MUSEUM OF CHURCH HISTORY AND ART is hosting an exhibit called "Women in the Old Testament" until **6 March 1994**. Another exhibit, named "In the Beginning: Stories from the Old Testament," will run until **12 June 1994**.

BYU WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, an annual event, will be held **28-29 April 1994**.

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN/GREAT PLAINS joint regional meeting of the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature will be hosted by the University of Colorado, Boulder, **22-23 April 1994**. David Rolph Seedy, Dana M. Pike, Daniel C. Peters, and Andrew C. Skinner are the BYU professors scheduled to present papers.

MORMON WOMEN'S FORUM is sponsoring the second annual Counterpoint Conference, **4-5 November 1994**, at the University Park Hotel. Call Lynne Whitesides for more information (801/521-6252).

SUNSTONE CONFERENCES

SUNSTONE SYMPOSIUM WEST will be held **11-12 March 1994** at the Burbank Airport Hilton. Featured speakers include Lavina Fielding Anderson, Trevor Southey, and Carol Lynne Pearson. Contact Kim McCall for a copy of the program (415/327-1887).

WASHINGTON, D.C., SUNSTONE SYMPOSIUM will be held **18-19 March 1994**, at the American University Campus. D. Michael Quinn is scheduled to be one of the featured speakers. Contact Kathy Okerlund for a copy of the program, 1832 Biltmore St. N.W. #B2, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202/797-9113).

1994 SALT LAKE CITY SUNSTONE SYMPOSIUM will be held on **17-20 August 1994**, at the Salt Lake Hilton Hotel. Proposals for papers and panels are now being accepted; featured topics include the growth of the international LDS church, and reflections on the 20-year history of the Sunstone Foundation. Contact the Sunstone Foundation, 331 Rio Grande Street, Suite 206, Salt Lake City, UT 84101 (801/355-5926; fax 801/355-4043).

Sunstone Calendar announcements for events, conferences, contests are printed free of charge.

BECAUSE I HAVE A COPYRIGHT

HYMN 219, which begins, "Because I have been given much, I too must give," is an exception to most hymns in the LDS hymnal because making copies of it, even for noncommercial home or church use, "without written permission of the copyright owner [who is not the LDS church] is prohibited." The hymn's text lauds the spirit of Christian giving by declaring, "I shall divide my gifts from thee With every brother that I see. . . . My glowing fire, my loaf of bread, My roof's safe shelter overhead. . . ." You can have it all—just don't lay a finger on the song.

SCATTERED TRACTS AND A THIRTY PERCENT CHANCE OF A DINNER APPOINTMENT

A LATE-NIGHT television program in Sydney, Australia, poked fun at local missionaries by broadcasting a "weather report" showing their five-day movement. The satirical "Mormon Report" placed cut-out symbols of Mormons, including black-suited elders riding bicycles, rowing boats, and knocking on doors, over a weather map of the country. One forecast: "The state Early Mormon Warning Center expects Mormon Norman to cross the coast early this morning and residents are advised to lock their doors and pretend no one is home." (Salt Lake Tribune, 13 Nov. 1994.)

FEDERAL PROGRAM
LET'S YOU WORK
FROM YOUR HOME
IN YOUR SPARE TIME

SET YOUR OWN HOURS
NO EXPERIENCE
NO TRAINING NEEDED
GUARANTEED INCOME
BE YOUR OWN BOSS

CALL NOW!
713-587-5407 OR
1-800-618-8554

D. & K. ASSOCIATES
6180 HWY. 6 N., STE. 257
HOUSTON, TX 77084



1993 NORTHEAST SUNSTONE SYMPOSIUM

A few of the speakers:

Leonard Arrington
Laurel Thatcher Ulrich
D. Michael Quinn
Carol Lynn Pearson



Order your cassette tapes from the 1993 Northeast Sunstone Symposium. Choose from the below titles and circle the tape numbers on the provided insert card to your left. Checks and money orders are accepted. Send in your order today by mail or by fax, or call the Sunstone office for credit card orders.

- ___ 01 *The Role of Women in Mormon History*, by **Leonard J. Arrington**.
- ___ 02 *The LDS Church's Campaign against the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment*, by **D. Michael Quinn**.
- ___ 03 *Insights into the Personality & Character of Brigham Young*, by **Leonard J. Arrington**.
- ___ 04 *The Favorable Consequences of the Ordination of Women in the LDS Church*, by **M. Scott Fisher**.
- ___ 05 *Inside the Mormon Mind: A Psychotherapist's View of How LDS Religious Beliefs & Culture Affect Mormons*, by **Mark Edward Koltko**.
- ___ 06 *Mormon Women Care-givers: A Model for the Secular World*, by **Judith R. Dushku**.
- ___ 07 *Women's Voices - Women's Validation: Moving Beyond the Priesthood Debate*, by **Karen Farb Tullis**.
- ___ 08 *I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon Baseball Baptism Era*, by **D. Michael Quinn**.
- ___ 09 *Family Sutures*, by **Rebecca Chandler** and comments by **Neal Chandler**.
- ___ 10 *Rites of Passage: A Comparison of the Young Women's & Young Men's Programs*, **panel**: Alison Bethke Gayek, Doug Orton, Karen Farb Tullis, Evette Derr.
- ___ 11 *Balancing Acts: How Thoughtful Mormons Examine their Commitments*, **panel**: Stephen E. Thompson, Frank Gentile, Eileen Lambert, Marti Riley, Leela Coons, Andrew Wilson.
- ___ 12 *Roads & Roadblocks to Mental & Spiritual Health*, **panel**: Clayton Christensen, Mark Edward Koltko.
- ___ 13 *Could Feminism Have Saved the Nephites?* by **Carol Lynn Pearson**.
- ___ 14 *Joseph Smith, the Civil War Prophecy, & the Nullification Crisis of 1832*, by **Jana K. Riess**.
- ___ 15 *The Psychology of Love: A Synthesis of Religious & Scientific Perspectives*, by **Doxey Hatch**.
- ___ 16 *A Gay Mormon Story*, by **Loren Vincent Fay**.
- ___ 17 *The United Order in the Modern World Economy: Capitalist, Communist, or Confused?* by **James W. Lucas**.
- ___ 18 *Revelation*, by **Neal Chandler**.
- ___ 19 *Egyptology & the Book of Abraham*, by **Stephen E. Thompson**.
- ___ 20 *Single Members - Married Church*, **panel**: Toni Christensen, Jenny Atkinson, Clayton Christensen, Elbert Peck.
- ___ 21 *Working Women: A Celebration*, **panel**: Eileen Lambert, Anne Castleton, Lela Coons, Laura Fox, Jeanne Wright.
- ___ 22 *In a Place of Safety*, **panel**: Judith R. Dushku, Mimu Hartila Sloan, Ann Wunderli.
- ___ 23 *Pillars of My Faith: A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*, by **Laurel Thatcher Ulrich**. *Benediction*, by **Neal Chandler**.

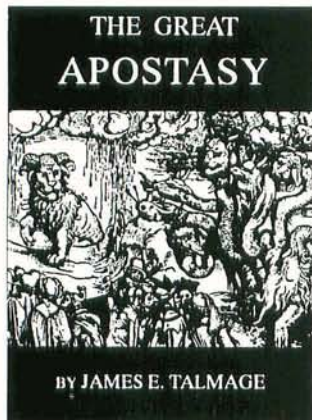
SUNSTONE
331 S. Rio Grande St.
Suite 206
Salt Lake City, UT 84101

Non-Profit
Organization
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Permit No. 38
Fulton, MO 65251

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

NEW RELEASES

from Seagull Book & Tape



THE GREAT APOSTASY

By James E. Talmage

A Classic of LDS literature, Apostle Talmage's book skillfully guides the reader through centuries of corrupt and apostate belief as it explains why it was necessary to restore the true gospel of Christ to the earth. A must for seasoned member and investigator alike.

List price: \$12.95

Sunstone Special Price: \$6.49

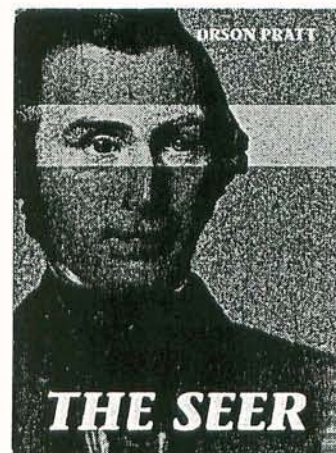
THE SEER

By Apostle Orson Pratt

Often mind-stretching, yet never dull or uninteresting, The Seer contains some of the most creative explanations of selected doctrinal themes ever penned by an LDS apostle. Includes details about celestial marriage, spirit creation, plurality of worlds, and many more. Now available with a new extensive index!

List Price: \$29.95

Sunstone Special Price: \$22.98



TO ORDER CALL: 1-800-999-6257

FAX ORDERS: 1-801-972-3804

MAIL ORDERS: P.O. BOX 26487, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84126

SEAGULL BOOK & TAPE SEAGULL BOOK & TAPE SEAGULL BOOK & TAPE