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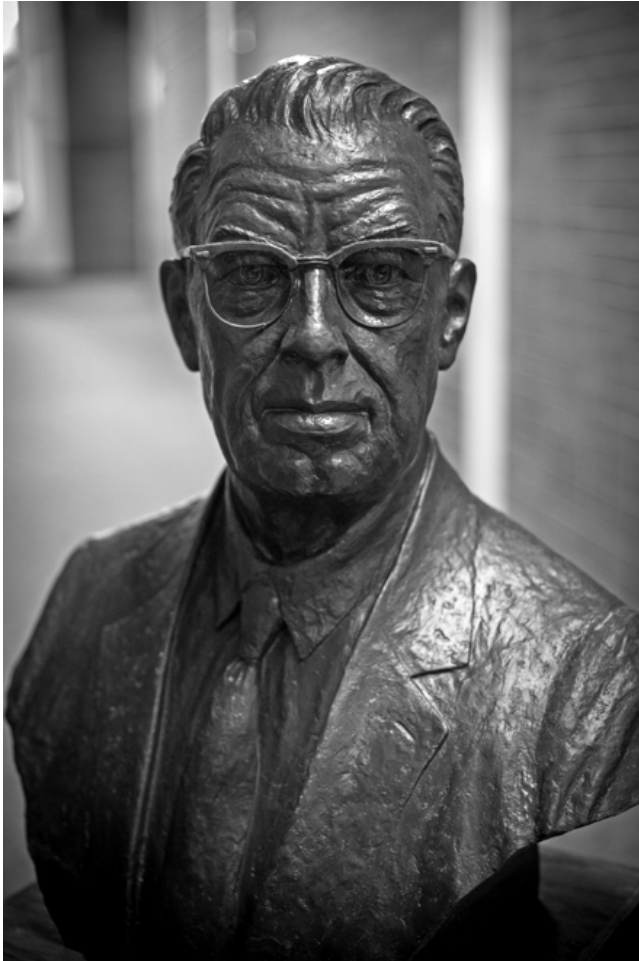
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Bust of Ernest L. Wilkinson, in the J. Reuben Clark Law School building, sculpted in 1982 by Blair Buswell. Photo by Matthew Imbler.

Loyal Opposition

Ernest L. Wilkinson's Role in Founding the BYU Law School

Galen L. Fletcher

The successful founding of the J. Reuben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, is usually told as the story of three Mormon lawyers: Dallin H. Oaks, Rex E. Lee, and Carl S. Hawkins.¹ All three were former clerks to U.S. Supreme Court justices and possessed national reputations in the American legal profession. Oaks was a University of Chicago law professor when asked to be BYU president and start the Law School in 1971.² Lee and Hawkins were the Law School's first two deans.³ All three individuals were crucial to the success of the Law School's beginning and eventual role in facilitating the significant outmigration of LDS lawyers throughout America and the world. They shared the "aspiration that not only would the school be a faithful Mormon institution that competently provided legal education, but that it would also be recognized by the American bench, bar, and academy as outstanding by conventional standards."⁴

This article is the story of a *fourth* outmigrant⁵ Mormon lawyer, one who spent a year and a half in the early 1970s helping to start and hoping to lead a law school at Brigham Young University. He lost the fight to direct the law school, yet remained loyal to the university, the law school, and BYU's sponsoring organization, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The attorney is Ernest L. Wilkinson, best known for being the president of Brigham Young University for twenty years (1951–1971), but not as well known for his role as catalyst for the existence of the J. Reuben Clark Law School. This article discusses the first mention in Wilkinson's papers of a law school at BYU, Wilkinson's work behind the scenes for a year to start it, and his important contributions to the

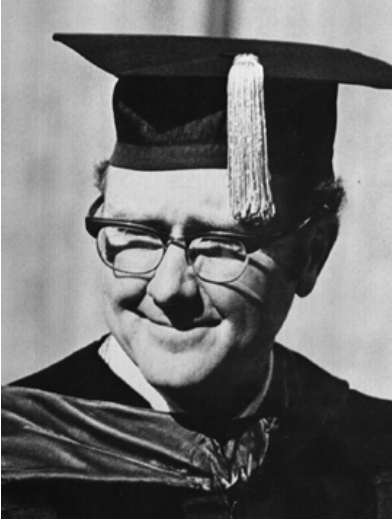
I've been interested in the unique mission and purposes of the BYU Law School for over half of its existence, as a student or an employee. This article grows out of my experience watching how each individual connected to the school contributes to its collective mission and how God uses each of us to create the whole.

On the first day of the BYU Law School in August 1973, the charter class heard three different views on the school's purpose and mission.

First, former BYU President Wilkinson shared his views on the political necessity of studying the constitution. Then, the current BYU President, Dallin H. Oaks, spoke of excellence of mind and character, hard work, and learning the rule of law, before he added, "The special mission of this law school and its graduates will unfold in time." Finally, Marion G. Romney, as the Second Counselor in the LDS First Presidency, counseled the new students to "obtain a knowledge of the laws of man in light of the laws of God."

For the past four decades, the BYU Law School has continued to navigate among divergent views of the law through the lens of politics, the lens of work and professional excellence, or the lens of spiritual conviction. Ernest Wilkinson came up with the idea of a Mormon law school, but his "politically flavored model" was quickly set aside by the actual law school founders, who focused on competence and faithfulness. Despite his disappointment, Wilkinson stayed loyal to the Church, university, and law school, even though he did not get to personally build on his great idea. In doing so, he exemplified the famous observation by the namesake for the BYU Law School, J. Reuben Clark Jr., "In the service of the Lord, it is not where you serve but how."





Acting dean Carl S. Hawkins at the dedication of the BYU Law School building on September 5, 1975. From *Dedication: To Justice, to Excellence, to Responsibility* (1975), page [24].



J. Reuben Clark Jr. in Salt Lake City, January 19, 1960. Photo by Ralph Clark for Lorin F. Wheelwright. This photo hangs in the Moot Court Room of the J. Reuben Clark Law School. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

Law School's early foundation before Oaks, Lee, and Hawkins entered the picture. This article uses Wilkinson's diaries and personal papers⁶ to tell the story of the J. Reuben Clark⁷ Law School founding *prior* to its March 9, 1971, public announcement, with an emphasis on contributions by Wilkinson which are not generally known or mentioned in most BYU Law School histories.

Wilkinson before 1970

Ernest L. Wilkinson's background uniquely positioned him as a catalyst for the Law School's start. Known for his industrious work ethic, Wilkinson was born in 1899; grew up in Ogden, Utah; was student body president at Weber Academy in 1917–18; and was on the debate team at Brigham Young University. Later, he migrated east, where he graduated summa cum laude from George Washington Law School and earned an advanced law degree from Harvard Law School in 1927. He then worked full time in a downtown New York City law firm headed by future U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Charles Evan Hughes while simultaneously teaching classes five nights a week at the nation's then-largest law school, the predecessor to Rutgers Law School in Newark, New Jersey.



Family portrait of Ernest L. and Alice Wilkinson at the time he became BYU President in 1951. *Left to right: Alice, Marian, Alice Ann, Douglas (in front), Ernest Ludlow (E. L.), David, and Ernest.* Photo by Glogau Studio, Washington, D.C. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

Wilkinson's Sundays were also busy as he served as a local LDS Church leader in Manhattan and then Queens, New York. In 1935, he moved his family to Washington, D.C., where he was a law partner, then law firm founder successfully handling Indian law and other cases for many years. He gained experience working with various federal agencies, pushed to create the Indian Claims Commission, and in the late 1940s personally made over a million dollars in a set of cases involving reparations to the Ute Indians by the federal government. His church service continued as he served in the Washington, D.C., stake presidency and used his legal talents pro bono to help the LDS Church in its interactions with government regulations, particularly during World War II.⁸

From 1951 to 1971, Wilkinson was president of the LDS Church-sponsored Brigham Young University. His BYU presidential years coincided with David O. McKay's tenure as ninth LDS Church President and Joseph Fielding Smith as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, both from 1951 to 1970.⁹ Wilkinson aggressively expanded the BYU campus during his two decades as president, increasing enrollment from 4,000 to 25,000 full-time students and full-time professors from 250 to 930, with an equivalent growth in the buildings on campus, student housing, number of doctorates held by BYU professors, and

the number of colleges and departments at the university. He was very proud that BYU became the largest private university in the country in 1965.¹⁰

Ernest L. Wilkinson did not see himself primarily as an academic, although he had taught part time at New Jersey Law School for five years after earning his law degrees from George Washington and Harvard. His focus was on hard work, excellence, and avoiding evil, and he centralized decision making at BYU under his personal control to those ends. Rarely taking a break, even on Sundays, he worked twelve-hour days seven days a week in order to personally handle the major and minor issues of running the quickly growing university. In his interactions with BYU professors, Wilkinson gravitated toward hierarchical relationships rather than collegial ones, although he was very well connected to like-minded LDS professionals across the country.

He resigned his position as BYU president for a short time in 1964 when he barely won the Utah Republican nomination for U.S. Senator in April. Amid the national unrest following U.S. President John F. Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, the Utah and national Republican political parties became bitterly divided between conservatives (like Wilkinson and presidential candidate Barry Goldwater) and moderate-liberals. Wilkinson and most Republicans lost in the November 1964 general election amid a Democratic landslide, with Lyndon Johnson leading the largest popular vote for president in U.S. history. Wilkinson was soon reinstated as BYU president, but he smarted over various university employees who had publicly opposed his Senate campaign. He then organized a group of students to spy on BYU professors who differed from his own conservative political views, but he waffled on accepting responsibility for the resulting scandal.¹¹ Wilkinson continued in office despite some opposition, making certain as late as July 1969 that his support from an aging President McKay continued.¹² Wilkinson relied on President McKay to buffer his interactions with another senior LDS Church leader, Elder Harold B. Lee, who often strongly differed with Wilkinson on educational philosophies and approaches.¹³

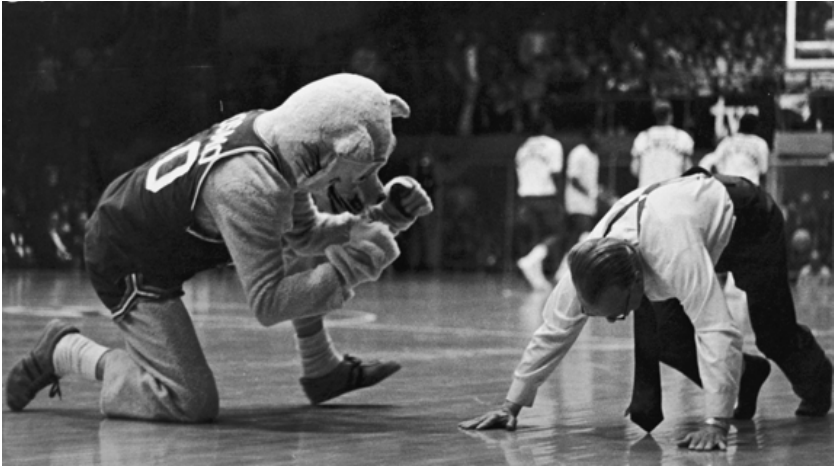
As BYU president, Wilkinson dealt directly with various interrelated groups of leadership within BYU's sponsoring institution, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, headquartered forty-five miles north of BYU in Salt Lake City, Utah. The Church's senior decision-making body was the First Presidency, which consisted of the President of the Church as well as his counselors and which also made final decisions for all of the LDS Church. The next group was the Board

of Trustees of Brigham Young University, which consisted of senior LDS General Authorities (including members of the Council of Twelve Apostles, the general Relief Society president, the Presiding Bishop, and others). The board of trustees was the legal decision-making organization overseeing BYU operations and, for most of Wilkinson's time as BYU president, also overlapped with the LDS Church Board of Education, which oversaw BYU and all LDS Church schools, institutes, and seminaries. A final group was the executive committee within the BYU board of trustees, which made recommendations to the full board on most administrative and policy matters involving Brigham Young University.¹⁴ Elder Joseph Fielding Smith was a strong supporter of BYU while he served as chair of this executive committee during the 1950s and 1960s,¹⁵ which post he resigned when he became the LDS Church's tenth President in January 1970 upon the death of David O. McKay.

The Spark

In May 1969, Ernest L. Wilkinson turned seventy years old. Two months later he had prostate surgery in Arizona,¹⁶ hoping to conceal his condition from people in Utah. He kept up the appearance of good health, worked out daily and even did many push-ups on demand when students would see him at BYU sporting events. He would later say that health was a factor in deciding to resign as BYU president in 1971 and that the change in LDS Church leadership with the passing of President McKay in early 1970 was another reason he considered retirement.¹⁷ The real spark, however, seems to have been the idea of a law school at BYU. As much as Wilkinson enjoyed serving as BYU president, the possibility of creating and leading a Mormon law school was a strong enough incentive for him to begin preparations for a postpresidential career.

Early Sunday morning, January 18, 1970, Wilkinson was home when he was telephoned the news that President McKay had died.¹⁸ He attended McKay's funeral on Thursday, January 22, and wrote a letter to ninety-three-year-old Joseph Fielding Smith the following Wednesday, January 28, congratulating him on becoming Church President and pledging his continued support as BYU president.¹⁹ A week later, on Wednesday morning, February 4, 1970, the reorganized BYU board of trustees had what Wilkinson called in his diary a "meeting [that] as a whole was harmonious and we made real progress."²⁰ That progress included a discussion about an already proposed political science-related Clark Institute at BYU,²¹ which led to a crucial conversation



Ernest L. Wilkinson does forty-seven push-ups at a BYU home basketball game on March 2, 1964, while the BYU mascot, Cosmo the Cougar, counts. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

about a law school in the afternoon. In the first favorable mention in Wilkinson's diary of a BYU law school, he credits his friend Gordon Affleck²² with the idea:

On the question also of the J. Reuben Clark Institute he [Elder Harold B. Lee] wanted time to talk this over with the Clark family and also with Marion Romney and Gordon Affleck. I am sure they would be in favor of something of this kind, so in the afternoon I talked confidentially to Gordon Affleck. He proposed we ought to have a law school here dedicated to the views of J. Reuben Clark. This pleased me very very much so I told him to see what he could do to get it. This of course is very confidential.²³

Wilkinson wrote "very" twice, showing that the possibility of a BYU law school was getting his serious attention. Although there are some passing references earlier in BYU's history to a potential law school in Provo, Utah, this suggestion by Affleck to Wilkinson sparked a series of behind-the-scenes events leading to the present J. Reuben Clark School of Law.

Affleck and Wilkinson kept this conversation so confidential that no BYU or BYU Law School history mentions it. Instead, one history points to another event two months later as a significant beginning. That event was a dinner organized by Wilkinson and his youngest child, Douglas, a

first-year law student, at the Lion House in Salt Lake City for sixty-five former BYU undergraduates then attending the University of Utah Law School.²⁴ Wilkinson's diary mentions the April 16, 1970, dinner as a "very successful affair," with LDS Apostles and former lawyers Marion G. Romney and Howard W. Hunter also attending. While Wilkinson wrote that "we were all delighted with the party,"²⁵ Romney's diary painted a bleaker picture when writing about the three law school representatives asked to talk at the dinner about how BYU prepared them for law school:

To my surprise and disappointment, two of the three were notably critical of their training at BYU. They had not been, so they said, conditioned to think and find the answers for themselves. . . . The so-called protective atmosphere at BYU had, so I understood them to feel, put them at a disadvantage at law school. Not one referred to the distinctive training BYU is maintained to give.

From no one of them did I obtain the slightest indication that they had left BYU morally fortified to deal with the toils of the law.²⁶

Reading between the lines, it appears that Wilkinson set up the University of Utah Law School dinner in order to show Romney and Hunter firsthand the impact of a growing anti-Mormon (and antireligious) bias at the state-sponsored law school.²⁷ Romney was not one to make hasty decisions or be manipulated by others, yet seeing the returned missionaries and future Mormon lawyers from the law school speaking poorly of their LDS Church-funded college education was disappointing to the Apostle. Romney later said one of his motivations for pushing for the BYU Law School was to honor J. Reuben Clark Jr.,²⁸ particularly if those individuals would follow the example of Clark, who "provided a model of the positive impact that the study of law could have on those with deep religious



Marion G. Romney giving the dedicatory address and prayer for the J. Reuben Clark Law School building on September 5, 1975. He was Second Counselor in the LDS First Presidency at the time. Courtesy Church History Library.

faith.”²⁹ For Romney, the Law School’s foundation would be built more on emulating Clark’s religious and legal strengths than Clark’s conservative political views, something Wilkinson and Romney would discuss many times over the next two years.

Law School Preliminaries, Secret Resignation, and LDS Education Commissioner

Wilkinson’s indirect push for a law school at BYU continued after the law student dinner, when, a week later, on April 23, the BYU board of trustee’s executive committee—with Romney as a member—referred the proposed Clark Institute to the full board of trustees without discussion.³⁰ Nine days later, on Saturday, May 2, 1970, Wilkinson “had a conference early in the morning in Salt Lake with Elder Marion G. Romney with respect to the J. Reuben Clark Institute for Human Dignity and the ‘new school year.’”³¹ Four days later, on Wednesday, May 6, the BYU board of trustees discussed the institute but decided to spend “additional time in which to study the proposal.”³² Whether Wilkinson and Romney first talked about creating a law school at BYU at this time is not recorded. It may have been in the context of the law student dinner, but more likely was at their May 2 conference on the “Institute.” (Despite Wilkinson’s diary saying he and Romney talked about the Clark *Institute*, it could have been about a Clark *Law School*, since Wilkinson sometimes purposely obscured details in his diary, which was dictated by him and typed by secretaries.)

A greater question is whether Wilkinson and Romney talked about Wilkinson’s trading his BYU presidential post for a law school one. It also appears that the LDS First Presidency (primarily the two counselors, Harold B. Lee and N. Eldon Tanner) became involved at this point with an unwritten agreement in mid-June 1970 to allow Wilkinson to retire from being BYU president when the law school proposal was far enough along to become a reality. At the same time, they added an additional level of oversight for Wilkinson by giving him a boss, the brand-new LDS Church commissioner of education, Neal A. Maxwell. The strong connection between the BYU Law School’s preliminary approval, Wilkinson’s secret resignation, and Maxwell’s hiring comes from the very close timing of the three events on three days, June 17–19, 1970. Romney’s biographer³³ explains, in part:

In June 1970, in a meeting with Harold B. Lee and N. Eldon Tanner, Brother Romney’s counsel about the organization of the Church



LDS Church Commissioner of Education Neal A. Maxwell (*left*) and LDS Church President Harold B. Lee. The two worked closely together on education issues for the LDS Church. Photo taken in Boston in 1972. Courtesy of the Maxwell family.

Education System was requested. He recommended Neal Maxwell for commissioner of education and for the first time talked with the First Presidency about a BYU law school in honor of President Clark. Marion reported, “they seemed favorable; at least they did not say no.”

The following day he had a discussion with President Ernest Wilkinson of the university. He told him that he intended to substitute a motion that the law school be established at BYU in honor of President Clark instead of an Institute on Human Dignity that had been proposed previously.³⁴

Assuming Romney’s meeting with Lee and Tanner was Wednesday, June 17, the stage was set the next day, June 18, for Romney to recommend the J. Reuben Clark Law School to the BYU executive committee, and the following day, Friday, June 19, for the First Presidency to accept Wilkinson’s secret resignation letter (effective August 31, 1971, but later changed³⁵) and to publicly appoint Maxwell as Church Education Commissioner (effective August 1, 1970).

At the June 18, 1970, meeting of the executive committee of the BYU board of trustees, Romney recommended that the BYU administration

(meaning Wilkinson) study the feasibility of a law school at BYU named for J. Reuben Clark Jr. This motion by Romney was made as a substitute for the political science–related institute which was currently under consideration. The executive committee accepted Romney’s motion and decided to take the matter to the full BYU board of trustees at a later meeting.³⁶ President Harold B. Lee was aware of Romney’s proposal at this executive committee meeting and, as the member of the First Presidency in charge of education for the LDS Church,³⁷ gave his support to the measure, helping insure its acceptance.

The entire LDS First Presidency (Joseph Fielding Smith and his counselors Lee and Tanner) were present the next day when Wilkinson gave them his handwritten confidential letter of resignation. Wilkinson knew that his letter would become public to the rest of the BYU board of trustees at some point in the future, so his only stated reason for resigning was the change in the LDS First Presidency. He did ask for an effective date of the end of BYU’s next fiscal year, or August 31, 1971, for three specific reasons: “This will give you ample time to deliberate upon the selection of a new President (2) permit me to consummate certain matters now in process of being completed, and (3) permit the orderly closing of the financial affairs of the University as of the end of that fiscal period . . . financially as well as academically.”³⁸ It is likely that the Law School planning was one of the “certain matters now in process of being completed.” Since Wilkinson wrote “in long hand so that not even [his] secretaries [would] know about it”³⁹ and he asked that it remain confidential, his papers do not provide any additional clues to his thinking at the time.

Almost immediately after Wilkinson submitted his resignation, the three members of the First Presidency met with Neal A. Maxwell in a very short interview and asked him to serve as Church commissioner of education, to report to them, and, in turn, to become Wilkinson’s direct line supervisor.⁴⁰ Maxwell was also charged with overseeing all of the LDS Church’s educational affairs, including other schools and college-level institutes of religion and high school seminaries. At the time of his appointment, Maxwell was a former political science professor and highly regarded University of Utah administrator in charge of all of the university’s nonacademic functions. He had developed a strong bond prior to this time with Elder Harold B. Lee, who saw Maxwell as a respected scholar and Christian disciple.⁴¹ He was the first Church commissioner of education to oversee a BYU president, as prior ones had generally been in charge of Church education except BYU. The one other exception was Wilkinson himself, who held the office jointly



Jay W. Butler, who served as assistant to BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson from 1970 to 1971 with preliminary work for the BYU Law School. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

with his BYU presidency up until his failed Senate run in 1964.⁴²

Jay W. Butler, Assistant to Ernest L. Wilkinson for Special Assignments

President Ernest L. Wilkinson took his next concrete step toward the J. Reuben Clark Law School on July 16, 1970, when he asked BYU ancient scripture instructor Jay W. Butler to spend “half his time assisting me in administrative matters for the coming [academic] year.”⁴³ Butler was a Utah native and Columbia Law School graduate⁴⁴—like Affleck and Clark—who would spend the next year doing much of the supporting legwork for Wilkinson researching multiple issues involved in starting a law

school. Personally hired by Wilkinson three years previously, Butler later observed that his early 1967 recruitment carried with it an unspoken promise of some future work beyond teaching religion classes and that Wilkinson insisted that Butler’s fall 1970 appointment was “the assignment for which he had brought [Butler] to the University.”⁴⁵ By August 25, Butler had compiled a four-page draft memo on the need and feasibility of a BYU law school.⁴⁶ This information was helpful two weeks later, when the full BYU board of trustees confidentially agreed to the executive committee’s June 18 recommendation to “authorize the University Administration to make a study of the possibilities of establishing a law school at Brigham Young University.”⁴⁷ By the end of September, Butler was talking to Gordon Affleck about the Law School, and Wilkinson wrote that Neal A. Maxwell was “most anxious that we proceed as fast as we can on this,” adding “while he’s in the mood I would certainly like to oblige him.”⁴⁸

Despite such anxiety, little was done until mid-November, when Wilkinson was on one of his many trips to his law firm in Washington, D.C., and began to plan for the next approval stage. Wilkinson had Butler talk privately to the deans of two new law schools (Hofstra and the

University of California at Davis) and the director of the Association of American Law Schools about the costs of a building and law library. Butler also gathered application figures from the University of Utah Law School for the prior four years.⁴⁹ The next day, on November 20, 1970, Wilkinson and Maxwell “met with Elder Marion Romney with respect to the matter of obtaining official consent to the formation of a law school—to be presented to the Board of Trustees. In our presence Brother Romney phoned President [Harold B.] Lee and obtained consent from him to bring it up at the board of trustees meeting on December 2nd.”⁵⁰

By this time, Butler’s feasibility study memo was nine pages long, covering factors such as the recent increased demand for law students (in Utah and nationally), accreditation agencies, and cost projections for building, library, and staff.⁵¹ The start-up costs of a decent law school building stumped Wilkinson, Butler, and other BYU officials in weekend and day-after-Thanksgiving meetings as they wrestled with how to cheaply remodel existing facilities such as the relatively small Grant or Maeser Buildings on campus.⁵² Not until Monday, November 30, 1970, while driving to Salt Lake City to meet with Butler, Maxwell, and Dee Andersen (secretary to the BYU board of trustees), did Wilkinson decide to “boldly ask for a new law school building” despite financial concerns.⁵³

Provisional BYU Board of Trustees Approval

Wilkinson was supported by Maxwell⁵⁴ in asking for a new building as part of asking for formal approval to establish the Law School at both the December 1 meeting of the executive committee of the BYU board of trustees⁵⁵ and the December 2 meeting of the full board. In addition, Wilkinson’s proposal had Romney’s strong support: “Elder Romney called Brother Maxwell . . . aside and told him, ‘I want to build a law school at BYU in honor of J. Reuben Clark, and I want you to help me.’”⁵⁶ The board gave provisional approval to establishing a BYU Law School but asked that Maxwell and Wilkinson first explore American Bar Association (ABA) accreditation standards and Association of American Law Schools (AALS) rules to insure no problems with the Law School would negatively impact other BYU colleges and departments. The main areas of concern were blacks being denied the Mormon priesthood and non-Mormons paying more than Mormons for tuition. Other accreditation agencies had found these two issues not to be problems with undergraduates at BYU, but the question was how law school regulators would view them, particularly with the recent

AALS rule change requiring nondiscrimination in law school employment and admissions.⁵⁷ In light of recent negative publicity and protests against the LDS Church's religious policies concerning blacks,⁵⁸ the board of trustees classified the Law School proposal as confidential and did not even include the matter in its regular minutes (relying on confidential memos instead).⁵⁹

Dallin H. Oaks's Early Involvement

When considering how best to approach the American Bar Association, Wilkinson realized that the executive director of the American Bar Foundation was a BYU graduate, Dallin H. Oaks.⁶⁰ Wilkinson telephoned and wrote an overnight airmail letter to Oaks asking him about ABA accreditation, but mostly about AALS membership criteria in the areas of tenure, autonomy, and faculty control of appointment and dismissal of faculty matters.⁶¹ Oaks talked to Wilkinson, then wrote back the next day, Wednesday, December 16, 1970, with information on ABA accredited and AALS member law schools, as well as telling Wilkinson about Professor Millard H. Ruud, the ABA consultant on accrediting law schools.⁶²

Five days later, Jay Butler was in Ruud's office in Austin, Texas, where the two spent a few hours going over a potential BYU law school. Butler asked directly about the impact of the Mormon doctrine on blacks and the priesthood, as well as the tuition differences for Mormons and non-Mormons, while Ruud focused on the impact each would have on the Law School's admissions policies. "[Ruud] gave it as his opinion that so long as there is no racial or religious bias in [BYU Law School's] admissions policy and so long as there is an economic justification for the tuition differential[,] these present no obstacle to accreditation."⁶³ Ruud wanted to confirm this with Maximilian W. Kempner, chair of the Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar of the ABA, and called him right then. Kempner agreed with Ruud, and the two of them suggested to Butler that BYU appear before the ABA Council of Legal Education at their winter meeting in Chicago seven weeks later, on February 4 and 5, 1971. Ruud then suggested BYU appear before the AALS at its meeting also in Chicago on February 2 and 3.

Butler's purpose in visiting Ruud was to find any potential roadblocks: "After further discussion I asked Professor Ruud how strongly I could assure our Board of Trustees of our accreditation. He replied that based on what I had told him he thought I could be 'very positive.'



Dallin H. Oaks in his University of Chicago Law School office in May 1971. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

I asked if he thought that would be true of the A.A.L.S. as well as the A.B.A. He said he was sure that it would.”⁶⁴

Butler returned to Utah and telephoned Oaks on December 23 about Millard Ruud appearing before the ABA and AALS on behalf of BYU. Oaks gave his suggestions on dealing with the decision makers, the tuition differential, and the priesthood and blacks issue: “Less said about Negro-Priesthood issue the better—let them raise the question.” Oaks also gave his opinion about Wilkinson not attending the meetings: “Because of [Wilkinson’s] conservative political reputation it would be best for someone else to go if an appearance must be made.”⁶⁵ Oaks followed up by writing Wilkinson about (1) tenure requirements, (2) AALS membership (“valuable and prestigious, but not crucial”), (3) ABA accreditation (mandatory), and (4) tuition differential based on religion (AALS)—“In my conversation with Jay Butler I alerted him to my concern that you may encounter resistance from the AALS group if the BYU policy of charging higher tuition to non-members also applies to its law school.”⁶⁶

Wilkinson stewed over this information for a little while, and on the last day of the year “had a long conference with [BYU Vice President] Bob Thomas with respect to whether we should try to get a preliminary

hearing before committees of the American Bar Association and also the Association of American Law Schools, as to the requirements for a law school, when as a matter of fact they had no authority of any kind for any declaratory judgment.”⁶⁷ Wilkinson was frustrated with being pushed into getting ABA and AALS preapproval and eventually decided with Butler to deal only with the required ABA and wait on the optional AALS.⁶⁸ He knew from many years of working with the federal bureaucracies in Washington, D.C., where to put his efforts.

Wilkinson also felt comfortable enough with Ruud’s reassurances to take the information to the BYU board of trustees in Salt Lake City in very cold weather on January 6, 1971. Wilkinson wrote in his diary, “We got consent to organize a law school subject only to making sure that the meeting of the Legal Council of the ABA, to be held in Chicago in February, does not indicate any severe disfavor because of either our differential in tuition or our priesthood doctrine and the Negro.”⁶⁹

Butler and Wilkinson followed Oaks’s advice and submitted a written letter asking for clarification from the ABA Council of the Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar about the two issues, to which Ruud added a covering memorandum. All three (Butler, Ruud, and Wilkinson) attended the general AALS and ABA meetings in Chicago in early February, but only Ruud attended the ABA Council meeting where BYU’s questions were discussed. The council determined that “the Negro Doctrine of the Mormon Church” would not be a bar to BYU having a law school, and that a tuition differential based upon LDS Church membership was a question to be determined after the school was in operation and not before.⁷⁰

What’s Next?

With all of the preliminary obstacles out of the way, Wilkinson was ready for the next phase. On Wednesday afternoon, February 10, 1971, he met with Neal A. Maxwell and two members of the LDS First Presidency (Harold B. Lee and N. Eldon Tanner) about (1) the Law School, (2) the ABA Education Committee, and (3) Wilkinson’s role in planning the Law School.⁷¹ Thus began a series of meetings over the next month between Wilkinson, Maxwell, Lee, and Tanner about Wilkinson’s future. His resignation would be announced on March 9, 1971, and yet in his diary he referred to these issues generically even as late as March 3 as “the preparation of a statement to be made by the First Presidency with respect to the establishment of a law school, etc., at the BYU.”⁷² His dissimulation extended in part to his own self and his strong desires

to be the new Law School's founding dean and not being willing to recognize that Lee did not want Wilkinson in that post.⁷³

This time of transition was not just for Wilkinson. Butler would still have plenty of Law School-related planning work to do for the next few months, but Wilkinson knew Butler wanted to return to complete his studies at Oxford University in England. As such, on February 23, while in Salt Lake City for one of his many meetings with Lee and Tanner, Wilkinson approached Bruce Hafen, who BYU Vice President Robert K. Thomas had suggested might have a "desire to come to the BYU."⁷⁴ Wilkinson contacted Hafen again on June 18 about taking Butler's place as assistant to the president. Hafen was a 1967 University of Utah Law School graduate working at a Salt Lake City law firm but interested in an academic career.⁷⁵ Eventually, Dallin H. Oaks, Wilkinson's replacement as BYU president, personally hired Hafen as assistant to the president, and Oaks and Hafen both began working at BYU on August 1, 1971. Oaks assigned Hafen, among other duties, the task of continuing the preparatory work that Butler had begun—but as Oaks's assistant, not Wilkinson's.

Even as the special assistant, Butler did not know about Wilkinson's pending resignation from being university president. Instead, his focus continued to be on the Law School, its faculty, and facilities. In mid-February, Butler spent two days at the University of Utah law library researching the published works of six LDS legal scholars who were potential Law School deans.⁷⁶ He also talked to the dean of the University of Utah Law School, Samuel D. Thurman, who had been told about the potential BYU Law School a few weeks earlier.⁷⁷ Butler's talking to the ABA consultant Ruud and others alerted him to the need to get a building constructed before the Law School's planned start date of fall 1973. He suggested on March 4 that Wilkinson retain an architect and then have the architect travel with a group to several other law schools with new



Bruce C. Hafen, BYU Law School's first assistant dean (1970–78) and later dean (1985–89). Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

buildings.⁷⁸ Butler also pointed out another hurdle, the lack of any qualified Mormon law librarians.⁷⁹

Wilkinson's eyes were on the Law School rather than his BYU president successor, so he may not have focused too much on the selection committee recently organized from the combined board of trustees for BYU and the Church Board of Education. This committee, chaired by Marion G. Romney (with members Boyd K. Packer, Marion D. Hanks, and Neal A. Maxwell), picked the new presidents of Ricks College (announced February 2, 1971), the Church College of Hawaii (April 21, 1971), and Brigham Young University (May 4, 1971).⁸⁰ Then, in an unusual move, the same committee was charged with selecting the founding dean of the BYU Law School.⁸¹ LDS Church leaders had Romney's committee make the choice, since they felt the position was on a par with the leadership of the three major Church schools and, in ways that were magnified in the future, began the process of reducing Wilkinson's personal control over the Law School from the very start. Although Wilkinson was added as a member of the committee when it came time to select BYU's law school dean (along with Dallin Oaks and Apostle and former attorney Howard W. Hunter), he was not the committee's chair and was one among five law school-educated members of the seven-member committee.⁸²

Law School Announcement Day and Wilkinson's Resignation from BYU President (March 9, 1971)

Wilkinson confided in his diary about his resignation only the day before it happened.⁸³ On March 9, 1971, the full BYU board of trustees held an early morning meeting in Salt Lake City, where his resignation was announced to the surprise of several members.⁸⁴ Then, President Harold B. Lee traveled to Provo, where at a large meeting of the faculty and students of BYU, Lee announced Wilkinson's retirement and also the future creation of the J. Reuben Clark Law School: "And this college [will] be opened probably in the fall of 1973 or as other conditions may dictate, with President Wilkinson [who] will remain and play a major role in the planning of that new college." Lee talked about J. Reuben Clark Jr.'s legal career and study of international and constitutional law, then asked rhetorically, "Where else, but on this campus, should we be concerned about having a school of law where we can train lawyers who will defend the Constitution of the United States[?]" He added, in significant terms for the outmigration of Mormon lawyers, "If we can train



Left to right: Ernest L. Wilkinson, Harold B. Lee, and Alice Wilkinson, at the announcement of President Wilkinson's resignation and the creation of a law school at Brigham Young University, March 9, 1971. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

lawyers who are soundly based in the Constitution, it will be a long step forward in our judgment in helping to send out into the world men who will uphold and take their place in defending and protecting the basis of the foundation of this great United States of America.”⁸⁵ Wilkinson and his wife, Alice, also spoke with fondness for their twenty years of BYU service, with Ernest Wilkinson emphasizing he was not retiring but resigning to take over a new post—starting the Law School.⁸⁶

Wilkinson's Lame-Duck Presidency (March to July 1971)

Slowing down was definitely not in Wilkinson's plans, although the more he pushed his leaders regarding the Law School, the more he found himself boxed in. Used to being in sole control of the university for twenty years, he was unaccustomed to being a team player with the other Law School creators. Wilkinson continued to lead the university, but most of his attention was on the next big steps for the Law School, the dean, professors, and physical facilities, and increasingly on defining his new role. On March 17, he and other LDS Church leaders met with

University of Utah's law school dean, Sam Thurman, at a meeting set up by Neal A. Maxwell, about the state's second law school.⁸⁷ At the end of March, Wilkinson and his wife went to the Salt Lake airport to pick up Woodruff "Woody" J. Deem, who gave the BYU forum assembly speech on Thursday, March 25.⁸⁸ Deem was a county district attorney in southern California, a former employee in Wilkinson's law firm, and would be a future BYU law professor.⁸⁹ In April, Wilkinson sent public letters to all the attorneys in Utah and private letters to all the LDS bishops in the United States asking for suggestions and names of potential BYU law professors,⁹⁰ and then spent time sorting through and replying to their responses.⁹¹ Wilkinson wanted experienced practitioners teaching basic law at the school rather than academics using the legal classroom for social science or multidisciplinary explorations. He searched for "conservative" faculty members who believe that [their] mission is to teach law and not propaganda."⁹²

After Dallin H. Oaks's appointment as BYU president was announced in early May, he and Wilkinson shared notes on potential professors and deans, both quickly realizing that the number of nationally well-respected lawyers or law professors who were also committed Mormons was relatively few.⁹³ In one memo from Butler to Wilkinson about a meeting with Oaks in late May, Wilkinson appended a handwritten note to himself with the mark of an "X" before the names of three of twenty-two potential law professors. At the bottom of the page, he included the notation, "X Would command instant respect in teaching Professors." (The highlighted names were Carl S. Hawkins, Rex E. Lee, and Arvo Van Alstyne.)⁹⁴ Wilkinson focused on the political views⁹⁵ of the potential deans and professors and became alarmed when Marion G. Romney in mid-May authorized him "to go ahead and make a study of all possible faculty appointees, including a prospective Dean," but *not* to have the whole selection committee follow Wilkinson's plan of studying "all of the speeches of President [J. Reuben] Clark so that we would know that the new faculty and in particular the Dean shared President Clark's viewpoint."⁹⁶

In the midst of the dean search on April 7, 1971, Wilkinson met "with Brother Hunter and later with Brother Romney, from which it was evident that what I am to do with respect to the Law School is very ill-defined and uncertain."⁹⁷ From the start, Wilkinson faced decreased reliance by LDS Church leaders on his outdated legal education expertise with the selection on March 27 of Oaks, an experienced legal academic and former acting dean of the highly regarded University of Chicago



Architectural drawing of the J. Reuben Clark Law School building at BYU (1972), designed by the firm Fetzer & Fetzer. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

Law School.⁹⁸ Oaks was also thirty-three years younger than Wilkinson, who turned seventy-two on May 4, 1971. The First Presidency and BYU board of trustees were turning to Oaks on the Law School's future, while reducing Wilkinson's scope of influence. By the end of June, Wilkinson would have a one-page "Ground Rules and Guidelines for the Role of Ernest L. Wilkinson in Connection with the Creation of the J. Reuben Clark College of Law" written up by Maxwell and cleared by Oaks.⁹⁹

Wilkinson had more success initially with pushing forward the preliminary plans for the Law School building. Much of the eventual design of the Law School building was already in place by the end of July because Wilkinson energetically pushed to have the building on track to be planned, built, and ready by the first day of classes two years later. He had the BYU physical plant draw up plans by March 23 for the proposed (and eventually final) law building location on the east side of campus.¹⁰⁰ He selected the architectural firm Fetzer & Fetzer—who also planned the Ogden and Provo LDS temples—and sent them in April with various BYU representatives to nine recently constructed law school buildings across the country.¹⁰¹ Also in April, he secured board of trustees approval for the size of the building (which included space for three LDS student wards in addition to regular law school functions).¹⁰² His final act as BYU president was to sign the architectural contract with Fetzer & Fetzer on his last day in office, Saturday, July 31, 1971.¹⁰³

Dean Selection and Open-Heart Surgery

Wilkinson moved into another office on the west side of campus, and on Wednesday, August 4, received Maxwell's letter with "Ground Rules for the Selection of the Dean." He chafed at the restrictions¹⁰⁴ but continued making appointments for prospective law deans to meet with the selection committee. He summarized and distributed to the selection committee the qualifications of the thirteen men interviewed in August and September.¹⁰⁵ He pushed for a politically conservative dean to head the Law School and for a while favored Woody Deem.¹⁰⁶ He also worked to become familiar with the writings and reputations of the various candidates. Meanwhile, Dallin Oaks also asked Jay Butler's replacement, Bruce Hafen, to gather the background information Oaks desired about prospective deans. Wilkinson favored a law school similar to his New Jersey experience in the early 1930s, where law students would be taught basic legal drafting and law practice skills and was put off by notions that the Law School needed to have academically respected teaching methods and faculty publications that would be amenable to accreditation and scholarly reputation. Wilkinson disagreed often with Maxwell, Oaks, and others on the committee who were looking past the trade school idea of a law school to a school with strong enough academic foundations, professional stature, and political balance to have a national impact on the legal profession and the development of the law among judges and legislators.¹⁰⁷

A personal event outside of Wilkinson's control or plans surfaced in early September, with him needing open-heart surgery. He recorded in his diary on Monday, September 6, 1971, that he was committed to working on only two things at that point, the Law School dean and his surgery.¹⁰⁸ (Despite that resolution, he met the very next day with Cleon Skousen about the BYU centennial history which Skousen was editing and talked about a potential coeditor of the volume.)¹⁰⁹ The dean search took most of his attention until Wilkinson's son Dr. E. L. Wilkinson, a cardiologist, insisted he meet with heart surgeon Dr. Russell M. Nelson. That meeting took place on September 21, and definite plans were made for an October 6 hospital admittance and October 8 open-heart surgery in Salt Lake City. Even then, Wilkinson did not let go and had the next dean selection committee meeting moved forward a week to the day before he went in the hospital.¹¹⁰

Others were interested in Wilkinson being around after his surgery. On Thursday, September 30, 1971, Wilkinson went to a clinic in Salt Lake City in preparation for his operation and was invited to come to

the temple there by N. Eldon Tanner, where Wilkinson was given an anointing and blessing by Tanner, Harold B. Lee, and all the members of the Twelve Apostles.¹¹¹ Wilkinson got his legal and financial affairs in order, updated his will, and spent some time with his family that weekend.¹¹² On Tuesday, October 5, Wilkinson spent the morning with the selection committee in Salt Lake City, narrowing the dean's list down to three or four. Wilkinson vacillated in his choices, as having a conservative political viewpoint dominated his thinking, while other committee members looked to overall academic credentials, religious faithfulness, and leadership ability. In Provo that evening, Dallin Oaks and Bruce Hafen came to Wilkinson's office and knelt in prayer with him and his secretaries before his hospital stay.¹¹³

By October 25, the decision was made—with Wilkinson concurring—to have Arizona attorney Rex E. Lee become the founding dean of the BYU Law School, and Lee visited a convalescing Wilkinson on that day in that capacity. Wilkinson recalled a month later, "I should record also that the day after I returned to my home, which was just two weeks and three days after my operation, I had, without the doctors knowing it, a conference with the newly appointed Dean of the Law School, Rex Lee, which I appreciated."¹¹⁴ The public announcement of Rex Lee's deanship came two weeks later on November 9, 1971,¹¹⁵ which Wilkinson did not



Dean Rex E. Lee, speaking at the building groundbreaking ceremony for the J. Reuben Clark Law School building on May 1, 1973. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

attend because he was home recuperating. Soon after, Wilkinson's doctors sent him to southern California for a month.¹¹⁶

Reduced Direct Role in BYU Law School

Upon his return to Utah in early December 1971, Wilkinson continued to lobby without much success for his involvement with the Law School faculty, building, and purposes. Since he was not going to be the BYU Law School dean as he had hoped and an earlier title "Special Consultant to the J. Reuben Clark College of Law"¹¹⁷ was less than he wanted, he spent some time floundering. He wrote members of the dean selection committee with suggested procedures for picking the rest of the initial faculty;¹¹⁸ felt he had to defend his work on the Law School building from suggestions by Oaks, Lee, and Hafen for changes;¹¹⁹ and wondered what he could say about the Law School's—and his—purpose while fund-raising. Others asked what he was doing in relation to the new BYU Law School. His longtime secretary passed on a student newspaper reporter's query, "What role is President Wilkinson going to play?" . . . Many students as well as faculty members had assumed you were to be the new dean." She had volunteered, "I told him that it was my understanding it had never been planned that you would be the dean even from the start, but that I would ask you for the answer to this question."¹²⁰ Wilkinson traveled to Arizona briefly at the request of Dallin Oaks to meet with Rex Lee again on building matters and other Law School issues¹²¹ and came away well aware that Oaks and Lee would listen but not blindly take Wilkinson's advice.

By this time, Wilkinson was a BYU employee reporting directly to Oaks (instead of to Neal A. Maxwell as had been the case prior to his heart surgery). On Thursday, December 16, 1971, Oaks approached Wilkinson with another place to put his energies and asked him "to take over the editorship of the history of BYU for the [University's] Centennial."¹²² Wilkinson then approached individual members of the BYU board of trustees about his Law School-related role,¹²³ which led to a meeting of Wilkinson with the LDS First Presidency on January 4, 1972, regarding (1) the function of the selection committee for the Law School dean and faculty, (2) Wilkinson's function regarding the same, and (3) the request that he be the BYU one-hundred-year history editor.¹²⁴ The next week Wilkinson talked with Rex Lee about possible law faculty appointees,¹²⁵ agreed to be the history editor in chief,¹²⁶ and talked with Marion G. Romney "with respect to how I can be helpful in the establishment of the Law School."¹²⁷

On January 18, Oaks approached Wilkinson about his Law School role in connection with the public announcement of him becoming the editor in chief of the BYU history. Wilkinson reported on their long meeting in his diary: "I agreed that I would not insist that the notice of my appointment would refer to my having a 'major responsibility for the establishment' of the Law School, but we agreed also that I would be continuously consulted and have a voice with respect to (1) the appointment of the faculty, (2) the law school building, and (3) the curriculum. Dallin agreed that he would call Rex Lee and have Rex phone me and assure me this was in his mind, which he did the next day."¹²⁸ Other agreements followed, with a "Memorandum of Understanding and Agreement Regarding Fund-Raising Plans for the New Law School at Brigham Young University" officially adopted on January 21, 1972, by the College of Law Development Committee, of which Wilkinson was a member.¹²⁹ The revised and approved building plan was signed by Wilkinson, Oaks, Lee, Bruce Hafen, and others on February 1.¹³⁰ He became a charter member of the J. Reuben Clark Law Society after it was first proposed in the same development committee meeting on February 2, 1972.¹³¹

Wilkinson remained keenly interested in the Law School for the rest of his life but was not involved in its day-to-day operations, except for select occasions.¹³² Rex Lee asked him to help recruit Woody Deem to come as a law professor in fall 1972, and Wilkinson helped Deem find a home and a contractor to fix it up and make the arrangements to move to Utah from California.¹³³ Wilkinson served nominally on the admissions committee during 1972–73, deciding with others which student applicants would be chosen for the charter class.¹³⁴ To ease local concerns about too many lawyers, he compiled a legal needs survey in August 1973 showing the demand within Utah for more law students.¹³⁵ He gave the opening prayers on May 1 (the law building groundbreaking)¹³⁶ and August 27, 1973 (first day of the law classes), typing up and putting in his *speech* files the August 27 three-page-long *prayer*, which served as his speech to the charter class law students on the importance of studying the U.S. Constitution.¹³⁷ At the Law School building dedication in September 1975, he read another script, this one written by Oaks and Wilkinson regarding Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr.'s service to the legal community.¹³⁸

Wilkinson was a consistent fund-raiser for the Law School for many years¹³⁹ and led the way by example when he and his wife Alice gave property worth \$1 million to the university in late 1973, with \$250,000 earmarked for the George Sutherland Chair at the Law School.¹⁴⁰ (His family later contributed significant amounts to establish the Ernest L.

Wilkinson Chair at the Law School.) He wrote up a chapter on the Law School's beginnings in the four-volume BYU history,¹⁴¹ which was completed on October 22, 1976, a day before Wilkinson experienced another massive heart attack.¹⁴² He came to the Law School occasionally to speak to students, for example giving his "How to Make a \$2,800,000 Fee" speech on September 22, 1977.¹⁴³ Through these years, up until his death on April 6, 1978, Ernest L. Wilkinson continued to be interested in the J. Reuben Clark School of Law at BYU,¹⁴⁴ alternating between pride in its successful establishment¹⁴⁵ and disappointment that it was not the politically conservative institution he had desired. He did not publicly criticize the law school founders, Oaks, Lee, and Hawkins. Privately, he was far more likely to occasionally point out deficiencies in other competing institutions than lapses at BYU.¹⁴⁶

Wilkinson and the Outmigration: On the Shoulders of Giants

The second dean of the BYU Law School, Carl S. Hawkins, pointed out that Wilkinson's reduced involvement came through personnel selections rather than policy decisions by LDS Church leaders.¹⁴⁷ There was no duel of memos where Wilkinson could overdocument his position and "win" via a flood of words. Yet Wilkinson was personally involved years before the Law School's start in the lives of all three of the Law School's founders, Dallin H. Oaks, Rex E. Lee, and Hawkins. Like other outmigrant Mormons, Wilkinson had been from Utah and understood how to navigate the business and political climates in the rest of the country and played an early key role in the professional careers of Oaks, Lee, and Hawkins as they left the Mormon West for the Midwest and Washington, D.C.

Both Oaks and Lee were students at Brigham Young University while Wilkinson was president, at a time when BYU was much smaller and Wilkinson more in touch with each student's situation. For Oaks, Wilkinson personally wrote letters of scholarship recommendation in 1953 to major law schools¹⁴⁸ and was pleased to write Oaks a congratulatory letter in 1957 on his U.S. Supreme Court clerkship appointment.¹⁴⁹ Rex E. Lee was BYU student body president in 1960 and involved in a number of meetings and activities with Wilkinson.¹⁵⁰ Lee's autobiography includes a photo from that time period of Lee as young student, LDS President David O. McKay, and Wilkinson.¹⁵¹

Hawkins's first job out of law school was as an associate in Ernest Wilkinson's Washington, D.C., law firm for a year, after which he was a law clerk to Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson of the U.S. Supreme Court,



Carl S. Hawkins, a few weeks prior to beginning his freshman year at BYU in fall 1946 (detail from wedding photograph). Courtesy Hawkins family.



Dallin H. Oaks as a junior at BYU, photograph in the *Banyan* 1953 yearbook, 299. Courtesy Perry Special Collections, BYU.

followed by working as a named partner in Wilkinson, Cragun, Barker & Hawkins from 1953 to 1957. From there, he went to the University of Michigan Law School for sixteen years, where he distinguished himself prior to joining the initial BYU Law School faculty in 1972.¹⁵² With this close association, Hawkins did not want to come to BYU until he was certain Wilkinson was not in charge and was not making the Law School into only a practitioner's prep school.¹⁵³ At the same time, Wilkinson was strongly opposed to hiring Hawkins for the Law School. During the dean search, Wilkinson wrote that he loved Hawkins but didn't want him due to his differing political views.¹⁵⁴ Only after Hawkins was reassured by Oaks and Lee in mid-1972 that Wilkinson was one step outside the Law School circle did he agree to come and take his own crucial place as the Law School's founding guide.¹⁵⁵

All three of these lawyers knew Wilkinson well. There were no strangers here. Since Wilkinson himself was loyal to those who had helped him in the past, he assumed that Oaks, Lee, and Hawkins would allow him to do what he wanted in regard to the Law School. Instead, Oaks, Lee, and Hawkins went out of their way repeatedly to set their



*Left to right: Rex E. Lee as BYU student body president, LDS Church President David O. McKay, and BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson in 1960. From Rex E. Lee, *A Marathon of Faith*, [186].*

boundaries with Wilkinson while honoring their personal relationship. Many memos during the 1970s contain expressions of gratitude for Wilkinson's work in the early days of the Law School as well as his consistent follow-through on any small tasks he was assigned.¹⁵⁶ They knew that Wilkinson was the unique lawyer who finished projects on deadline, in addition to possessing the normal attorney traits of being good at advocacy and giving advice. They did as Wilkinson himself had

done for so long; they worked their hardest to create the future as they hoped it to be.

Although it was not his reason for growing BYU, Ernest L. Wilkinson built the university large enough that it could support a major law school. He gave his time, money, and heart to Brigham Young University, creating a place where Mormon students from all over the country could meet, learn, and be part of the larger LDS diaspora internationally. Wilkinson caught the spark from Gordon Affleck regarding a J. Reuben Clark College of Law, secured the preliminary approvals, laid out the original building, picked the architects, helped choose the charter class, and was part of the discussions leading to the first dean. But even before those events, Wilkinson was there to help Dallin H. Oaks, Rex E. Lee, Carl S. Hawkins, and others, long before their actual involvement in the school's establishment. Wilkinson's crucial early work laid the foundation on which the eventual BYU Law School leaders would build.

Galen L. Fletcher has degrees in history (BA), librarianship (MLIS), and law (JD) from Brigham Young University, where he has worked as a law librarian in the Howard W. Hunter Law Library at the J. Reuben Clark Law School since 1997. Previously he worked at the Washoe County Law Library in Reno, Nevada, and the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.

He compiled (with BYU law professors Scott W. Cameron and Jane H. Wise) three volumes of law school speeches, *Life in the Law: Answering God's Interrogatories* (2002), *Life in the Law: Service & Integrity* (2009), and *Life in the Law: Religious Conviction* (2013). In addition to being interested in BYU Law School's institutional history and the life issues of practicing Mormon attorneys, Galen's other publications have focused on state and local government legal materials, particularly for Nevada and Utah.

Besides the individuals cited in the article's footnotes and the many reviewers, two other individuals were crucial to researching this article: G. Wesley Johnson Jr. and J. Gordon Daines III. Now retired, Dr. Johnson taught public history to Galen at BYU in 1987. He also reviewed the manuscript and encouraged Galen in writing this article as part of his forthcoming book, *Emergence of the Modern Mormon Elite* (Oxford University Press). Gordon Daines, as BYU University Archivist, was always helpful, patient, and willing to go the extra mile in finding and providing relevant sources. "Loyal Opposition" is a better article because of their professional and personal assistance to Galen Fletcher in telling the story of the BYU Law School's "prehistory."

1. See Dee V. Benson, "The House That Rex Built," in *Life in the Law: Service and Integrity*, ed. Scott W. Cameron, Galen L. Fletcher, and Jane H. Wise

(Provo, Utah: J. Reuben Clark Law Society, 2009), 261–68; Bruce C. Hafen, “A Walk by Faith: Founding Stories of the Law School,” in Cameron, Fletcher, and Wise, *Life in the Law: Service*, 269–79; Carl S. Hawkins, *The Founding of the J. Reuben Clark Law School* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1999); Dallin H. Oaks, “Unfolding in Time: The Founding and Mission of J. Reuben Clark Law School,” *Clark Memorandum* (Spring 2013): 15–21; “The J. Reuben Clark Law School,” in *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, ed. Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 4:245–75.

2. “Dallin H. Oaks received his JD from the University of Chicago in 1957 and clerked for Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court 1957–1958. He served as president of Brigham Young University 1971–1980 and as a justice on the Utah Supreme Court 1980–1984. He is currently a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.” Jane H. Wise, Scott W. Cameron, and Galen L. Fletcher, eds., *Life in the Law: Religious Conviction* (Provo, Utah: J. Reuben Clark Law Society, 2013), 264.

3. “Rex E. Lee (1935–96) received his J.D. from the University of Chicago in 1963, clerked for Justice Byron R. White of the U.S. Supreme Court 1963–64, served as founding Dean of the J. Reuben Clark Law School 1976–81, Solicitor General of the United States 1981–85, and President of Brigham Young University 1989–95.” Galen L. Fletcher and Jane H. Wise, eds., *Life in the Law: Answering God’s Interrogatories* (Provo, Utah: J. Reuben Clark Law Society, 2002), 173; “Carl S. Hawkins (1926–2010) received his JD from Northwestern University in 1951 and clerked for Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson of the U.S. Supreme Court 1952–1953. At J. Reuben Clark Law School he served as a founding law professor 1973–1991, acting dean 1975–1977, and dean 1981–1985.” Wise, Cameron, and Fletcher, *Life in the Law: Religious*, 98.

4. J. Clifton Fleming Jr., “Carl Hawkins: The Indispensable Player,” *BYU Law Review* (2010): 800. In 1998, Professor Fleming was appointed the Ernest L. Wilkinson Chair and Professor of Law, J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University. Fleming, “Carl Hawkins,” 799 n. 1.

5. On the outmigration of Mormons from the Mountain West to cities across the United States after 1900, see G. Wesley Johnson and Marian Ashby Johnson, “On the Trail of the Twentieth-Century Mormon Outmigration,” *BYU Studies* 46, no. 1 (2007): 41–83.

6. See Woodruff J. Deem and Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President* ([Provo, Utah]: Privately published, 1982); University Archives 1000, Ernest L. Wilkinson, 1899–1978, Papers, 1917–1978, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as UA 1000, ELW Papers); University Archives 1086, Ernest L. Wilkinson Presidential Papers, 1949–1975, Perry Special Collections (hereafter cited as UA 1086, Wilkinson Presidential Papers).

7. The namesake for the BYU Law School, J. Reuben Clark Jr. (1871–1961), “received his LLB from Columbia University in 1906, served as editor of the *Columbia Law Review*, assistant solicitor and then solicitor for the U.S. Department of State 1906–1913, author of *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine* 1930, and U.S. ambassador to Mexico 1930–1933. He served as a counselor in the First

Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1933–1961” under three different LDS Church Presidents. Wise, Cameron, and Fletcher, *Life in the Law: Religious*, 69. The book-length biographies of J. Reuben Clark Jr. cover different time periods of his life. See David H. Yarn Jr., *Young Reuben* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1977) (ages 1–35), Frank W. Fox, *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1980) (ages 32–61), D. Michael Quinn, *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1983) (ages 61–90), D. Michael Quinn, *Elder Statesman: The Biography of J. Reuben Clark* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002) (ages 61–90). My favorite shorter biography of J. Reuben Clark Jr. is by his great-grandson: Stephen S. Davis, “J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: Counselor to Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, David O. McKay (1933–1961),” in *Counselors to the Prophets*, comp. Michael K. Winder (Roy, Utah: Eborn Books, 2001), 346–63. A useful one-volume compilation of scholarly commentary on Clark’s legal and political views and activities was published in *BYU Studies* 13, no. 3 (1973) and reprinted as Ray C. Hillam, Charles D. Tate Jr., and Laura Wadley, eds., *J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: Diplomat and Statesman* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1973).

8. See generally Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 16–278; see also Alice L. Wilkinson, interview by Virginia Poulson, September 28, 1979, University Archives Oral History 47, Perry Special Collections.

9. See Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 159; see also Mary Jane Woodger, “David O. McKay, Father of the Church Educational System,” in *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 387–89.

10. See Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 504–8; see also Danae Friel, “Ernest L. Wilkinson, University Builder,” *BYU Magazine* 53 (Fall 1999): 70–72.

11. See Gary James Bergera, “The 1966 BYU Student Spy Ring,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 79 (2011): 164–88.

12. See Ernest L. Wilkinson to self, memo, “Confidential Memorandum of Conference I Had with President McKay on July 25, 1969, from 11:30 a.m. to 12:05 p.m., July 26, 1969,” folder 2, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 24–25.

13. “Conflicts between Wilkinson and [Harold B.] Lee had arisen in the closing years of Wilkinson’s administration, because on several important issues Wilkinson bypassed Lee and the [BYU] Board of Trustees and went directly to President David O. McKay for approval.” Carl S. Hawkins, “Legal Education and Career,” in *Carl S. Hawkins and Nelma J. Hawkins: Personal Histories, Career and Professional Service*, ed. Lisa Bolin Hawkins ([Provo, Utah]: Hawkins Family, 2012) (hereafter cited as Lisa Bolin Hawkins, *Personal Histories*), 592; see also D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 35.

14. See Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple’s Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 345–53.

15. See Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 372–84.

16. "Wednesday, July 2, 1969 and Thursday, July 3, 1969," Ernest L. Wilkinson, Diary, folder 2, box 103, UA 1000, ELW Papers. (Wilkinson's diary while at BYU comprises boxes 99–105 in UA 1000, ELW Papers, arranged in chronological order. Hereafter reference will only be made to "ELW, Diary," not the archival box or folder numbers.)

17. See Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 501–2.

18. ELW, Diary, Sunday, January 18, 1970.

19. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph Fielding Smith, January 28, 1970, folder 10, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

20. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, February 4, 1970; see also Minutes of Meeting of Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, February 4, 1970, pp. 2–3, in "B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, Feb. 19, 1969 thru June 3, 1970," box 249, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

21. During his two decades as BYU president, and "on several occasions Wilkinson . . . proposed the organization of an Institute of Government for the purpose of teaching . . . political principles." Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 509.

22. Gordon Burt Affleck was the executor of J. Reuben Clark Jr.'s estate after Clark died in 1961. Affleck graduated from Columbia Law School after growing up in Salt Lake City. He then stayed in New York City for six years, working for a major law firm in the late 1930s, prior to his return to Utah to become the first head of the LDS Church's purchasing department from 1940 to 1974. See "Gordon Burt Affleck," in *Biographies: Federal Heights Ward* (Salt Lake City: Ward Genealogical Committee, Federal Heights Ward, 1963), 14–15; "Bishop Gordon Burt Affleck," in Lucile G. Williams, comp., *Historical Highlights of the Twenty-First and North Twenty-First Wards, Emigration Stake* (Salt Lake City: Hobby Press, 1971), 262–65; "Affleck: The Man and His Church," *Purchasing Week*, March 20, 1967, 27; "Gordon B. Affleck Dies, Ex-LDS Purchasing Chief," *Deseret News*, November 20, 1988, B3; "Gordon B. Affleck," *Deseret News*, November 20, 1988, B21 (obituary).

23. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, February 4, 1970.

24. F. Burton Howard, "Keeper of the Flame," *Clark Memorandum* (Fall 1994); 24. Romney's diary says eighty law students were invited, while Wilkinson's diary says sixty-five attended.

25. ELW, Diary, Thursday, April 16, 1970.

26. Marion G. Romney, quoted in Howard, "Keeper of the Flame," 24.

27. See Harry Dees to Ernest Wilkinson, September 26, 1970, folder 1, box 268, UA 1000, ELW Papers. A BYU Library employee on sabbatical, Dees shares his lengthy, negative "impressions of the law school at the University of Utah after a year working in the law library."

28. See Marion G. Romney, "Why the J. Reuben Clark Law School? Dedicatory Address and Prayer of the J. Reuben Clark Law Building (September 5, 1975)," in Cameron, Fletcher, and Wise, *Life in the Law: Service*, 250.

29. Kevin J. Worthen, "The Essence of Lawyering in an Atmosphere of Faith," in Cameron, Fletcher, and Wise, *Life in the Law: Service*, 287.

30. Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees, April 23, 1970, pp. 6–7, in “Executive Committee of B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, June 4, 1967 thru June 3, 1970,” box 248, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

31. ELW, Diary, Saturday, May 2, 1970.

32. Minutes of Meeting of Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, May 6, 1970, p. 8, in “B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, Feb. 19, 1969 thru June 3, 1970,” box 249, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

33. While a member of the LDS Church’s First Quorum of the Seventy, F. Burton Howard wrote *Marion G. Romney: His Life and Faith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988).

34. Howard, “Keeper of the Flame,” 24–25.

35. Wilkinson’s last day as BYU president was later moved up a month to July 31, 1971.

36. Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees, June 18, 1970, pp. 9–10, in “Executive Committee of B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, June 4, 1967 thru June 3, 1970,” box 248, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also Hawkins, *Founding*, 2; see also Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:247.

37. Francis M. Gibbons, *Harold B. Lee: Man of Vision, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 420.

38. Handwritten confidential letter from Ernest L. Wilkinson to President Joseph Fielding Smith and Counselors and Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University, June 19, 1970, folder 12, box 273, UA 1000, ELW Papers. The resignation letter was quoted publicly nine months later by Harold B. Lee, in *Speeches of the Year: Decades of Distinction: 1951–1971* (Brigham Young University Press, 1971), 1–2.

39. Wilkinson to Smith and Counselors and Board of Trustees.

40. See Hafen, *Disciple’s Life*, 338. Maxwell’s appointment by the LDS First Presidency was later ratified by a combined meeting of the BYU and Church Educational System boards of trustees. See Minutes of Executive Session of Combined Church Board of Education and Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, August 12, 1970, pp. 2–4, folder 5, box 252, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

41. See Hafen, *Disciple’s Life*, 332, 336–39.

42. See Hafen, *Disciple’s Life*, 347–48.

43. ELW, Diary, Thursday, July 16, 1970. A month before, at the same meeting of the executive committee of the BYU board of trustees where the law school study was approved, Wilkinson was “authorized, if deemed advisable, to appoint Jay W. Butler Assistant to the President for Special Assignments.” Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees, June 18, 1970, p. 3, in “Executive Committee of B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, June 4, 1967 thru June 3, 1970,” box 248, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

44. “Jay Butler, a native of Ogden, Utah, graduated with high honors from Harvard University (B.A. 1962) and from Columbia University Law School (J.D. 1966) where he was a Columbia International Fellow. As a Rhodes Scholar, he also studied law at Magdalen College, Oxford. . . . In addition to many years in the private practice of law in Denver and Salt Lake City, Jay has been in-house

General Counsel for Ireco Chemicals, . . . was a member of a Wall Street investment banking firm, Weiss Peck & Greer, . . . was Chairman and CEO of Superior Manufacturing and Instruments Corporation, . . . and was Manager of Strategic Planning for the Family and Church History Department of the LDS Church. More recently Jay served as Acting Area Legal Counsel for the Church's Caribbean Area. . . . He retired at the end of 2008." Jay W. Butler, *Short biography*, October 10, 2008, unpublished document in the author's possession.

45. Jay W. Butler, Personal history, as cited in email from Jay W. Butler to author, November 11, 2011, in the author's possession. According to Wilkinson's diary, he first interviewed Butler in Denver on January 23, 1967, and hired him on February 17, ten days before the BYU student spy ring became public knowledge. If Wilkinson was hoping to start a law school at that time or the near future, the spy scandal eclipsed such plans for three years. See ELW, *Diary*, Monday, January 23, 1967 (Butler interview), Friday, February 17, 1967 (Butler hire), and Wednesday, March 1, 1967 (newspaper reporters call Wilkinson at midnight); Bergera, "1966 BYU Student Spy Ring," 178–79.

46. Jay W. Butler to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memo, "Re: Law School Feasibility Study," August 25, 1970, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

47. Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee of BYU Board of Trustees, June 18, 1970, p. 10, in "Executive Committee of B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, June 4, 1967 thru June 3, 1970," box 248, UA 1000, ELW Papers; [Wilkinson to self], memo, "Memorandum for Board of Trustees, Re: Possibility of a Law School," September 7, 1970, folder 3, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers. The official minutes on September 2, 1970, do not mention a law school, but various pages are skipped, including part of page 4, all of pages 5–7, and the top of page 8. Minutes of the Combined, Concurrent Meeting of the Church Board of Education, and the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, September 2, 1970, folder 6, box 252, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

48. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Jay Butler, memo, "Re: Confidential," September 16, 1970, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

49. JWB [Jay W. Butler] to ELW, memo, "Re: Law School Feasibility," November 19, 1970, folder 3, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers. American law school applicants doubled from 1960 to 1970, with another sharp increase in 1970–71. See "Law School Admissions Crunch," *American Bar Association Journal* 57 (July 1971): 681 (editorial). This was part of a larger trend from 1970 to 2000 where the legal "profession tripled in size and admitted women and minorities in significant numbers." Robert W. Gordon, "The American Legal Profession, 1870–2000," in *The Cambridge History of Law in America*, ed. Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins, 3 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3:75, 113–14.

50. ELW, *Diary*, Friday, November 20, 1970, Confidential.

51. JWB [Jay Butler] to ELW, memo, "Re: Proposed J. Reuben Clark, Jr. School of Law at Brigham Young University," November 28, 1970, folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:247.

52. ELW, *Diary*, Friday, November 27, 1970. See also ELW, *Diary*, Saturday, November 21, 1970.

53. ELW, Diary, Monday, November 30, 1970.

54. See ELW, Diary, Friday, November 20, 1970, Confidential.

55. See ELW, Diary, Thursday, December 1, 1970; see also [Wilkinson to self], memo, December 1, 1970, folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers ("I move that we recommend to the Board of Trustees the establishment of the J. Reuben Clark, Jr., College of Law at Brigham Young University . . . Approved").

56. Howard, "Keeper of the Flame," 25.

57. On December 30, 1970, the provision prohibiting law school admissions or employment "discrimination or segregation on the ground of . . . religion, national origin, or sex" was added to the prior prohibited list of race and color. See Articles of Association of the Association of American Law Schools, in *Association of American Law Schools: 1970 Proceedings, Part 2: Annual Meeting, Financial Report and Other Association Information* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Law Schools, 1971), 286 (sec. 6-3). Later, BYU's practice of charging higher tuition for law students who are not Mormon than for those who are Mormon was not an issue for American Bar Association accreditation in 1974, but it was a significant hurdle to BYU's eventual acceptance into the U.S. law school "honorary society," the Association of American Law Schools in 1982. See "Accreditation by the American Bar Association" and "AALS Membership" in Hawkins, *Founding*, 65-68, 85-89; Hawkins, "Legal Education and Career," 530-31, 544-46; Carl S. Hawkins, "Reflections on Accreditation," in Lisa Bolin Hawkins, *Personal Histories*, 610-13; Fleming, "Carl Hawkins," 799-801.

58. Earlier that year, "President Wilkinson made a comprehensive report to the Board on athletic protests and disturbances on other campuses against BYU and the Church." See "Minority Group Problems," in Minutes of Meeting of Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, April 16, 1970, pp. 4-9, in "B.Y.U. Board of Trustees, Feb. 19, 1969 thru June 3, 1970," box 249, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

59. See Dee F. Andersen to "All Members of the Combined Board of Education and Brigham Young University Board of Trustees," confidential memo, December 2, 1970, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also Minutes of the Combined, Concurrent Meeting of the Church Board of Education and Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, Dec. 2, 1970, p. 6, folder 6, box 252, UA 1000, ELW Papers (confidential BYU matter to be handled via memo instead of in minutes).

60. Oaks, "Unfolding in Time," 16; see also Hawkins, *Founding*, 4; Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:247-48.

61. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Dallin H. Oaks, December 15, 1970, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

62. Dallin H. Oaks to Ernest L. Wilkinson, December 16, 1970, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

63. JWB to ELW, memo, "Re: Conference with Millard H. Ruud," January 4, 1971, p. 3, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

64. JWB to ELW, memo, "Re: Conference with Millard H. Ruud," p. 4.

65. JWB to ELW, memo, "Re: Telephone Conference with Dallin Oaks," January 4, 1971, p. 2, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

66. Dallin H. Oaks to Ernest L. Wilkinson, December 30, 1970, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers. In relation to new law school requirements, Wilkinson studied and underlined various sections of the relevant AALS booklet. See Association of American Law Schools, Committee on Guidelines for New Law Schools, *Guideline Statement on the Establishment of New Law Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Law Schools, 1967), copy in folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

67. ELW, Diary, Thursday, December 31, 1970.

68. ELW, Diary, Saturday, January 2, 1971.

69. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, January 6, 1971. See also Minutes of the Combined Concurrent Meeting of the Church Board of Education and Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, January 6, 1971, pp. 7–8, folder 6, box 252, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

70. Millard H. Ruud to Ernest L. Wilkinson, February 10, 1971, folder 7, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers. Carl S. Hawkins characterized the ABA letter as an “advisory opinion.” Hawkins, *Founding*, 141.

71. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, February 10, 1971.

72. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, March 3, 1971.

73. Not long after Wilkinson’s resignation became public, President Harold B. Lee told Wilkinson’s replacement, “Ernest wants to be the dean of the law school and that must not be.” Dallin H. Oaks to author, June 25, 2012. “Romney and Lee may not have had a clear vision of the kind of academic institution they wanted to establish [for the BYU Law School], but it is clear that they wanted it to reflect credit on the name of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and that Lee wanted to make sure that Wilkinson was not the controlling influence in shaping its character.” Hawkins, “Legal Education and Career,” 593.

74. ELW, Diary, Tuesday, February 23, 1971. “Thomas had been one of Hafen’s mentors during [Hafen’s] undergraduate days at BYU.” Hawkins, *Founding*, 8.

75. Soon after Rex Lee’s appointment as the founding dean, Hafen was appointed as the Law School’s first assistant dean, in addition to Hafen’s role as assistant to Oaks. “Bruce C. Hafen [also] served as a law professor at J. Reuben Clark Law School 1973–1996, president of Ricks College (now BYU–Idaho) 1978–1985, dean of J. Reuben Clark Law School 1985–1989, provost of Brigham Young University 1989–1995, and as a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy 1996–2010. He is currently serving as an emeritus General Authority and president of the St. George Utah Temple.” Wise, Cameron, and Fletcher, *Life in the Law: Religious*, 37.

76. JWB to ELW, memo, “Re: Research Concerning Mormon Law Professors,” February 17, 1971, folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers. The six professors were Carl S. Hawkins, Edward L. Kimball, Spencer L. Kimball, Dallin H. Oaks, Douglas H. Parker, Frank T. Reed, and Arvo Van Alstyne.

77. JWB to ELW, memo, “Re: Research Concerning Mormon Law Professors.”

78. JWB to ELW, memo, “Re: Law School,” March 4, 1971, folder 3, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

79. Butler to ELW, memo, “Re: Law School.” When Rex E. Lee was later announced as dean of the new law school, he worried, “Theoretically and

physically . . . the law school is built around the library. Librarians are just as scarce as hen's teeth. A dean—anybody can come up with. But a law librarian, that's another trick." "Dean Lee, a Gleaning from Nation's Legal Elite," *Daily Universe*, November 10, 1971, 1. The remedy later taken was to hire a law graduate and train him in library work. See Bruce C. Hafen to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memo, September 17, 1971, folder 1, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers. Lee's observation about few LDS law librarians played out as all of the BYU law library directors until 2005 were law graduates who obtained their library training *after* they were hired.

80. See Staff of the Church News, *The Church in Action 1971: Yearbook of Activities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church News, 1972), 29, 32–33. Ricks College is now called BYU–Idaho and the Church College of Hawaii is now BYU–Hawaii.

81. Forty years later, Oaks commented, "Soon after my appointment as [BYU] president, the board of trustees appointed a six-member search committee to recommend the dean of the new law school. This was unprecedented. I know of no other instance in which the board followed this practice to identify a dean at BYU." Dallin H. Oaks, "Unfolding in Time," 17.

82. See Hawkins, "Legal Education and Career," 594–95, for Hawkins's perspectives on the selection committee members.

83. ELW, Diary, Monday, March 8, 1971.

84. Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, March 9, 1971, pp. 2–5, folder 6, box 252, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also ELW, Diary, Tuesday, March 9, 1971.

85. Lee, in *Speeches of the Year: Decades of Distinction: 1951–1971*, 3; see also Ernest L. Wilkinson and Harold B. Lee, "Decades of Distinction," March 9, 1971, audio file available at Speeches, Brigham Young University, <http://speeches.byu.edu/index.php?act=viewitem&id=1745>. Lee's quotes are from the author's audio transcripts rather than the published version edited by Wilkinson (see transcript on file with the author). The printed version reads, "Because of President Wilkinson's great stature in the field of law, we have asked him to play a major role in the planning of a new college. . . . This college will probably open in the fall of 1973, or thereafter as circumstances may dictate." Lee, in *Speeches of the Year: Decades of Distinction: 1951–1971*, 3.

86. Lee, in *Speeches of the Year: Decades of Distinction: 1951–1971*, 7–11.

87. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, March 17, 1971. A few days earlier Wilkinson wrote Thurman about meeting together and then included the postscript, "P.S. Since writing the above letter I have been informed that Neal Maxwell has already arranged for the committee appointed by the Board of Trustees and me to meet with you and Arvo [Van Alstyne] on March 17, at 2:30 PM." ELW to Samuel D. Thurman, March 11, 1971, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

88. ELW, Diary, Tuesday, March 23, 1971, and Thursday, March 25, 1971. See also "Forum Today to Feature Calif. District Attorney," *Daily Universe*, March 25, 1971, 1; "California DA Recommends Changes in Judicial System," *Daily Universe*, March 26, 1971, 1.

89. See *The Woodruff J. Deem Professorship in the J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University* ([Provo, Utah: BYU Law School, 1989]).

90. Jay W. Butler to LDS Bishops, April 19, 1971, folder 7, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

91. "I . . . looked over the list of about 900 attorneys that bishops sent in, from which we thought we would try and see those who would be eligible for law teachers. I found it to be woefully incomplete." ELW, Diary, Sunday, July 4, 1971.

92. Robert O. Leshar to Ernest L. Wilkinson, February 10, 1972, folder 10, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers. This quote by Leshar is in response to Wilkinson's query about Ray Jay Davis as a potential BYU law professor. Wilkinson had asked about Davis's political and social philosophies and then his University of Arizona Law School teaching reputation. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Robert O. Leshar, February 1, 1972, folder 10, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

93. Dallin H. Oaks to Ernest L. Wilkinson, June 1, 1971, folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

94. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "LDS Law Teachers," appendix to Jay W. Butler to ELW, memo, "Re: Conference with Dallin Oaks," May 21, 1971, folder 3, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers. Van Alstyne was a Los Angeles stake president (1963–65) and University of Utah constitutional law professor (1966–75). See "Dr. Arvo Van Alstyne," *Deseret News*, January 13, 1985, 14A.

95. Carl Hawkins later succinctly described how Wilkinson's political leanings influenced his law school planning: "Public announcement of plans to establish the law school brought forth a flurry of comments from some Church members who thought that its mission would or should be to foster conservative political ideology. Wilkinson would not have identified with some of those extremists. While he was politically conservative, he was too good a lawyer to be taken in by the radical interpretations of constitutional law and history espoused by the John Birch Society. He would not hesitate, however, to take advantage of these conservative views to support the establishment of the kind of law school he wanted at BYU." Hawkins, "Legal Education and Career," 593.

96. ELW to self, memo, "Re: Conference with Marion G. Romney on May 14 with Respect to the Law School," May 18, 1971, folder 11, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers. Wilkinson added, "Much to my surprise, Brother Romney said that Brother Clark had lived and had given his contribution to the Church and he had some doubt whether we could set up a law school that would follow his [political] views. He volunteered the information that Dallin Oaks and Neal Maxwell were more liberal than the two of us and he thought we would have difficulty getting that view over."

97. ELW, Diary, Wednesday, April 7, 1971. Two days later—after needing permission from three different individuals to hire the building architects—Wilkinson lamented to himself, "I am going to have to have a determination made immediately as to my role in the establishment of the Law School." ELW, Diary, Friday, April 9, 1971.

98. Oaks recently observed, "I was called as BYU President on March 27, 1971, and . . . my appointment was announced on May 4. . . . Having spent 10 years as a professor at the University of Chicago Law School, including over six months as acting dean, I had more experience with what would be necessary to establish a first-class law school than anything else for which I would be

responsible when I became president on August 1.” Dallin H. Oaks, “Unfolding in Time,” 16; see also Hawkins, *Founding*, 8.

99. Neal A. Maxwell to Ernest L. Wilkinson, June 23, 1971, appendix, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers. Wilkinson also spent a fair amount of time during the month of June helping his daughter Alice Ann deal with her emotional, financial, and legal circumstances after her husband, John K. Mangum, was killed in an airplane crash on June 6, 1971. Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 616.

100. Brigham Young University, Dept. of Physical Plant, “Proposed Law Building Location, 23 Mar. 71,” folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers (3' x 5' schematic drawing).

101. See “Law Building Trip Report,” May 18, 1971, box 2, UA 5377, J. Reuben Clark Law School Dedication Records, 1971–1975, Perry Special Collections; see also Ernest L. Wilkinson to Rex E. Lee, December 8, 1971, p. 1, folder 4, box 268, UA 1000, ELW Papers (describes trip committee’s members and findings).

102. Minutes of the Combined Concurrent Meeting of the Church Board of Education and Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, April 7, 1971, p. 5, folder 6, box 252, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

103. “Architect’s Agreement Dated July 31, 1971, Between Brigham Young University and Fetzer and Fetzer, Architects, For the Design of a Law Building,” folder 4, box 268, UA 1000, ELW Papers. As incoming BYU President, Dallin Oaks then slowed down the law building plans until the founding dean and faculty were selected and could provide input. The delay resulted in the first two years of law classes (August 1973–April 1975) being held in temporary rented quarters a mile south of campus waiting for the Fetzer & Fetzer designed building’s completion.

104. “To my mind this memorandum is woefully inadequate because it will circumscribe me in the gathering of information which is essential. I will have to discuss this with him and with Dallin later.” ELW, Diary, Wednesday, August 4, 1971. Maxwell wrote the suggested guidelines, which Romney forwarded to the entire search committee. See Marion G. Romney to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memo, “Re: Search Committee,” August 3, 1971, appendix “Ground Rules in the Search of a Dean and Faculty for the J. Reuben Clark College of Law,” folder 6, box 262, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

105. ELW, Diary, Friday, August 13, 1971. The dean candidates in Wilkinson’s files include: Thomas C. Asplund, Terry L. Crapo, Woodruff J. Deem, Edwin B. Firmage, Henry M. Grether Jr., Carl S. Hawkins, Samuel Holmes, Edward L. Kimball, Rex E. Lee, Douglas H. Parker, and Arvo Van Alostyne. Only these eleven names are in his files, although his diary says thirteen men interviewed. See ELW, Diary, Tuesday, October 5, 1971.

106. See ELW to self, memo, September 20, 1971, “Re: Woodruff J. Deem as Prospective Dean,” folder 11, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers (sixteen-page memo); “I know that Deem meets every specification, and that’s why I pressed so hard for him.” Ernest L. Wilkinson to Marion G. Romney, October 5, 1971, p. 3, folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

107. See Hawkins, “Legal Education and Career,” 593–95.

108. Wilkinson learned of his physical condition after reluctantly having a full-scale medical exam at LDS Hospital over two days. This was for shortness of breath over the prior few months “which I have tried to conceal from everyone. . . . [T]he left ventricle, where I had had my heart attack fifteen years ago, had a very extended aneurysm. . . . My son estimates that the chances of my surviving are 75% as against 25% not surviving.” ELW, Diary, Monday, September 6, 1971.

109. ELW, Diary, Tuesday, September 7, 1971. Wilkinson suggested Ed Butterworth, a BYU journalism professor and Wilkinson’s director of public communications. Butterworth later compiled his memories of Wilkinson. See Edwin Butterworth Jr., “I Remember Ernest: Vignettes on Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, 1951–1971,” 1998, Perry Special Collections.

110. ELW, Diary, Thursday, September 23, 1971.

111. N. Eldon Tanner and Harold B. Lee anointed, and Lee confirmed the anointing with a blessing assisted by all the other members of the Twelve Apostles. “This was gracious on the part of President Tanner and others, and I appreciated it very much.” ELW, Diary, Thursday, September 30, 1971; see also Ernest L. Wilkinson to The First Presidency, October 5, 1971, folder 2, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

112. ELW, Diary, Saturday, October 2, 1971.

113. ELW, Diary, Tuesday, October 5, 1971.

114. ELW, Diary, October 6 to November 29, 1971, p. 2.

115. See “Dean Lee, a Gleaning from Nation’s Legal Elite,” *Daily Universe*, November 10, 1971, 1; Hawkins, *Founding*, 10; Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:257.

116. Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 504.

117. Neal A. Maxwell to Ernest L. Wilkinson, September 21, 1971, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

118. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Boyd K. Packer, December 4, 1971, folder 7, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

119. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Rex E. Lee, December 8, 1971, folder 4, box 268, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

120. Edith Johnson to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memo, “What Role President Wilkinson Is Going to Play?” December 8, 1971, folder 25, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

121. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Rex E. Lee, December 8, 1971, folder 4, box 268, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

122. ELW, Diary, Thursday, December 16, 1971.

123. “I had a joint conference with Elders [Howard W.] Hunter and [Boyd K.] Packer concerning my frustrations over assisting in the College of Law; then a conference with Elder [Delbert L.] Stapley concerning the same.” ELW, Diary, Wednesday, December 22, 1971.

124. ELW, Diary, Tuesday, January 4, 1972.

125. Wilkinson and Rex E. Lee met for three hours (and Wilkinson missed attending his church meetings). ELW, Diary, Sunday, January 9, 1972.

126. ELW, Diary, Monday, January 10, 1972.

127. ELW, Diary, Thursday, January 13, 1972.

128. ELW, Diary, Tuesday, January 18, 1972.

129. "Memorandum of Understanding and Agreement Regarding Fund-Raising Plans for the New Law School at Brigham Young University," January 17, 1972, folder 2, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

130. "Law Building Program Requirements, Brigham Young University, Revised February 1, 1972," 6, folder 3, box 268, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

131. "Proposal for J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Law School Society at Brigham Young University," attached to Law School Development Meeting minutes, February 2, 1972, folder 2, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also "Ernest L. Wilkinson, Charter Member, J. Reuben Clark Law Society" (plaque), oversize box 296, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

132. "After the selection of [BYU Law School Dean Rex E.] Lee, Wilkinson, who had assisted in the selection but by that time was in the hospital recovering from heart surgery, was not called upon to perform any further assignments in the creation or operation of the law school, except for minor assistance in planning the law school building and in raising funds." Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 449; see also Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:257.

133. See "Deem, 1972," folder 11, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

134. Rex E. Lee to Ernest L. Wilkinson, November 14, 1977, box 267, folder 1, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

135. See Samuel D. Thurman, Robert Van Sciver and Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Forecast of Lawyer Placement in Utah," *Utah Bar Journal* 1, nos. 6-7 & 8 (October-December 1973): 3-16 ("Report to the Utah State Bar Association's Long Range Planning Committee by its Subcommittee . . . August 15, 1973").

136. See "Ground Broken for Y. Law Building," *Deseret News*, May 1, 1973, D6; see also Hawkins, *Founding*, 23.

137. Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Opening Prayer at Beginning of J. Reuben Clark School of Law by Ernest L. Wilkinson, August 27, 1973," folder 3, box 111, UA 1000, ELW Papers (box title: "Speeches Given by Wilkinson: Brigham Young University, 1971-1976"). Wilkinson spent over fifteen hours preparing this prayer/speech during the week and weekend before, including from 4:30 to 7 a.m. the morning he gave it. See Thursday, August 23, 1973 (1½ hours), Friday, August 24, 1973" (3 hours), Saturday, August 25, 1973 (2 hours), Sunday, August 26, 1973 (3½ hours), and Monday, August 27, 1973 (2½ hours), ELW, Diary. Three years later, Wilkinson published a quote from his prayer/speech to support his "Reasons for Founding a Law School at BYU," in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:249. Wilkinson's prayer/speech was not printed by the university with the other speeches in *Addresses at the Ceremony Opening the J. Reuben Clark Law School, August 27, 1973* ([Provo, Utah]: Brigham Young University, 1973).

138. See "Citation: Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr.," in *Dedication: To Justice, to Excellence, to Responsibility: Proceedings at the Convocation and Dedication of the J. Reuben Clark College of Law, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, September 5, 1975* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1975), 73-79; see also Dallin H. Oaks to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memo, "Re: Honorary Degree Citation for Lewis F.

Powell, Jr.," July 31, 1975, folder 4, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers; and ELW to Dallin H. Oaks, memo, "Re: Honorary Degree Citation for Hon. Lewis F. Powell, Jr.," August 6, 1975, folder 4, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

139. See, for example, the detailed twelve-page memo, Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Summary Report on Fund Raising Activities for the Brigham Young University as of Labor Day, September 4, 1972," folder 2, box 269, UA 1000, ELW Papers; see also Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:261.

140. "Wilkinson greatly admired George Sutherland (1862–1942), a graduate of BYU and a Utah Congressman, U.S. Senator for two terms, and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1922 to 1938—the only man from Utah to be appointed to the Supreme Court." Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 531–532. "I admit that Sutherland has been an idol of mine. Whenever I appeared before the Supreme Court he would always invite me to his chambers and talk about Karl G. Maeser. Even though he never joined the Church, he idolized Maeser as few men did." Ernest L. Wilkinson to Samuel D. Thurman, March 23, 1974, folder 1, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers. For an excellent article showing Sutherland's BYU connections, see Edward L. Carter and James C. Phillips, "The Mormon Education of a Gentile Justice: George Sutherland and Brigham Young Academy," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 33 (2008): 322–40.

141. See "The J. Reuben Clark Law School," in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 4:245–75; see also Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, "The J. Reuben Clark Law School," in *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1976), 812–26.

142. Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 539.

143. "This is the address I was originally scheduled to give almost a year before, but had to postpone indefinitely because of my heart attack the end of October [1976]." ELW, Diary, "May 1977 through December 24, 1977"; see "Address of Ernest L. Wilkinson to Students at the J. Reuben Clark Law School on September 22, 1977, on How to Make a \$2,800,000 Fee," folder 4, box 126, UA 1000, ELW Papers. *Confederated Bands of Ute Indians v. United States*, 120 Ct.Cl. 609–682 (1951) was the court case for almost \$32 million dollars with attorney fees of 8¼ percent. See R. Warren Metcalf, "Ernest L. Wilkinson and Eighteen Million Dollars," in *Termination's Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 49–73; "The Big Ute and Related Cases," in Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 185–243.

144. See, for example, Ernest L. Wilkinson to Gordon Burt Affleck, April 27, 1976, folder 6, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers (talking about number of BYU law graduates); Ernest L. Wilkinson to Monte Neal Stewart, January 31, 1977, folder 11, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers (congratulatory letter to BYU law graduate appointed U.S. Supreme Court clerk); Ernest L. Wilkinson to Mary Anne Wood, March 24, 1978, folder 11, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers (writing to new BYU law professor on her BYU forum address).

145. As of 2013, BYU ranks among the top fifty law schools in the country, competing against many older institutions. For example, of the forty-three U.S. law schools approved by the American Bar Association *after* BYU, BYU is ranked higher (two-way tie for #44 out of *all* U.S. law schools) than any

others besides the George Mason University School of Law near Washington, D.C. (established in 1979) (three-way tie for #41). In addition, of the older law schools ranked higher, all but three were approved by the ABA in the 1920s and 1930s. Compare “Best Law Schools,” *U.S. News & World Report*, <http://grad-schools.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-graduate-schools/top-law-schools/law-rankings>, with American Bar Association, “ABA-Approved Law Schools by Year Approved,” http://www.americanbar.org/groups/legal_education/resources/aba_approved_law_schools/by_year_approved.html.

146. For example, after seeing an alumni letter sent by the new University of Utah Law School dean, Wilkinson was “amused” at the dean’s concern “over the future of that school in view of the fact that in three short years Brigham Young University already has better facilities, a larger student body, and greater future opportunities.” Ernest L. Wilkinson to Dallin H. Oaks and Carl S. Hawkins, memo, “Re: The University of Utah College of Law,” November 4, 1975, folder 2, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

147. “The issues that predetermined the kind of law school that it was going to be came out of the personnel selections that were made by [President Romney’s] selection committee. The decisions were not made by debating abstract ideology that asked you what kind of law school it ought to be.” Carl S. Hawkins, “History of J. Reuben Clark Law School,” [2], February 2, 2009 presentation, History of Mormon Lawyering course, J. Reuben Clark Law School (transcript on file with the author); see also Hawkins, *Founding*, 5.

148. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Edward H. Levi, “Re: Dallin H. Oaks,” December 1, 1953, folder 5, box 86, UA 1086, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Levi was dean of University of Chicago Law School, 1950–62, and a mentor to Dallin H. Oaks and others. See Dallin H. Oaks, “The Beginning and the End of a Lawyer,” in Cameron, Fletcher, and Wise, *Life in the Law: Service*, 214–16, 223. As a BYU student, Oaks wrote Wilkinson asking for “a possible recommendation for a scholarship,” after the two talked while walking up the hill to campus following a university assembly and Wilkinson “mentioned that [he] considered Harvard, Chicago, and Michigan to be the leading Eastern Law Schools.” Dallin H. Oaks to Ernest L. Wilkinson, November 21, 1953, folder 5, box 86, UA 1086, Wilkinson Presidential Papers; see also Dallin H. Oaks to author, June 25, 2012.

149. Wilkinson’s letter was a reply to Oaks’s letter of thanks. See Dallin H. Oaks to Ernest L. Wilkinson, March 20, 1957, reprinted in Jeanne Grow, “Stewart L. Grow: Potter at the Wheel of the History of Mormon Lawyers,” unpublished student paper, BYU Law School, 1978, leaf [65], copy in Howard W. Hunter Law Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; see Ernest L. Wilkinson to Dallin H. Oaks, March 26, 1957, reprinted in Grow, “Stewart L. Grow,” leaf [66]; “Ernest Wilkinson . . . had known Dallin [Oaks] as a BYU student, had encouraged him to attend the University of Chicago Law School, and had referred Dallin to Carl Hawkins at the Wilkinson law firm in Washington, D.C., who helped him obtain a Supreme Court clerkship.” Hafen, *Disciple’s Life*, 358; “In a telephone interview, Dr. Wilkinson . . . said he remembers President Oaks as a very competent student while an undergraduate at BYU.” “Wilkinson: A Fine President,” *Daily Universe*, November 12, 1971, 5.

150. See “Student Body President and Executive Council,” *Banyan* 1960 ([Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University], 1960), 254–55. Wilkinson and Rex E. Lee also would have interacted in Lee’s positions of BYU freshman class president 1953–54, BYU student senate president 1958–59, member of the BYU Stake high council, and a member of the general YMMIA board. See Brigham L. Udall, “From St. Johns to Chicago: Rex E. Lee’s Early Life,” unpublished student paper, BYU Law School, 2013, 8–9, 12–13, copy in Hunter Law Library. “President Wilkinson and I, from the days that I was a student officer here, had the closest possible working relationship.” “Dean Rex E. Lee: ‘It’s Staggering,’” *Daily Universe*, November 10, 1971, 5 (statement by Rex E. Lee at news conference announcing his law school dean appointment).

151. Rex Lee, Janet Lee, and Jim Bell, *Marathon of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), [186].

152. See Lisa Bolin Hawkins, “Obituary: Carl S. Hawkins,” *Deseret News*, May 1, 2010, B4, reprinted in Lisa Bolin Hawkins, *Personal Histories*, 427–28; see also generally Hawkins, “Legal Education and Career,” 463–514.

153. See Hawkins, *Founding*, 14.

154. The day before his heart surgery, Wilkinson wrote the chair of the dean selection committee, “For your confidential information, I am definitely opposed to . . . a person with the liberal tendencies of Carl Hawkins—much as I love Carl, who started practice in my law office.” ELW to Marion G. Romney, October 5, 1971, pp. 1–2, folder 24, box 272, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

155. Hawkins, “Legal Education and Career,” 518–22; see also Bruce C. Hafen, “A Walk by Faith: Founding Stories of the Law School,” in Cameron, Fletcher, and Wise, *Life in the Law: Service*, 273–74; Bruce C. Hafen, “Law School Tribute,” in Lisa Bolin Hawkins, *Personal Histories*, 437–40 (remarks at Carl S. Hawkins’s funeral services, Orem, Utah, May 3, 2010); Hawkins, *Founding*, 19–20; Fleming, “Carl Hawkins,” 799–802.

156. “I want to thank you for the great role you have played in the founding and establishment of this Law School.” Carl S. Hawkins to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memo, “Re: Law School Dedicatory Exercises,” September 17, 1975, folder 4, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers. “We will always be grateful to you for these and many other efforts during those crucial early days of this Law School.” Rex E. Lee to Ernest L. Wilkinson, November 14, 1977, folder 1, box 267, UA 1000, ELW Papers.

What Happened to My Bell-Bottoms?

**How Things That Were Never Going to Change
Have Sometimes Changed Anyway,
and How Studying History Can Help Us
Make Sense of It All**

Craig Harline

A lot of years ago, I climbed into an airport van in St. Louis with eight or nine other historians who had been attending the famous Sixteenth Century Society Conference. We chatted merrily, telling hilarious inside jokes about our favorite century, until the driver of the van suddenly boomed out, “So whadda y’all been doing here?” Silence. We all knew exactly what we and six hundred other historians had been doing here: talking about the sixteenth century. But we weren’t sure how to explain that to a normal person. Finally somebody had the nerve to say, “We all study the sixteenth century.” Silence again. Mindful of his tips, the driver finally said politely, “Well, I guess somebody’s gotta do it,” and stepped on it.

That event and nine hundred others like it made a big impact on me. Historians do actually have good and even socially responsible reasons for doing what we do, but we don’t always stop to think about them, maybe partly because the reasons seem pretty self-evident to us, and maybe mostly because what we really want to do is get back to work. So maybe out of laziness, or a little desperation, we plaster the walls of history departments with tired old platitudes, like “Whoever doesn’t learn from the past is condemned to repeat it, blah blah blah,”¹ and hope that

1. Even this famous statement, by George Santayana (minus the blah blah blah), turns out not to be entirely helpful, because it suggests that if you *do* remember the past then you somehow won’t repeat it—a suggestion that has been disproven over and over again in history. Maybe this was what Stephen Colbert had in mind when he said, “There’s an old saying about those who forget history. I don’t remember it, but it’s good.” *The Colbert Report*, March 10, 2008.

2013 Hickman Lecture

This article was originally presented in somewhat different form (with a lot more visual aids) as the Martin B. Hickman Outstanding Scholar Lecture at BYU in March 2013. This annual lecture, sponsored by the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences, is named in honor of a former dean of the college, who is considered the founder of BYU's American Heritage Program and who was also instrumental in creating the Women's Research Institute, the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, the Family Studies Center, and other significant research efforts. The lecture was established to recognize annually a distinguished member of the college faculty who emulates Hickman's example.



Craig Harline

these will satisfy potential critics. Or if you're lucky, you don't even have to explain why you study the particular bit of history that you study, because your particular bit happens to be something that normal people think is important, like something to do with their country, or their religion, or their family, or historical celebrities they have heard of, or of course war. But what if your particular bit of history, like mine, stars obscure people who lived in Europe a lot of obscure centuries ago? Or what if your motto for choosing a research subject might as well be "anything that sounds exciting or that you've heard of, I probably don't study"?

Well, then you've got some serious explaining to do, and that's where we, including me, don't always do a very good job of things, as the scene in the airport van demonstrated. The Hickman lecture is as good a moment as any to try doing some of that explaining, to try saying what your particular bit of research, and even your discipline in general, might be good for. Contrary to what assorted family members and friends think, studying history is not just good for becoming a whiz at Jeopardy or other parlor games that will make you the life of any

party. It's not even just good for those old reliables, "developing writing and analytical skills," because a lot of disciplines can do that. No, what studying history is most good for, even really old history, is the insight it can give you into life right now.

Maybe the most fundamental insight really old history has to offer is some perspective on change. All historians study change, of course. Sure, they study the past, but what they're really studying is change in the past, in every realm of life. The books I've written are mostly about changes in European religions during the Reformation, while one looks at changes in Sunday practice over dozens of centuries.² What my current bit of research is about, though,³ and what I want to address here, is not a particular sort of change in a particular place and time, but the fact of change itself. What's to be learned from the very fact that things change, especially really big things that people thought would never change? Especially really big things in my favorite realms of study, religion and culture?

You don't have to study really old history to notice really big religious and cultural change, of course. Just about anyone halfway paying attention in life will see change happen right before his or her eyes, from one generation to another. You all know how it goes: you grow up learning how your parents do and see things. You mostly go along until you get a little older, when you start doing and seeing things more like your friends. You even get the exciting feeling that you and your friends are helping to fix what's wrong with your parents' world, especially in the obvious ways of clothing and hairstyles and music and dancing and movies but also in their more abstract values: you're not just making the world different, but better! Your parents are of course alarmed at what your generation is doing and don't believe for one second that your changes are better at all: in fact they believe it's their job to save you from those changes. You yourself don't accept *all* the changes going on, but you're not threatened by them the way your parents are, so that even if

2. My books are *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Private Lives in a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); *A Bishop's Tale* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); *Miracles at the Jesus Oak* (New York: Doubleday, 2003); *Sunday: A History of the First Day from Babylonia to the Super Bowl* (New York: Doubleday, 2007; paperback, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011); *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011).

3. Meaning that I am planning to write a book on this subject, featuring many of the case studies discussed later in this article.



FIGURE 1 (*left*). The author with long hair and short sleeves, ready for prom, 1973. FIGURE 2 (*center*). The author and his mom, appropriately dressed to visit the Oakland Temple, 1975. FIGURE 3 (*right*). The author in some other chic bell-bottoms, in France, 1979.

you're, say, a Mormon boy in the 1960s and '70s, you can pick and choose the changes you like and feel great about it, like maybe longer hair,⁴ or obscenely colorful clothes, or stunningly wide bell-bottoms and lapels that require way more than your rightful share of the earth's sustainable textiles to make (figs. 1, 2, 3). Or if you're a Mormon girl maybe you have epic battles over skirt lengths and nylons because your parents are sure they mean one thing and you're sure they mean something else. And all of this struggle is not because you're necessarily trying to get your parents mad or because you think *everything* about your new culture is great but because a lot of it just feels natural and right and *normal*. You're not *completely* different from your parents, but as you get into your late teens and early twenties you're different enough that when you hear them talking to their friends, you understand the words but think to yourself, "What in the world are they talking about?" In the

4. For an interesting example of how attitudes toward long hair changed over time, especially in one period in American history, see D. Hickey, "The United States Army versus Long Hair," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 462–74, which shows that a traditionally minded soldier refused to cut his long hair, infuriating progressives who wanted it short (thanks to Neil York for the reference). At other times in European history too there is evidence of conservative-minded people favoring long hair—which might have come as a surprise to conservatives of the 1960s and '70s, for instance.

end, you revel in the changes that you and yours have made, proud of your absolutely necessary innovations in music and clothing and values.

Then you get married and have kids, and you're sure those kids will thank you for what your generation hath wrought by doing things pretty much the way you did. But then your very own flesh and blood somehow don't appreciate how hip and progressive you are, so unlike your own old-fashioned parents. And pretty soon you're sitting around with your friends, shaking your heads and saying, "Kids these days!" You complain about their music and language and dancing and wonder why they even bother to wear pants if they're not going to pull them up? And one of your friends will try to find a little hope by saying, "Well, our parents said the same things about us," but everybody will shout that down and say, "That's different! What we changed *needed* to be changed, but this new stuff is *really* bad," basically expressing no faith that maybe your kids can negotiate their emerging culture the same way you negotiated yours. At least you get a little relief at the grocery store, where your really innovative and edgy music is now playing all the time, if at subdued levels, maybe even some Santana or Fleetwood Mac, and you think as you roll through the fruits and vegetables bobbing your head off-beat, "Now *this* is good music," instead of thinking that "Gee, maybe my really edgy music is playing in the grocery store because it's safe and boring now, just like Perry Mason and the Lucy Show, instead of because it's good." But you're still so sure it's good that you and your friends keep running to concerts of Santana and Fleetwood Mac and the Rolling Stones, and you'll keep running until you, just like the bands, are wearing Depends Adult Diapers. Meanwhile, back home, you're still trying to influence your kids; they don't reject everything about you, but they're different enough that when they're in their late teens and early twenties and you hear them talking to their friends, you understand the words but think to yourself, "What in the world are they talking about?" Soon even your fashion-changing wife is turning on you, trying to get you to wear straight-legged pants like normal people; you feel the moral fiber leave your body when you try those pants on, which are not the true and natural shape of pants but merely the latest fashion. In not too many years you're concluding that the decline going on all around you is probably the biggest such decline in the history of the world and that the end is near. You grumble at the theatre, at the restaurant, and even in front of the TV, wishing things were as good as they once were. And in the end you might as well be saying with the Venerable Jorge, the blind old monk in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*, "There is no progress . . . , merely a continuous and sublime recapitulation."

Two famous songs from the '70s say all this a little more pithily. One is by Mama Cass, joyously singing, "There's a new world coming, And it's just around the bend, There's a new world coming, This one's coming to an end," while the second was made famous by Archie and Edith Bunker, who melancholically sang, "Those were the days," lamenting the disappearance of all the familiar things they knew. Those are the twin theme songs of every generation: when you're young, a thrill about the new world you're helping to bring about, and then, later on in life, real sadness that it seems to be disappearing.

What studying really old history does is to help us see beyond the usual sorts of generational change we notice in our own lifetimes and also to make sense of it all—to understand how change happens and how we might respond to it. Most of us make our judgments about religious and cultural change around us and how those changes fit into the whole history of the world based on the really short, severely limited, and hugely egocentric perspective of our own tiny lifetime. But if we take a closer look at change over the long haul, maybe we can understand better how change happens in any time, including our own. And save ourselves a lot of money on Prozac too.

Among other things, a long look at change makes you a lot more reluctant to make declarations about which changes represent progress or decline, or about which generation is superior to another. You'd have to lay out all the deeds and values of every generation to draw reliable conclusions about these. And even if you managed to lay out all those deeds, which generation's standard of right and wrong would you use to judge them? Every generation is pretty sure of its superiority to others, and yet every generation has, usually without knowing it, accepted as right things which previous generations thought were wrong, and vice versa. For instance, in the mid-nineteenth century it was a good idea to put young boys in dresses for pictures (fig. 4); this is a boy, Heber J. Grant, in 1860. But many parents today might not think it a good idea to dress a boy like that.⁵ You could of course call in some objective judge of right and wrong to settle these disagreements, and

5. See A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500–1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), for more on general attitudes toward gender and dress (thanks to Amy Harris for this reference), and also S. J. Pearson, "‘Infantile Specimens’: Showing Babies in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Social History* 42 (Winter 2008): 341–70, for more on dressing babies in the United States (thanks to Rebecca de Schweinitz for that reference).

in the West the favorite has been the Christian Bible—but that can be tricky because interpretations of the Bible have themselves changed over the centuries.

So if progress or decline doesn't necessarily explain change, what does? Scholars have tried some helpful but dreary-sounding theories like "cohort replacement" and "informational cascades."⁶ I'm in the early stages of developing my own ideas, but so far I'm leaning toward the idea that it might be helpful to understand change not as decline or progress but as a sort of reconfiguration, or as the book of Acts puts it, a time of refreshing.⁷ People start



FIGURE 4. Heber J. Grant, about age four, c. 1860. Courtesy Church History Library.

6. I'm not even close to being one of the first to think about how and why things change. A famous philosophical approach was Nietzsche's famous *On the Genealogy of Morality*, while a not-quite-as-ambitious historical example is W. Hartpole Lecky, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (New York: 1869). A popular example is Malcolm Gladwell's *The Tipping Point* (New York: Little, Brown, 2000). Academic and more empirically driven studies of change per se are vast and dominated by sociologists, anthropologists, and economic and political theorists: examples include S. Bikhchandani, D. Hirshleifer, and I. Welch, "A Theory of Fads, Fashion, Custom, and Cultural Change as Informational Cascades," *Journal of Political Economy* 100 (October 1992): 992–1026; R. Boudon, "Why Theories of Social Change Fail: Some Methodological Thoughts," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 47 (Summer 1983): 143–60; P. Garonna and U. Triacca, "Social Change: Measurement and Theory," *International Statistical Review/Revue Internationale de Statistique* 67 (April 1999): 49–62; R. Inglehart and W. E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review* 65 (February 2000): 19–51; M. D. Sahllins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981) (thanks to Ed Stratford for that reference); G. Lenski, "History and Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (November 1976): 548–64; W. E. Moore, "A Reconsideration of Theories of Social Change," *American Sociological Review* 25 (December 1960): 810–18; M. David-Fox, "What Is Cultural Revolution?" *Russian Review* 58 (April 1999): 181–201; D. Gartman, "Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Change: Explication, Application, Critique," *Sociological Theory* 20 (July 2002): 255–77.

7. Acts 3:19, "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."

seeing old things differently and seeing new things because they ask new questions, often because of new conditions around them; then they work their new way of seeing into a new system of right and wrong. I searched for a way to illustrate this idea visually and came up with an elaborate chart showing a system of “dynamic reconfiguration,” but decided that a better image was one my grandchildren might understand: a snow globe. When it’s at rest, you see a blissfully peaceful scene inside, but when you shake it up the scene becomes chaotic, until the snow descends and a new configuration of the elements results in a new and arguably equally peaceful scene.

I won’t go through every possible configuration and reconfiguration that has occurred over time, but I will highlight a few changes in Western Christian culture alone.⁸ We can start with something as simple as language. My good-hearted mother sometimes washed our mouths out with soap when we used slang words she thought were bad, so imagine my surprise when I learned decades later that some of the slang words she used herself were originally obscene. (I won’t repeat them so I don’t torment her or anyone else who uses them, because heavy is the burden of historical knowledge.) At a recent BYU devotional, the fairly young speaker used a word that originally was even more obscene than my mother’s favorites, and no one batted an eye, because to the speaker and most of the audience it was just a fun noun. Or how about the phrase “Good grief,” so wholesome that even Charlie Brown says it? Turns out it’s just another minced swear word, with the “good” referring to God (as it does in any English minced swear word containing “good”). In fact, there are hundreds of such words, and most people reading this probably say some of them regularly without thinking them bad while

8. Some interesting studies of general change in Christianity (much of which later believers were unaware had changed at all) include C. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); D. Irvin, *Christian Histories, Christian Traditioning: Rendering Accounts* (Maryknoll, Md.: Orbis, 1998); J. Thiel, *Sense of Tradition: Continuity and Development in Catholic Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); J. van Henten and A. Houtepen, eds., *Religious Identity and the Invention of Tradition* (Assen, Netherlands: Brill, 2001) (thanks to Miranda Wilcox for pointing me to these); J. T. Noonan Jr., *A Church That Can and Cannot Change: The Development of Catholic Moral Teaching* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); C. E. Curran, *Change in Official Catholic Moral Teachings* (New York: Paulist, 2003).

thinking certain other words definitely bad, which I know because I and the rest of the historical police hear you.

Or how about left-handedness, which for centuries in the West was not seen as just another hand but as a problem, and even the evil hand.⁹ The Latin word for left is *sinister*, the French word for left is *gauche*, and so on. Any child who preferred the left hand was seen as unusually willful and deliberately perverse. Religious rituals favored the right hand, a toast of ill-will was a left-handed toast, a subtle insult was a left-handed compliment, ambidextrous didn't mean using both hands equally, it meant having two right hands. Right wasn't just directional, but moral, clear into the twentieth century, until people began to view left-handedness as just another form of handedness. Left-handedness itself didn't change, but how it was seen changed.

And who would've thought that polyphonic music was ever bad? The Church preferred plainchant, everyone singing the same note and same word at the same time. Polyphony, or singing different notes and different words at the same or different times, was worldly.¹⁰ But around AD 900 some church composers believed it was possible to bring polyphony into religious music. Many churchmen resisted, especially when third and sixth intervals were involved, because they were seen as sensuous and therefore conducive to unholy thoughts. Yet the single most famous piece of polyphony in the Christian West, Handel's *Messiah* (fig. 5), is now considered a religious piece, even though Handel himself considered it secular and had it performed in concert halls and theatres, not churches.

9. See the somewhat odd and playing-to-type but interesting book by M. Barsley, *The Other Hand: An Investigation into the Sinister History of Left-Handedness* (New York: Hawthorne, 1967).

10. This paragraph is based on J. R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (New York: B. T. Batsford, 1978), 160–203; R. F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 AD to 1977 AD* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1979), 9–37, 78–90; G. J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004), 15, 42, 501; J. A. Owens and A. M. Cummings, eds., *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts* (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 281–84; J. Riedel, ed., *Cantors at the Crossroads: Essays on Church Music in Honor of Walter E Buszin* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1967), 66–73; E. M. Grew, "Martin Luther and Music," *Music and Letters* 19 (January 1938): 70–78; J. S. Lawrence, "The Diatonic Scale: More Than Meets the Ear," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 46 (Winter 1987): 281–91; K. G. Fellerer and M. Hadas, "Church Music and the Council of Trent," *Musical Quarterly* 39 (October 1953): 576–94; J. Dean, "Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500," *Early Music* 25 (November 1997): 611–36.

The image shows a musical score excerpt from G. F. Handel's *Messiah*. It features a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The piano part consists of three staves: a grand staff (treble and bass clef) and a single bass staff. The vocal line is on a single staff with a treble clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "us a son is gi-ven, for un-to us a child is born. For un-to us a child is born, un-to us a son is".

FIGURE 5. Excerpt from G. F. Handel, *Messiah*.

Even though the piece is rampant with thirds and sixths, none of us upon hearing it probably feel like running out and renouncing religion, but instead hear a supremely religious work of music, because our tastes in good religious music are different from tastes in the Middle Ages.

Beyond these changes were bigger ones that did seem to turn the world upside down, shake the foundations, and tear up the roots, which is the root meaning of the word “radical.” We might go along with changes in music or language or fashion and even be glad about changes in science and technology, but changes in what we were sure had always been right and wrong? Those can make us start fainting and groaning and having heart attacks, like the delegates listening to Khrushchev’s secret speech in 1956. Changes like that are simply unimaginable, yet they’ve occurred anyway, even though they sometimes take several generations because they’re so big. Some of these big changes don’t seem so big to us; in fact, they seem so obviously true that we assume, well, of course *that* needed to change, and in fact why would things have ever been any other way? But we can think that only because some earlier generation made that change part of a new configuration of values that eventually became part of our own configuration, without our even realizing it. At the time, however, these changes were every bit as unimaginable as any unimaginable change that might threaten your own world.

Early big changes like this are plentiful in the New Testament, as in the book of Acts. There Peter, a devout Jew who believed he'd found the Messiah, had a famous dream in which a big sheet full of four-footed animals descended upon him.¹¹ A voice told him to eat those animals, but Peter insisted he couldn't, because God had said they were common and unclean, but the voice responded, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." Peter must've felt completely schizophrenic: God was telling him to eat what Peter assumed God had said not to eat. He was so astonished he had to be told three times. Peter interpreted the dream to mean that the Gentiles weren't as unclean as he'd thought, in fact that God had "put no difference between us and them" (Acts 15:9) and that it was fine to let them hear the good news about Jesus the Messiah. When other Jesus-following Jews heard the news about Gentiles, they were astonished too, including James the brother of Jesus.

Paul of Tarsus also said he had a revelation from God about the Gentiles, but this dream went further than Peter's, and further than what James the brother of Jesus envisioned too. Most followers of Jesus still thought of themselves as Jews who had found their Messiah, which meant that they continued to follow Jewish law.¹² It was fine for Gentiles to convert, but it was also assumed that they too would have to follow Jewish law. Paul had other ideas: going to the Gentiles meant adapting certain things to them. And so he said that Gentile converts wouldn't have to divorce their Gentile spouses, and that it was okay to eat meat sacrificed to pagan idols because idols weren't real anyway, and that maybe circumcision was asking a little much of Gentile men. Many Jewish followers of Jesus were horrified, and debates broke out, as they always do when change threatens. Conferences were held, agreements were struck, Paul continued on, and his version of things gradually became the most popular among Christians.

But the story wasn't over. A recent and important book by Elaine Pagels on the book of Revelation shows that followers of Jesus were still arguing for generations, and that one of the loudest critics of Paul and his disciples was none other than John of Patmos, the Revelator. Like Peter and Paul, John had a vision too, a famous one of the end of the world. But that end he saw wasn't in some distant time: it was of John's

11. The dream is recounted in Acts 10.

12. This and the following paragraph are based largely on E. Pagels, *Revelations: Visions, Prophecy, and Politics in the Book of Revelation* (New York: Penguin, 2012), especially chs. 1 and 2.

own world. It was going to hell, and God was about to take out his wrath on it, and why? Not just because of the wickedness of pagan Rome, but also because some followers of Jesus had compromised with Rome and corrupted true religion—probably most especially Paul’s disciples. Pagels concludes that even though the book of Revelation and Paul’s epistles ended up happily under the same New Testament cover, they reflect two competing visions of what Jesus’s message meant. John linked adapters with pagans and the devil. To him the changes were as shocking as it would be for Mormons to hear that their health code was fine but not essential or that all that temple work was dandy but not really necessary. To Gentile converts, however, the adaptations made by Paul weren’t compromises at all but were necessary and inspired changes; the version of the gospel promoted by John was old-fashioned.

Gentile converts could, of course, play the moral superiority card too, and also condemn compromising with the world. They just had different ideas from John about what compromising entailed. Gentile converts insisted, for instance, that true Christians, as they were beginning to call themselves, should not use the word “Sunday” to refer to the first day of the week, when they got together to remember Jesus.¹³ Modern English-speaking Christians have no problem saying “Sunday,” or calling Sunday the Sabbath. But ancient Gentile Christians would’ve been horrified that we use either term. Sunday, the day of the sun, was a pagan day. To say it was to compromise with pagan Rome. Real Christians should call it the Lord’s Day (*dies domini*), which is still reflected in most Romance languages, descended from the Latin that ancient Christians spoke:

Latin: *dies domini*

Spanish: *domingo*

Portuguese: *domingo*

French: *dimanche*

Catalan: *diumenge*

Italian: *domenica*

And Sunday certainly wasn’t the Sabbath, which fell the day before, on the Roman Saturn Day, and was only for Jews, to whom Christians felt

13. This section on Sunday is based on my *Sunday: A History of the First Day from Babylonia to the Super Bowl* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), especially chs. 1 through 3.

increasingly superior. This usage is also reflected in modern Romance languages:

Latin: sabbatum

Spanish: sábado

Portuguese: sábado

French: samedi

Catalan: dissabte

Italian: sabato

But it wasn't just that the Sabbath fell on another day. More fundamentally, it was that Christians boasted that, unlike Jews, they didn't need a special day of the week to remind them to worship God: every day was holy to a Christian. Views of using the word "Sunday" started changing after 600, as Christianity moved into Germanic northern Europe. Speakers of Germanic languages, including English, just kept using "Sunday," because it didn't have the same un-Christian connotation to them that it had to southerners. Also by this time, Christians had decided that one way to show their superiority to Jews was to observe their own special Lord's Day even more rigorously than Jews observed their Sabbath; some even began calling the Lord's Day a sort of Christian Sabbath. By the time of my beloved sixteenth century, English Puritans insisted that the Sabbath had actually been transferred to Sunday by divine decree. And so for English speakers, "Sabbath" and "Sunday" came to be synonymous and religious and therefore good. But ancient Christians might regard us as complete slackers or heretics for saying either one.

Even more stunning to ancient and medieval Christians would have been the Christian acceptance after 1500 of lending money at interest, and that churches would someday be filled with bankers.¹⁴ For

14. The section on usury is based on D. W. Jones, *Reforming the Morality of Usury* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2004); J. T. Noonan Jr., "Usury: The Amendment of Papal Teaching by Theologians," in *Change in Official Catholic Moral Teachings*, ed. C. Curran (New York: Paulist, 2003), 80–108; J. T. Noonan Jr., "Development in Moral Doctrine," in Curran, *Change in Official Catholic Moral Teachings*, 287–305; J. T. Noonan Jr., *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); O. Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury according to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200–1350* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); B. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

1,500 years, usury was prohibited in the Christian West on the basis of various Old Testament texts and could even result in automatic excommunication. The Christian ideal was to lend out of brotherly love. Charging extra was a form of economic oppression and not just another sin but one of the hugest sins: Dante put usurers in the lowest circle of his *Inferno*, and everyone understood why. Then a funny thing happened: as more and more cities emerged after 1000, so did more and more merchants, and so did the need for more credit. Even to Christian merchants it made sense that paying a little interest on a loan was a fair trade-off for the risk involved. And around 1500, Europe experienced its first period of inflation, causing some to argue that charging interest was necessary just to break even. In other words, new conditions caused people to question old apparently unchangeable assumptions and to develop a new system of values around it. Even that great lover of the Bible John Calvin saw reason to reinterpret things, and he did so by using a historical argument: conditions in sixteenth-century Europe were different from those in ancient Israel. This historical approach would become, maybe to Calvin's horror, one of the founding principles of biblical interpretation in later centuries: a text had to be read in its original context to draw out the lasting meaning. The implication was huge: something that had been assumed to be a lasting ideal might simply be a temporary rule. And if true of usury, maybe it was true of other biblical precepts too. The idea was articulated fully three hundred years later by Samuel Holdheim, the first Reform Jewish Rabbi of Berlin: "A law, even though divine, is potent only so long as the conditions and circumstances of life, to meet which it was enacted, continue; when these change, however, the law also must be abrogated, even though it have God for its author. For God himself has shown indubitably that with the change of the circumstances and conditions of life for which He once gave those laws, the laws themselves cease to be operative."¹⁵ And so the texts on usury were reinterpreted to mean that usury could now be good, if it promoted brotherly love, if it helped the borrower and not just the lender, and if the interest rate was not excessive. By 1650 all Protestants agreed, and by 1750 Catholics did too. Future generations would be mostly unaware usury had even been an issue in the past. But most Christians before 1500 would have been stunned by usury's

15. Quoted in R. Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (New York: HarperOne, 1977), 53.

respectability, or by the later idea that fair interest rates and prices should be determined by some invisible hand that said a fair price was what people were willing to pay, rather than something determined by Christian morals.

Another biblical precept people thought wouldn't change was the nature of the universe.¹⁶ For almost two thousand years, the Christian West didn't simply accept but assumed that the earth was at the center of all things and that heavenly bodies were perfectly smooth crystalline spheres. This was based partly on those classical giants Ptolemy and Aristotle and partly on Christian authority, especially six or seven texts of the Bible. But in 1540, Nicolas Copernicus concluded that putting the sun at the center of the universe explained heavenly motion better than putting the earth at the center did. It was Galileo who popularized the idea though, through witty dialogues he wrote after 1600. It was also Galileo who first thought of turning the newly invented microscope on the heavens. No one had done so before, because there was no need: everyone knew that the heavens were already understood. But what he saw was stunning: the sun had spots on it, the surface of the moon was irregular, and Jupiter had moons! Jupiter couldn't have moons, because everything orbited around earth alone. Galileo never lacked for confidence, but he wouldn't simply reject the Bible. So he first used the historical argument to reinterpret what it said about the universe, explaining that though the Bible could never err, it's not always obvious what the meaning of a verse is, even when it seems obvious. He also argued that the Bible was better on some subjects, like spirituality, than on others, like nature. In fact, if there was a contradiction between our *observations* of nature and what the Bible *said* about nature, we should

16. See for this section on notions of the universe A. Fantoli, *Galileo: For Copernicanism and for the Church* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2003), which includes on 370–71 the praise of Galileo by John Paul II, quoted below; R. Feldhay, *Galileo and the Church: Political Inquisition or Critical Dialogue?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); J. M. Lattis, *Between Copernicus and Galileo: Christoph Clavius and the Collapse of Ptolemaic Cosmology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); E. McMullin, ed., *The Church and Galileo* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); P. Redondi, *Galileo Heretic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); S. Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); J. J. Langford, *Galileo, Science, and the Church* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); M. A. Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); T. F. Mayer, *The Trial of Galileo 1612–1633* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

prefer our observations. Finally, he also used the argument that the Bible must be interpreted in light of new knowledge that emerges, saying that “we do have in our age new events and observations such that if Aristotle were now alive, I have no doubt he would change his opinion.”¹⁷ And maybe the writers of the Bible would too.

Some churchmen, especially those favorable toward science, were interested in Galileo’s ideas but insisted he present them as merely a theory, rather than reality. Most churchmen, though, insisted that putting the sun at the center of the universe was “without any doubt against scripture,” and anyone who said otherwise were proud “men of the world” who thought they knew better than scripture or all the holy fathers. This wasn’t just a scientific matter, but a spiritual one. As Cardinal Bellarmine put it, “The problem was not to expand scripture but to defend it against error.”¹⁸ Another cardinal famously refused to look at the heavens through Galileo’s telescope, fearing it was a trick, but perhaps he also feared what he might see: it simply *could* not be true. For a host of reasons, the church condemned Galileo in 1633 and placed his writings on the Index of Prohibited Books. The church championed instead the ideas of the Jesuit astronomer Clavius, who elegantly defended the traditional earth-centered universe. Galileo’s ideas were too much change for most people. The English poet John Donne expressed that feeling most memorably:

The Sun is lost, and th’ earth, and no man’s wit
Can well direct him where to look for it . . .
’Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone.¹⁹

But the new universe won over most educated people by 1700, and others by 1900. In 1835, the Catholic Church took Galileo’s writings off of the Index and in 1992 formally admitted that he’d been right. Pope John Paul II even commended Galileo for “adjusting scriptural interpretation in light of new knowledge,” unlike the theologians of the time. It’s easy to think now that of course Galileo was right, but had we lived then we likely wouldn’t have thought so.

Even though Galileo’s ideas were long condemned, his approach to scripture, of interpreting it in light of new knowledge, had a big

17. Fantoli, *Galileo*, 259.

18. R. S. Westfall, *Essays on the Trial of Galileo* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 15–19.

19. John Donne, “An Anatomy of the World,” 1611, quoted in Shapin, *Scientific Revolution*, 28.

influence. An even more famous example of such interpretation was the abolition of slavery.²⁰ Maybe the best reason not to argue that an idea or practice should continue just because it's been around a long time is slavery. Slavery had been around seemingly forever when some Western Christians began to oppose it in the eighteenth century, setting off a debate in the United States that lasted into the Civil War. The most striking thing about the debate to us might be that those in favor of slavery had the best biblical arguments.

Both Old and New Testaments assume the existence of slavery and never condemn it. They condemn only masters who treat slaves badly. The Bible taught “clearly and conclusively that the holding of slaves is right,” said advocates of slavery, who could cite numerous passages specifically saying so. The Baptist minister Thornton Stringfellow wrote in 1860 that God approved slavery not only in the Bible, but in the “only National Constitution which ever emanated from God.”²¹ And since God was the same God yesterday, today, and forever, then it followed that slavery had to be the same too. In fact, anyone in favor of freedom and equality for all, as the Declaration of Independence declared, was essentially rejecting the Bible itself, said Stringfellow, because the Bible was full of sanctioned inequality.²²

Those against slavery weren't simply going to ignore the Bible, of course, any more than Galileo or Calvin would have. They knew they didn't have any passages on their side to specifically condemn slavery. Their strategy instead was to emphasize passages about human relationships in general, such as the Golden Rule, or Acts 17 (God has made of one blood all nations), or God created all in his own image,

20. For the section on slavery, see D. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); D. Whitford, *The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009); C. L. Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); M. I. Lowance Jr., ed., *A House Divided: The Antebellum Slavery Debates in America 1776–1865* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); S. Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); J. B. Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976); P. Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003) (thanks to Matt Mason for many of these references).

21. Thornton Stringfellow, *A Brief Examination of Scripture Testimony on the Institution of Slavery* (1841), Proposition 2.

22. Thornton Stringfellow, *Slavery, Its Origin, and History* (1860), 4.

and other “Family of Man” sorts of texts that might be derived from the Bible or from widely accepted principles of the Enlightenment.²³ They also might use the historical approach: biblical passages in favor of slavery reflected the understanding of past societies rather than of some enduring practice. Or they relied on “the general tenor of scripture.” That’s where lasting principles were to be found, not in specific rules for a specific place and time. Some Christians went even further and said slavery had never been right to begin with but was simply allowed by God because of human weakness.

After slavery ended, former slaves and their descendants were still treated as inferior people, even by many Northerners opposed to slavery. Such treatment, based again on various biblical passages, said that races should therefore not mix in any intimate way, such as in housing or schooling or eating or especially marriage. Mixed marriage was said to be contrary to nature and to God’s will. “The purity of public morals . . . require[s] that the two races should be kept distinct and separate,” said a Virginia court in 1875, and such attitudes lasted long.²⁴ My own grandmother, a generally good-hearted Christian, expressed surprisingly vicious views of racial mixing, but she wasn’t alone. When the Supreme Court finally struck down laws against interracial marriage in 1967, 81 percent of Americans were still against it (fig. 6). We can almost hear people saying, “Well, obviously slavery was bad, but racial mixing is another thing altogether!” Still, in a couple of generations momentum had turned: by 2011, 86 percent of Americans approved of interracial marriage, and within another generation or two many people will likely forget how unacceptable it used to be or imagine that only bad people opposed it.

If we list here all the changes mentioned so far that most Christians today would probably have no problem accepting, we would, again, not be terribly impressed.

- Some of the slang words you probably say
- Left-handedness
- Polyphony
- Taking the gospel to Gentiles and adapting it to them

23. Especially Lowance, *House Divided*, 88–90, on this strategy.

24. See on racial mixing especially P. Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chs. 1 and 2 (thanks to Susan Rugh for this reference).

Do you approve or disapprove of marriage between blacks and whites?

■ % Approve



1958 wording: "...marriages between white and colored people."

1968-1978 wording: "...marriages between whites and non-whites."

GALLUP

FIGURE 6. Jeffrey M. Jones, "Record-High 86% Approve of Black-White Marriages," *Gallup* (September 12, 2011), <http://www.gallup.com/poll/149390/record-high-approve-black-white-marriages.aspx>. Copyright © 2011 Gallup, Inc. All rights reserved. The content is used with permission; however, Gallup retains all rights of republication.

- Calling Sunday "Sunday" or the Sabbath
- Lending money at interest and letting the market determine rates and prices
- Putting the sun at the center of the universe
- Opposing slavery
- Racial equality and mixing

In fact, most Christians now accept these changes as obviously good. Of course there are always some holdouts, like the books that occasionally still appear insisting Galileo was wrong.²⁵ But if it's hard to imagine how earth-shattering these changes once were and how much debate they provoked, we can at least grasp this: by accepting these changes ourselves, we, like those before us, accept some things in the Bible as written and reject other things, even though we may not think about it.

25. R. Sungenis and R. Bennett, *Galileo Was Wrong: The Church Was Right* (Port Orange, Fla.: Catholic Apologetics International, 2007).

This is also true of big and often unimaginable possible changes discussed in more recent decades, though on these subjects there would be less agreement among Christians and a lot more sensitivity:

- Evolution
- Women and just about anything
- Birth control
- Vaccination
- Sexual mores
- Homosexuality
- Environmentalism

I'm not going to spend as much time on these, precisely because there is not consensus about them in the Christian West. But suffice it to say that some Christians have found ways to reconcile changes in these areas into their beliefs, while others contend it's not possible.

Many Christians in the late nineteenth century thought that the observations of nature which led to the idea of evolution were completely incompatible with the Bible, but other Christians came to think otherwise. It depended, they said, on how you read the Bible. The Creation account may have simply reflected understanding of the time, they contended. Or it wasn't even meant to be scientific but was a morality tale instead, with the moral being that God was above nature, unlike the polytheistic gods around Israel who were within nature. But many American Christians despised this sort of fancy Bible-reading; in fact, evolution seems to have been the last straw for them, because biblical literalism arose right when evolution did, in the later nineteenth century. Forty-six percent of Americans, most of them Christians, still don't believe in human evolution, though 32 percent, most of them Christian too, believe that evolution was God's way of doing things.²⁶

Maybe the biggest constant subject of debate over the centuries has been women and just about anything. Women shouldn't study too much,²⁷

26. See R. L. Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998); and Frank Newport, "In U.S. 46% Hold Creationist View of Human Origins," *Gallup* (June 1, 2012), <http://www.gallup.com/poll/155003/hold-creationist-view-human-origins.aspx>.

27. For women and education, see S. Delamont, *A Woman's Place in Education: Historical and Sociological Perspectives on Gender and Education* (Aldershot, UK: Avebury, 1996); C. Gold, *Educating Middle Class Daughters: Private Girls Schools in Copenhagen, 1790-1820* (Copenhagen: CNI, 1996); C. Johanson,

said educators and moralists from the Middle Ages on, for all sorts of now baffling reasons: it stunted their growth, warped their nature, made them mannish without grace or heart or charm, caused them to lose interest in home and social service, damaged their health and souls and naïveté, and of course ruined the family. Their nature, said the male experts at least, was for bearing and raising children. Women shouldn't lead or preach in churches either, said others,²⁸ because the priest represented God, and God was a man (even though he was formless), and you didn't see Jesus ordaining any women (not in the usual reading of the Bible anyway). Women couldn't run the 10,000 meters either, much less the marathon, or pole vault, or play full-court basketball, because their bodies weren't made for it. In a special version of basketball invented just for girls in the

Women's Struggle for Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1900 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); L. A. Orr MacDonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland, 1830–1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000); P. M. Mazon, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); N. Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Hambledon, 1989); S. M. Parkes, *A Danger to the Men? A History of Women in Trinity College Dublin, 1904–2004* (Dublin: Lilliput, 2004); D. Spender, ed., *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850–1912* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987); R. S. Montgomery, *The Politics of Education in the New South: Women and Reform in Georgia, 1890–1930* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2006); J. Edwards, *Women in American Education 1820–1955: The Female Force and Educational Reform* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2002); K. Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2002); M. Wertheim, *Pythagoras' Trousers: God, Physics, and the Gender Wars* (New York: Times, 1995) (my thanks to Jeff Hardy for many of these references).

28. On women's place in the church, see L. A. Boyd and R. D. Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996); L. Byrne, *Woman at the Altar: The Ordination of Women in the Roman Catholic Church* (London: Continuum, 1994); J. Chapman, *The Last Bastion: Women Priests—the Case For and Against* (London: Heinemann, 1989); M. Chaves, *Ordaining Women: Culture and Conflict in Religious Organizations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); M. S. Donovan, *A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church, 1850–1920* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse, 1986); J. Field-Bibb, *Women towards Priesthood: Ministerial Politics and Feminist Praxis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); B. Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988); B. B. Zikmund, A. T. Lummis, and P. Mei Yin Chang, *Clergy Women: An Uphill Calling* (Louisville: Westminster, 1998); and many, many more.

early twentieth century, which I watched my sister play in our church's gym in the 1960s, most girls weren't allowed to run the whole court: two stayed on the offensive side at all times, two on the defensive, and only the two most athletic girls were allowed to run on both sides, plus many other now-curious rules too lengthy to mention. But the rules mostly reflect the usual concern for women's reproductive abilities and the usual low expectations of what women could do physically.²⁹ On some women's issues there's still a lot of fuss, of course, but on those I've mentioned we wonder what the fuss was about and have even forgotten there was a fuss. I'm surprised, for instance, by how many of my female students feel the need to declare that they are not feminists, making me wonder what they mean by the term, since these students also regard some of the earliest feminist principles, such as equal opportunity at school and the workplace and sports, as obviously good things. They may well assume that of course *those* things had to change, or it's possible they don't even know a change occurred. I'm also surprised by the growing number of unisex bathrooms I encounter now in the U.S., or maybe I shouldn't be, since an increase in unisex bathrooms was one of the fears people once had about the effort to make women and men equal. But to stumble upon one at church, like I did last week, at my oddly configured ward building? There in front of me was a door with an image of both a man and a woman on it, indicated by standard Church signage. At first I thought it was a bathroom for the disabled, but it was located on the second floor and there was no elevator. Then I thought it must be a family bathroom, but again there were just the male and female figures on the door. I looked for people picketing, or parents covering children's eyes as they walked past, but nothing. It was just an ordinary unisex bathroom. At church. And no one cared. So I went in.

Vaccination was a hugely controversial issue when it emerged in the eighteenth century, prompting shootings and bombings at times.³⁰

29. See J. S. Hult and M. Trekell, *A Century of Women's Basketball: From Frailty to Final Four* (Reston, Va.: National Association for Girls and Women in Sport, 1991); P. Grundy, *Shattering the Glass* (New York: New Press, 2005); and R. Melnick, *Senda Berenson: The Unlikely Founder of Women's Basketball* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

30. On vaccination, see for starters E. L. Bluth, "Pus, Pox, Propaganda and Progress: The Compulsory Smallpox Vaccination Controversy in Utah, 1899–1901" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1993); A. Booth, *A Beautiful Arm: A History of the Vaccination Delusion* (London, 1909); A. Chase, *Magic Shots: A Human and Scientific Account of the Long and Continuing Struggle to*

Those against it insisted that deliberately giving someone a disease had to be ungodly, while Christians in favor of vaccination insisted it was a gift from God. The argument over birth control that began in the nineteenth century went much the same way: it seemed to be against life, and to be playing God, said opponents, while a lot of Christian women showed at least by their actions that they considered it to be a gift from God.³¹ This of course was related to changes in sexual mores generally³² and changes in understanding of homosexual relations as well, which went from 40 percent approval in 2001 to 54 percent in 2012, with perhaps predictably a huge gap between the younger and

Eradicate Infectious Diseases by Vaccination (New York: Olympic, 1982); N. Durbach, *Bodily Matters* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); A. E. Klein, *The Polio Vaccine Controversy* (New York: Scribner's, 1972); G. Miller, *The Adoption of Inoculation for Smallpox in England and France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1957); L. Calhoun Deasy, "Socio-Economic Status and Participation in the Poliomyelitis Vaccine Trial," *American Sociological Review* 21 (April 1956): 185–91; J. B. Blake, "The Inoculation Controversy in Boston, 1721–1722," *New England Quarterly* 25 (December 1952): 489–506.

31. On birth control controversies, see J. F. Brodie, *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); A. Tone, *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); C. R. McCann, *Birth Control Politics in the United States, 1916–1945* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); J. Reed, *From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society since 1830* (New York: Basic, 1978); K. A. Tobin, *The American Religious Debate over Birth Control, 1907–1937* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001); H. Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800–1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); R. A. Soloway, *Birth Control and the Population Question in England, 1877–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); A. B. Ramirez De Arellano and C. Seipp, *Colonialism, Catholicism, and Contraception: A History of Birth Control in Puerto Rico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); V. De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); A. Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); A. McLaren and A. Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880–1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1997); J. T. Noonan Jr., *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); O. Ranum and P. Ranum, eds., *Popular Attitudes toward Birth Control in Pre-industrial France and England* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

32. J. D'Emilio, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), for instance.

older generations.³³ And there is arguing over the proper Christian approach to the environment. And more. For all of these subjects, the Bible is used by both or all sides, with those having specific passages on their side insisting they be read at face value and those without such passages emphasizing texts about human relationships and dignity or the “general tenor” of scripture.

These are a lot of subjects, and I apologize for mentioning so many, but there are far more than this, and there will doubtless be many more in the future. My point hasn’t been to suggest that every change in history is necessarily good, or that every single thing threatening to change necessarily will, or what is the right way to think about this proposed change or that, but to offer some perspective on the debates over change. We don’t have to feel like we are being uniquely and cosmically picked on because of changes we see happening in our own time that we may not like. We don’t have to feel like change is the end of the world; it may indeed be the end of our generation, but not necessarily the world. We don’t have to immediately conclude that the changes we see in our lifetime are the worst ever in history, but we can actually go study a little history and see pretty fast that “worst ever” has a lot of company. We can also find plenty of company in what we’d consider good changes, even in younger generations. And we can get out of the centuries-old habit of insisting that the old days were always better; even in the Old Testament, people were saying that, as in Ecclesiastes 7:10, “Say not thou, What is *the cause* that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.” Just like Carly Simon said, *these* are the good old days. President Gordon B. Hinckley said it too: when asked whether the 1950s were better than today, he said, “I think the fifties were a good time and I think this is a great time. I don’t think we’ve retrograded.”³⁴ The point isn’t that there aren’t awful things around us, but that we’re not unusual that way, and the point is to make the best of our particular situation.

33. Lydia Saad, “U.S. Acceptance of Gay/Lesbian Relations Is the New Normal,” *Gallup* (May 14, 2012), <http://www.gallup.com/poll/154634/acceptance-gay-lesbian-relations-new-normal.aspx>. For more on the current generation gap on moral issues, see S. Saulny, “Young in G.O.P. Erase the Lines on Social Issues,” *New York Times*, August 8, 2012, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/09/us/politics/young-republicans-erase-lines-on-social-issues.html?_r=0.

34. Gordon B. Hinckley, interview by David Ransom, November 9, 1997, aired on *Compass* on ABC, transcript available at <http://www.abc.net.au/compass/intervs/hinckley.htm>.

Speaking as a historian, I'm pretty sure change is one constant we can count on. And speaking as a believer, I think maybe that's the way it should be. How dull it would be, and how little we would learn, if the point of life was only to jump through hoops already set up for us, rather than for us to help create life. There's nothing wrong with having a system of right and wrong, obviously, and old systems shouldn't be casually discarded just because they're old. There's nothing even wrong in liking our particular system or in disagreeing with others over what changes should occur in it. But seeing the huge picture of change over time should make us more inclined to disagree humbly, with an attitude that we might be wrong and others right, rather than with so much certainty, because all that past big change should make us reflect that maybe all the things we're so certain about might also end up someday floating away like white puffs of dandelion on summer breezes, just like so many other things people were sure would never change. In fact it's a good bet that future generations will shake their heads not only at what we were doing with our hair and pants, but also at what we were thinking about this or that really important subject. We don't have to feel too bad about that, or rejected: one interesting theory of generational change says that change doesn't occur so much because the younger generation rejects the older but because the younger extends the values it learns from the older into new and unfamiliar territory.³⁵ Thus, for instance, a Mormon child who learned from his parents in the 1950s that people deserved to be treated equally might in the 1970s take that further and urge that black people should receive the priesthood, though his or her parents might disagree with that particular extension.

Speaking of which, we Mormons are of course familiar with change too. We've argued over every one of these topics I've mentioned, starting with slavery, and have seen change occur in every one as well. Charles Harrell of the BYU faculty just published a book that shows changes in Mormon doctrine from beginning to present,³⁶ and in March 2013 dozens of changes were made in LDS scriptures to make historical context clearer. But this doesn't have to disturb us either: Mormons don't officially believe in inerrancy, and change doesn't necessarily mean

35. J. R. Demartini, "Change Agents and Generational Relationships: A Reevaluation of Mannheim's Problem of Generations," *Social Forces* 64 (September 1985): 1–16.

36. C. Harrell, *"This Is My Doctrine": The Development of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Kofford, 2011).

errancy anyway; in fact, the belief in continuing revelation could make Mormons in theory more radical believers in change than most others.³⁷ But even to us change can feel threatening, as was evident in probably our two most dramatic changes, ending polygamy and the priesthood ban.

Growing up, I knew little about polygamy, just vague impressions that ending it hadn't been a big deal and was obviously necessary and that not many had been involved anyway, all of which impressions turned out to be completely wrong.³⁸ But I remember the change to the priesthood ban very well and that it was for me indeed a big deal, because I lived through it and experienced change within myself. The first black person I knew was a girl named Krystal, who joined my third-grade class part way through the year, and I remember wanting to say something nice about her to my family, and what I came up with was "She's pretty smart for a Negro." I didn't learn something like that from my parents, who never talked that way, but no doubt from the cultural context around me, both Mormon and more broadly societal, which suggested that black people were somehow inferior to white. In junior high and high school, I changed that view as I came to have several black friends, including Krystal, and even began to wonder about the priesthood ban. At the Mission Home in 1975, we were handed a thick packet containing various teachings by Church authorities that affirmed the priesthood ban, but I didn't really think much about those teachings while in Belgium since we ran into so few black people, and I therefore had no immediate reason to keep questioning. After I got home from my mission, though, I stood waiting in a line at a store in Fresno in the spring of 1978 with a lot of black people around me, and based partly on my experience with my friends, and partly on what my parents taught me about the value of all people, and partly on their inviting over to dinner the only black Mormon I ever knew as a boy, and partly on "the general tenor" of what I'd been preaching on my mission about love and respect for others,

37. See the talk by Elder Paul V. Johnson, "Embracing Change," reported in the *Church News*, February 8, 2013, available at <http://www.ldschurchnews.com/articles/63231/Elder-Paul-V-Johnson-Embracing-change.html>.

38. On changes to polygamy, see R. S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1989); M. Bradley, "Changed Faces: The Official LDS Position on Polygamy, 1890–1990," *Sunstone* 14 (February 1990): 26–33; B. C. Hardy, "That 'Same Old Question of Polygamy and Polygamous Living': Some Recent Findings Regarding Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Mormon Polygamy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73 (Summer 2005): 212–24.

I suddenly realized how deeply I believed that black people weren't any different from me at all, and that I therefore couldn't understand the priesthood ban. And just like Peter, I felt like it was God who'd put no difference between us. Not just now, but ever. I wasn't alone in thinking this way, of course, or even particularly virtuous, because of course black people already knew this, and also because a lot of other people were thinking this too. Including a few really old Mormons like Spencer W. Kimball.

It wasn't all that hard for me to reconsider old assumptions about race because my whole generation was doing so. But not *his*. The process he went through is described in an article in *BYU Studies* from 2008, by his son, Edward Kimball.³⁹ President Kimball wasn't waiting passively for God, as we might imagine the process of big revelation working, but actively sought the revelation out. He'd thought about the ban since 1961 and had been against lifting it. But after he became prophet, he started considering again. He knew by now that Joseph Smith had ordained black people; he knew about the complications the policy was causing in Brazil, where the Church was growing fast; and perhaps most fundamentally of all, he began questioning his own assumptions. During the first months of 1978, he went almost daily to the temple to pray about it and was in great torment. And what was he praying for? Not for a revelation so much, but to get over his assumptions. "Day after day . . . I went there when I could be alone. I was very humble . . . I was searching. . . . I had a great deal to fight . . . myself, largely, because I had grown up with this thought that Negroes should not have the priesthood and I was prepared to go all the rest of my life until my death and fight for it and defend it as it was."⁴⁰ Defend, fight, the usual language and postures we think of when we think of the religious hero, standing up for truth. Yet President Kimball was the hero in this whole matter not because he stood up for his beliefs, which he, like Peter, assumed had come from God, but because even at his age he was willing to reconsider them. Unlike the cardinal who wouldn't look through Galileo's telescope because he might not like what he would see, President Kimball was willing. He later wrote about the incident, "Revelations will probably never come unless they are desired." Or as President Hinckley later put it, "He was not the first to worry about the priesthood question, but he

39. E. L. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008): 4–78, which includes references to many studies on Mormonism and race.

40. Kimball, "Spencer W. Kimball and the Revelation on Priesthood," 48.

had the compassion to pursue it and a boldness that allowed him to get the revelation.”⁴¹ And also just like Peter, he was astonished when it came.

Most everyone I knew was thrilled about the change, and pretty predictably within a generation or so young people didn’t understand what a big deal it had been and assumed it was obviously good. In a few more generations, I wouldn’t be surprised if they forget about the change altogether. When younger people hear older people occasionally express some of the unfortunate older attitudes, the younger people are stunned, because they can’t imagine that anyone holding those attitudes could possibly have ever been a good Mormon. And of course when you start thinking that those changes in the past were obviously good ones, you’re on the road to thinking that you’ve figured everything out. But as a historian and as a believer, I find President Kimball’s attitude a much better one, and an example for us as we too ponder and debate possible change in our own world.

And that’s what really old history is good for. And what I would’ve said to the van driver if I would’ve had a lot more time with him.

Craig Harline is Professor of History at Brigham Young University. He earned a PhD in European history from Rutgers University in 1986. His most recent book, *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (Yale University Press, 2011), was named a Top Ten Book in Religion for 2011 by *Publishers Weekly* and was a finalist for the Mark Lynton History Prize awarded by the Columbia University School of Journalism and the Harvard Nieman Foundation. In summer 2014, Eerdmans will publish his new book, *Way below the Angels: The Pretty Clearly Troubled but Not Even Close to Tragic Confessions of a Real Live Mormon Missionary*.

This lecture was presented on March 14, 2013, and can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-023SurnGA>.

41. E. L. Kimball, *Lengthen Your Stride: The Presidency of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 215.

Revisiting the Seven Lineages of the Book of Mormon and the Seven Tribes of Mesoamerica

Diane E. Wirth

The number seven had several connotations to the pre-Columbian communities of Mesoamerica. Considered a sacred number, it represented the seven directions in the universe—four cardinal directions plus the zenith or sky, center, and nadir or underworld. According to Raphael Girard, the Chorti Maya likened God-Seven to the God of Fertility, “under whose patronage the year begins.”¹ The West Building at Uxmal, Yucatan, has seven exterior doorways. In relation to these doorways, Michael Coe explains, “7 is the mystic number of the earth’s surface.”² A manuscript composed in 1629 called *Treatise* gives native incantations, curing practices, and myths in the Nahuatl language of Central Mexico. Seven caves are mentioned among the curing spells, which, in this case, represent the seven openings or internal areas of the human body.³

1. Raphael Girard, *People of the Chan*, trans. Bennett Preble (Chino Valley, Ariz.: Continuum Foundation, 1995), 20. The jaguar as the nighttime sun is patron of the number seven. See Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 104. The jaguar, especially what is known as the “Water Lily Jaguar,” is associated with fire and lineage. See Karl Andreas Taube, *The Major Gods of Ancient Yucatan*, vol. 32 of *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), 54.

2. Michael D. Coe, *The Maya*, 6th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 157.

3. Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions and Customs That Today Live among the Indians Native to This New Spain, 1629*,

A pan-Mesoamerica legend tells of a core people descended from seven tribes, which may coincide with seven lineages mentioned several times in the Book of Mormon. There is no verifiable evidence the two accounts refer to the same group of people. However, in the Book of Mormon the names of the seven lineages are stated three times (Jacob 1:13, c. 544–421 BC; 4 Ne. 1:37–38, c. AD 231; Morm. 1:8, c. AD 322) and for this reason alone warrant further investigation. Approximately thirty years after leaving the land of Jerusalem and arriving in the land of promise via a transoceanic voyage, the prophet Lehi spoke to his sons, to the sons of Ishmael, and to Zoram, warning about the consequences of their wrath against their brother Nephi (2 Ne. 1:23–31). For the most part of their history, four tribes opposed the remaining three, or more succinctly, the Lamanites opposed the Nephites, with the Zoramites alternating their allegiance. From the beginning, Zoram and his descendants sided with the Nephites. In 74 BC, they chose to be with the Lamanites (Alma 30:59; 31:2; 35:10–11) but eventually returned to the Nephite nation (4 Ne. 1:37–38).⁴ This division of lineages was recorded over a span of 865 years and was therefore acknowledged throughout Nephite and Lamanite history.⁵

The importance of these tribal affiliations cannot be diminished—they are also mentioned in Doctrine and Covenants 3:17–18 in a revelation given to Joseph Smith in July 1828. The lineages are listed precisely in the same order as they appear in the Book of Mormon: “And to the Nephites, and the Jacobites, and the Josephites, and the Zoramites, through the testimony of their fathers—And this testimony shall come to the knowledge of the Lamanites, and the Lemuelites, and the Ishmaelites, who dwindled in unbelief because of the iniquity of their fathers.”

Although he did not elaborate on the subject, John L. Sorenson commented regarding the Book of Mormon’s cultural tribal status: “These seven branches remind us of the famous ‘seven caves’ or lineages from which, traditions claim, the inhabitants of Mesoamerica were supposed to have sprung.”⁶

The historicity of the seven lineages was equally important to tribal affiliations in Mesoamerica as they were to Book of Mormon peoples.

trans. and ed. J. Richard Andrews and Ross Hassig (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 21. See also Index for “seven-caves place.”

4. Other groups in Mesoamerica, including the people of Zarahemla who descended from Mulek and his party, may have joined either the Nephite or Lamanite polity.

5. The first division or split is recorded in 2 Nephi 5:6, circa 588–570 BC.

6. John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1985), 313.

Therefore, we will examine numerous depictions of the seven tribes in Mesoamerican art contained in their *lienzos* (pieces of fabric with historical drawings or maps), illustrated books called *codices*, and post-conquest documents that were fortuitously shown to and translated for Spanish clergy, who made a record of the various accounts.⁷ Therefore, these stories are told pictorially and in prose.

Seven Caves, Seven Tribes

The seven tribes were often depicted as seven caves by Nahuatl-speaking peoples of central Mexico. Their *codices* contain historical lore claiming to reveal the origins of the inhabitants of the land. The Mesoamerican community, even today, understands the long-held symbolism of caves.

In Mesoamerica, caves are usually found in mountains, are dark, are sometimes damp, and may provide shelter. Caves were and are considered the place where ancestors live. To these cultures, a cave may be symbolic of a mother's womb due to its protective enclosure. A monster's mouth was symbolic of a cave's entrance from which the first humans or particular tribes emerged. The *Codex Durán* gives a fine example of this concept (fig. 1).⁸



FIGURE 1. Warrior Emerges from Cave (drawn after *Codex Durán*). All illustrations drawn by the author.

7. A previous comparison on this subject has been done by the following: Ross T. Christenson, "The Seven Lineages of Lehi," *New Era* 5 (1975): 50–51; Diane E. Wirth, "The Seven Primordial Tribes of Ancient America," 28th Annual Symposium, Society for Early Historic Archaeology, December 8, 1979, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Diane E. Wirth, "The Seven Primordial Tribes: A Mesoamerican Tradition," in *Ancient America Foundation Newsletter* 8 (July 1996): 1–9; Diane E. Wirth, *Decoding Ancient America: A Guide to the Archaeology of the Book of Mormon* (Springville, Utah: Horizon/Cedar Fort, 2007), 16–19; Sorenson, *Ancient American Setting*, 310–13; John L. Sorenson, "Seven Tribes: An Aspect of Lehi's Legacy," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1992), 93–95.

8. The *Codex Durán* was written by Friar Diego Durán (c. 1537–1588) when he recounted the history of the Aztec based on a Nahuatl source. See *The History of the Indies of New Spain* (1581). Diego Durán lived in Mexico most of his life. The *Codex Durán* is considered one of the earliest Western books on the history and culture of the Aztecs. The codex was illustrated by native artists.

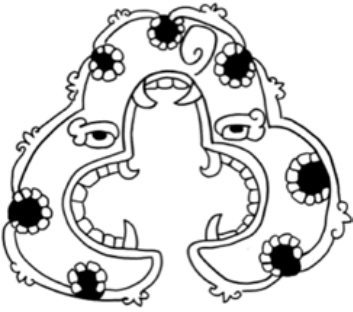


FIGURE 2. Mouth of Cave with Seven Apertures (drawn after Lienzo Tlapiltepec).

An exquisite portrayal of the seven caves in Mesoamerica is in the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (fig. 3).¹⁰ Chicomoztoc, or Place of the Seven Caves, is the name of the place of origin. Each petal of the flower-shaped design contains an ancestral tribe. Note the scalloped or crenulated edge on the inside of each cave, which represented to the natives flesh, and in this case, the flesh of a mother's womb—the flesh of the living cave. At the top of the mountain design are plants and rocks and, in the middle of the top, a twisted hill or curl symbol

The Lienzo of Tlapiltepec in Oaxaca, Mexico, is of particular interest with regard to the myth of the seven caves (fig. 2). The caves are portrayed on the periphery of the earth monster-mouth hill,⁹ which to the natives was considered a living thing.

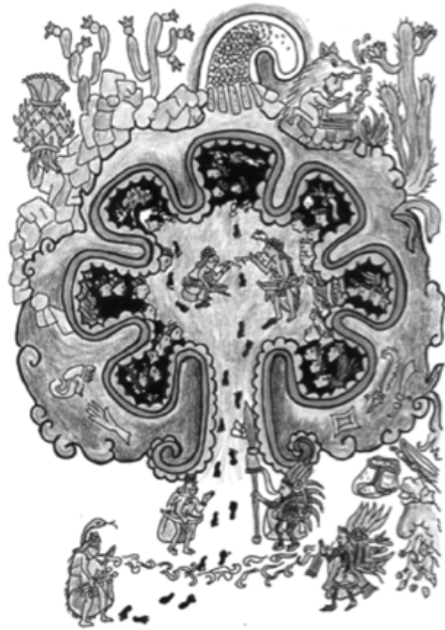


FIGURE 3. Chicomoztoc (drawn after *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*).

9. Ross Parmenter, *Four Lienzos of the Coixlahuaca Valley* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 20. Estimated date: 1540. The regional classification is Coixtlahuaca, Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca. The lienzo is housed at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

10. Paul Kirchhoff, Lina Odena Güemes, and Luis Reyes García, trans. and eds., *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (Mexico City: INAH, 1976, 1989). The *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* dates to between AD 1545 and 1565 and is in the Nahuatl language. It concerns the history of over four hundred years of Cuauhtinchan in Puebla, Mexico. The manuscript is housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

denoting Colhuacan. Chicomoztoc and Colhuacan are synonymous with the place of origin. Colhuacan means “the place of those who have Ancestors,” and with that implication, Colhuacan “is a city that stands for ancient traditions.”¹¹ At the top right in figure 3, a man wears a coyote skin and performs a new fire ceremony. In Mesoamerica, every New Year was celebrated by making a new fire. Thus, leaving their seven-cave/womb abode was a metaphor for the act of creation and new beginnings symbolized by the New Fire Ceremony. At the bottom of the seven-cave structure are bearded men to the right (the Toltec) and men without beards to the left (the Chichimec). The men are conversing, indicated by the wavy lines between them.

A similar design called the Map of Cuauhtinchan (MC2), made in the sixteenth century, depicts seven caves with their attendants, but also men equipped with war implements as they leave their homeland to go to battle (fig. 4). This lavish bark-paper map has a pictorial history going back to the early twelfth century. Figure 4 shows only the upper left-hand portion of this map. The complete map has over seven hundred pictograms and is truly a vocabulary of symbols. The design was meant to replicate their history (today the Mexican village of Oxtotipan), with the ancestral cave of Chicomoztoc.¹²



FIGURE 4. Chicomoztoc (drawn after Map of Cuauhtinchan MC2).

11. Nigel Davies, *The Toltec Heritage: From the Fall of Tula to the Rise of Tenochtitlán* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 23.

12. Tom Gidwitz, *Land and Legend: The Map of Cuauhtinchan Number 2*, available at <http://www.tomgidwitz.com/main/cuauhtinchan.htm>. See also Tom Gidwitz, “Map Quest: Follow a Pre-Hispanic Manuscript into the World of the Chichimecs,” *Archaeology* 62 (March/April 2009): 26–29. Created in the sixteenth century, this map tells a story that is estimated to span about four hundred years, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. It was purchased by a banking heiress and founder of the Amparo Museum in Puebla, Mexico.



FIGURE 5. Hill of Origin with Flowers/Tribes (drawn after *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*).

Also illustrated from the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* is a mountain topped by a frog or toad with six neatly set flowers in a circle with a seventh at the center (see fig. 5). The flowers are reminiscent of the flower-shaped caves in the Chicomoztoc design in figures 3 and 4. It is important to note that among Mesoamericans the human soul was considered a flower,¹³ and some areas refer to the placenta as a flower (*kotz'i'j* among the Quiché Maya

of Guatemala).¹⁴ The placenta, of course, lines the womb. These flowers represent the seven tribes who emerged from their individual lineage heads. The frog/toad gazing from the top of the mountain also has significance—in Mesoamerican symbolism, it oftentimes represented birth.¹⁵



FIGURE 6. Seven Caves/Seven Tribes (drawn after Codex Durán).

Another fine example of the seven tribes within the seven caves comes from the Codex Durán (fig. 6).¹⁶ In Durán's illustration, the seven caves contain men and women—the progenitors of the

13. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and Jane H. Hill, "The Flower World in Material Culture: An Iconographic Complex in the Southwest and Mesoamerica," in *Journal of Anthropological Research* 55, no. 1 (1999): 2.

14. Allen Christenson to Diane Wirth, October 24, 2012.

15. David Freidel and Charles Suhler, "The Path of Life: Toward a Functional Analysis of Ancient Maya Architecture," in *Mesoamerican Architecture as a Cultural Symbol*, ed. Jeff Karl Kowalski (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 261.

16. Diego Durán (c. 1537–1588) was a Dominican friar from Spain. After arriving in Mexico, he became fluent in the natives' Nahuatl language, consulted them on their history and stories, and composed *The History of the Indies of New Spain*. This document is also known commonly as the *Durán Codex*. See also figure 1.

seven tribes. The caves are set in two rows, four on the top and three on the bottom row.

Also from the Codex Durán, with a similar but different design, are two rows of four over three (fig. 7). There are up to five individuals within each cave. Do these particular drawings address a division of four lineages separated from the other three? This will be addressed below.



FIGURE 7. Seven Caves/Seven Tribes (drawn after Codex Durán).

There are two other noteworthy drawings that depict the Nahuatl origin myth—one with seven men emerging from an umbilical, tubelike cave opening in the Lienzo de Jucutácato from Michoacan, Mexico (fig. 8).¹⁷

Another, from the Codex Vaticanus A/Ríos 66v, depicts seven men, each standing in leafy caves.¹⁸



FIGURE 8. The Seven Tribes Emerge from Cave (drawn after Lienzo de Jucutácato, Michoacan, Mexico).

17. At the upper left of the emergence scene on this lienzo is written the word *Chalchiuihtlahpazco*. The Aztec goddess Chalchiutlicue is a goddess of water, fertility, and birth. Estimated date: 1565. It was created at Xiuhquilan, Michoacan, Mexico. Now at the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics.

18. Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 218–19. This image is viewable online at http://www.famsi.org/research/graz/vaticanus3738/img_page066v.html. This codex is partially attributed to Pedro de los Ríos, a Dominican friar working in Oaxaca and Puebla, Mexico, between 1547 and 1562. It is housed at the Vatican Library.

History and Myth

Most scholars of Mesoamerican studies prefer to consider Chicomoztoc a mythical place of origin, but then we must ask, why the repeated mention of seven tribes throughout their history from west to east? Although the legend of the seven caves comes primarily from Mexican Nahuatl-speaking peoples, there was a widespread adoption of this myth among other peoples, as is evidenced by the Quiché Maya. Tulan Zuyua, or *vukub pek*, *vukub zivan* (seven caves, seven canyons), is referred to in the *Popol Vuh*.¹⁹

It is difficult to date the first mythological example of the seven caves or tribes, but perhaps it is in central Mexico. Several cave systems have been found under some pyramids in Mexico. The most notable is under the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan, where a man-made stairway leads to a cave in the shape of a six-petaloid flower—the long chamber leading to them plausibly considered the seventh.²⁰ This suggests the concept of Chicomoztoc as the place of origin. If it does, the mythology goes back to Book of Mormon times. The Pyramid of the Sun is dated to AD 100 for the first stage built over the cave.

If we consider the cave system under the Pyramid of the Sun to be the earliest physical cave representing the place of emergence for the seven tribes, the later man-made caves from central Mexico and the Maya Highlands of Central America leave no doubt as to the importance of the myth of the seven caves and tribes.²¹

A manuscript giving a detailed account of origins was made during the last part of the sixteenth century—the “Annals of the Cakchiquels.”²² This historical document is important in understanding a post-Classic Maya civilization in the highlands of Guatemala. The Cakchiquels were originally part of the Quiché nation, and this manuscript corroborates theories of creation in the *Popol Vuh*. The Cakchiquels often

19. Dennis Tedlock, *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 355.

20. Doris Heyden, “An Interpretation of the Cave Underneath the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan, Mexico,” in *American Antiquity* 40 (April 1975): 131–47.

21. Holley Moyes and James E. Brady, “The Heart of Creation, the Heart of Darkness: Sacred Caves in Mesoamerica,” *Expedition* 47 (Winter 2005): 34.

22. Adrián Recinos and Delia Goetz, *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953).

spoke of thirteen clans of the seven tribes. The Quiché were the first of these seven tribes to arrive at Tulán, their place of origin, and the Cakchiquels the last.²³ The Cakchiquels came across a body of water to a place called the City of the Seven Ravines, the *Tulán Ziván* of the Quiché, which is the same as the Chicomoztoc of the Aztecs.²⁴

Bernardo de Sahagun, a missionary in Mexico who was born in Spain in 1499, learned that the natives equated cave symbolism of the seven tribes with boats and suggested that these tribes crossed the waters in search of a terrestrial paradise. He wrote, "Concerning the origin of these peoples, the report that old men [of central Mexico] give is that they came by sea . . . in some wooden boats. . . . But it is conjectured by a report found among all these natives that they came from seven caves, and that these seven caves are the seven ships or galleys in which the first settlers of this land came."²⁵

It is interesting to note that the classifier for cave in the Mayan Yucatec language is *ak*, which forms part of the word *aktun*, or "cave." The classifier *ak* is also used for words such as canoe, boat, house, and containers.²⁶ Thus, it is not presumptuous to relate a womb, cave, or boat to similar agendas.

The "Annals of the Cakchiquels" identifies the seven tribes as Zotzils, Cakchiquels, Tukuchés, Akahals, Quichés, Rabinals, and Zutuhils.²⁷ The Tukuchés eventually became "completely annihilated," then the Zutuhils.²⁸ Some tribes survived; some did not. It is interesting to note that these tribes often had disputes and divisions, usually a group of four against three. This pattern is quite reminiscent of the Nephite and Lamanite nations, when the Zoramites switched their allegiance from one faction to the other, as was mentioned earlier.

23. Recinos and Goetz, *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, 50–51.

24. Recinos and Goetz, *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, 16.

25. Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva Espana*, Introduccion al Primer Libro, Mexico, 1946, cited in Milton R. Hunter, *Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 44.

26. Andrea J. Stone, *Images from the Underworld: Naj Tunich and the Tradition of Maya Cave Painting* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 35.

27. Recinos and Goetz, *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, 80. Another set of these seven tribes in Mexico, named in both the Codex Vaticanus A and the Codex Mexicanus, is: Olmeca-Xicalanca, Huastec, Totonac, Coahuixca, Chichimec, Nonoalca, and the inhabitants of Michoacan.

28. Recinos and Goetz, *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, 108, 110.

Various writings of this event “narrate and illustrate a different story of the exodus from Chicomoztoc.”²⁹ As time passed, Mesoamerican cultures that were well advised of their origins attempted to preserve this belief by recreating Chicomoztoc in their villages by taking advantage of natural caves or by making new ones to accommodate the story handed down to them through oral traditions. For example, Acatzingo Viejo, in the state of Puebla in Central Mexico, has a ceremonial plaza with seven chambers carved in the walls of a circular rock outcropping. A road was built later through part of it, taking out the seventh chamber and leaving only six.³⁰

Dennis Tedlock wrote of this phenomenon: “The Quiché lords went so far as to have an artificial cave constructed directly beneath Rotten Cane [English for Kumarkaajon or Utatlán in the Guatemalan Highlands], a cave whose main shaft and side chambers add up to seven. Not content with honoring the memory of the eastern city, they brought the Seven Caves of Teotihuacan, the greatest of all the ancient cities, to the time and place of their own greatest glory.”³¹ Symbolism was of great concern to ancient cultures, and in these cases, caves may be compared to the womb from which the various peoples emerged, as has been noted.

The legend of the seven caves traveled to the North American Indians of the Southwest. Maya merchants journeyed far and wide, as is evidenced by the Parrot Clan of the Hopi. Parrots of the macaw variety cannot survive in the desert but only in the wild, humid lands of eastern Mesoamerica. Frank Waters acknowledged that the “Hopis first lived in seven puevivi, or caves.” From there they migrated northward, establishing their people and villages in accordance with the names of the “caves or womb-caverns.”³² The Seven Hills of Emergence of the Navajo were depicted in sand paintings (fig. 9).³³ These mythical events may refer to the Late Classic Period in Mesoamerica or sometime after when many

29. Manuel Aguilar, Miguel Medina Jaen, Tim M. Tucker, and James E. Brady, “Constructing Mythic Space: The Significance of a Chicomoztoc Complex at Acatzingo Viejo,” in *In the Maw of the Earth Monster*, ed. James E. Brady and Keith M. Prufer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 80.

30. Aguilar, Jaen, Tucker, and Brady, “Constructing Mythic Space,” 77.

31. Tedlock, *Popol Vuh*, 54.

32. Frank Waters, *Mexico Mystique* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1975), 168–70.

33. Gordon Brotherston, *Image of the New World: The American Continent Portrayed in Native Texts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 196 fig. 13. This

people were on the move as war, disease, and famine plagued much of Mesoamerica. But by the same token, the myth may be coupled with earlier times, with events going back to myths of arrivals in the New World from across the sea.

Mesoamerican cultures had a tradition to repeat history—bringing the past into the present. They believed time was circular, not linear as in Western thought. In this light, we may comprehend why several pre-Columbian groups claimed descent from the original seven tribes, whether it was literal or not. Using this ideology would legitimize the right to their lands, to social position, and to political rule.

Lineages in Mesoamerica claiming seven in number vary with their individual identifying names—they differ from east to west. Yet there are always seven, not six, eight, or an arbitrary number. It is proposed that the number seven was used due to the number of tribes that originally came across the waters. Do these accounts of origin from seven tribes or caves refer to the concept of seven lineages in the Book of Mormon? What we do know is that after Book of Mormon times (approximately AD 385), this legend was part of an oral tradition among natives of Mesoamerica for many, many years, even after the Spanish Conquest.

Another interesting concept held by some Mesoamerican cultures that parallels traditions of Lehi's party of the Book of Mormon is the idea of a chosen people (Hel. 15:3) directed by their god to the land of promise (1 Ne. 7:1). Michel Graulich verifies this notion when he writes, "Like many other Mesoamerican people, particularly the Mexica, the Quiché claim to be a chosen people who are on their way to a land promised by their god."³⁴

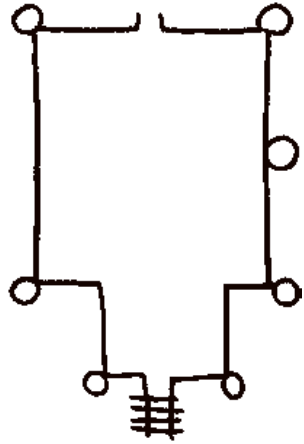


FIGURE 9. Seven Tribes, Navajo sandpainting.

cave system has been replaced with the kiva (*sipapu*), where the natives of the U.S. Southwest believe they emerged.

34. Michel Graulich, *Myths of Ancient Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 159.

The Cakchiquels wrote in their *Annals*, “The glory of the birth of our early fathers was never extinguished.”³⁵ It is for this reason they recounted the story of their origins. Bernardino de Sahagún wrote of the natives’ writings in 1576, “They knew and had records of the things their ancestors had done and had left in their annals more than a thousand years ago.”³⁶ If this is true, these cultural and mythic elements would reach back almost to Book of Mormon times.

Diane E. Wirth is an independent researcher specializing in Mesoamerican art history and iconography, the latter interpreting symbols in art and antiquities. Her primary works include *Decoding Ancient America: A Guide to the Archaeology of the Book of Mormon* (2007); *Parallels: Mesoamerican and Ancient Middle Eastern Traditions* (2003); and *A Challenge to the Critics: Scholarly Evidences of the Book of Mormon* (1986). A graduate of Brigham Young University, she has given presentations at symposiums and conferences, including The Atlantic Conference, St. Mary’s University, Halifax, Nova Scotia (2008); Book of Mormon Archaeological Form, Utah (2003, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2012); The Aesthetics of Enchantment sponsored by the American Society of Phenomenology, Aesthetics & Fine Arts, Harvard Divinity School (1998); The Ancient American Western Conference, Utah (1997); New England Antiquities Research Association, Massachusetts and New Hampshire (1992, 1993); Society of Early Historic Archaeology, Brigham Young University (1977, 1979, 1987, 1990).

35. Recinos and Goetz, *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, 75.

36. Bernardo de Sahagún, bk. 10, ch. 27, cited in *History and Mythology of the Aztecs: The Codex Chimalpopoca*, trans. John Bierhorst (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 5.

Benemérito de las Américas

The Beginning of a Unique Church School in Mexico

Barbara E. Morgan

In a bittersweet ceremony on January 29, 2013, Elder Daniel L. Johnson, a member of the Seventy and President of the Mexico Area, announced the transformation of Benemérito de las Américas, a Church-owned high school in Mexico City, into a missionary training center at the end of the school year.¹ To the emotional students and faculty at the meeting, Elders Russell M. Nelson and Jeffrey R. Holland of the Quorum of the Twelve explained the urgent need to provide additional facilities for missionary training in the wake of President Thomas S. Monson's announcement that minimum ages for missionary service were being lowered and the consequent upsurge in numbers.² While The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has owned and operated other schools, this school was unique in the expansive role it played in Mexican Church history. This "dramatic moment in Church history," as Elder Holland described it, was preceded by half a century of work by faithful, obedient, hardworking, sacrificing, and inspired people who made this day possible. This article highlights the significant policies, events, and people associated with the opening of the Church school Benemérito de las Américas, which became the "educational and cultural center for the Saints in Mexico."³

1. Paul Johnson, interview by author, March 6, 2013, Salt Lake City.

2. Russell M. Nelson and Jeffrey R. Holland, Remarks at Benemérito, January 29, 2013, transcript and video in author's possession.

3. Harvey L. Taylor, "The Story of LDS Church Schools," 1971, 2 vols., 2:14a, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

He aquí, apresuraré mi obra en su tiempo.

D y C 88:73



Ayúdanos a conservar el espíritu y
disfruta la graduación del Benemérito

Banner at the last graduation ceremony at Benemérito school. The text reads, "Behold, I will hasten my work in its time. D&C 88:73. Missionary Training Center. Help us preserve the spirit and enjoy the graduation of Benemérito." Courtesy Benemérito administration.

Background of Religious Education in Mexico

The Church has put high priority on educating its members since its organization in 1830.⁴ Everywhere that Latter-day Saints established new communities on the American frontier, they established schools.⁵ When the Saints established new settlements, they immediately organized a school—held in the open air, in adobes, in homes, or wherever else important lessons could be taught.⁶ During the late nineteenth century, stakes throughout the Church established thirty-six “academies,” or high schools.⁷

The story of Latter-day Saint education in Mexico started with the early settlements that are now known as the Mormon colonies.⁸ A history reports that as the Mormon colonists were “ambitious to have the best for their children, schools became their first concern.”⁹ For example, shortly after arriving in Mexico in 1885, Annie Maria Woodbury Romney started a school in her home.¹⁰ Then, a new community building was built with the dual purpose of serving as a school and a church. In 1897, Juárez Stake Academy, a Church high school, officially commenced operation.¹¹ It and associated elementary schools provided badly needed education.

4. This summary borrows heavily from Clark V. Johnson’s “Mormon Education in Mexico: The Rise of the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1976).

5. Milton L. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: The Department of Education of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), 40–49. In his book, Bennion provides a list of the early settlements and the schools they organized.

6. Herbert E. Bolton, “The Mormons in the Opening of the Great West,” *Deseret News*, October 24, 1925, as quoted in Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 6.

7. Scott C. Esplin and Arnold K. Garr, “Church Academies,” in *Mapping Mormonism* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press), 126.

8. For more information on the Mormon colonies, see Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, *Colonia Juarez: An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954); Thomas Cottam Romney, *Life Story of Miles P. Romney* (Independence, Mo.: Zion’s Printing and Publishing, 1948).

9. Albert Kenyon Wagner and Leona Farnsworth Wagner, *The Juarez Stake Academy, 1897–1997: The First One Hundred Years* (n.p., n.d.), 3.

10. See forthcoming chapter on Annie Maria Woodbury Romney by Barbara Morgan in *Women of Faith*, vol. 3, ed. Richard E. Turley Jr. and Brittany A. Chapman (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book).

11. Wagner and Wagner, *Juarez Stake Academy, 1897–1997*, 6. See also Ella Farnsworth Bentley, “Remembrances of Annie Maria Woodbury Romney,” unpublished manuscript, copy in author’s possession.

Barbara E. Morgan

A few years ago, I was surprised to find, in the middle of Mexico City, perhaps one of the best-kept secrets of the Church, Benemérito de las Américas. I was stunned not only by the faithful disciple scholars there, but also by how strongly I felt that this campus was a crucial part of the Latter-day Saint legacy of sacrifice, faith, obedience, and emphasis on education. During this and subsequent visits, I felt a responsibility to help gather and preserve the history of that sacred place and its people. The recent conversion of the school into an MTC has “hastened my work” and validated the school’s critical place in Church history. This article is foundational to a book I am currently writing on the history of Benémérito de las Américas.



I was pleased to be able to assist in an exhibition about Benemérito at the Education in Zion Gallery at BYU. The bilingual exhibition, *Hastening the Work: The Story of Benemerito*, showcases the school’s forty-nine-year history while illustrating the impact of education and the blessings that come from hard work and sacrifice. The exhibition will be open until October 4, 2014. Visit educationinzion.byu.edu and click on current exhibitions and *Hastening the Work* for more information.

After the turn of the century, one of the major obstacles to democracy for Mexico was the illiteracy of its citizens.¹² By 1924, recognizing its own lack of resources and seeming inability to provide adequate education, the government allowed private groups from other countries to educate the Mexican people under close supervision.¹³

12. See, for example, Charles W. Dabney, *A Study of Educational Conditions in Mexico* (Cincinnati: The Committee for the Study of Educational Conditions in Mexico, 1916), 92–93.

13. Articles 3 and 130 of the Mexican Constitution indicated that the federal government was in charge of education and forbade religious schools. George I.

Although the government recognized the benefit of the Juárez Stake's educational endeavors, the emphasis placed on American traditions and culture was of great concern. In 1942, an educational evaluator reported:

Although these schools have been in existence since 1885, a visitor can easily imagine himself in Kansas or Utah. And, while Spanish is taught in all grades, it creates nothing of an atmosphere. Some of the teachers were born in Mexico and they speak the Spanish language perfectly, nevertheless they fail to give the child much more of Mexico than his cousin receives from his Spanish class in Salt Lake City. Of the many cultural values which Mexico has to offer, few are entering into the education program in these schools. . . . All in all, they are giving a good American education to those who attend them.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the Church had already begun to spread beyond the colonies, and, once again, the need for education followed. This time, however, the needs were greatest among the Mexican natives.

Starting as early as 1915, Mexican Latter-day Saints began asking the Church to assist them with the education of their youth. In the 1930s, local members started hiring teachers to teach small groups of children.¹⁵ In 1944, recognizing the need to educate his own as well as other illiterate children, Bernabe Parra, a native Mexican and faithful Latter-day Saint, founded his own private school at San Marcos Tula (Hidalgo), about thirty miles northwest of Mexico City. By 1946, Arwell Pierce, president of the Mexican Mission, recognized the illiteracy of the members and joined Parra and others in pressing the need for more Church schools to the leaders in Utah. They approved contributions to Parra's school from Church funds, even though it was not officially a Church school.¹⁶ Later, when Claudius Bowman, a native of the Mormon colonies, served as

Sanchez, *Mexico, a Revolution by Education* (New York: Viking Press, 1936), 114–15. See also Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 13.

14. Henry L. Cain, "Report of the Juárez Stake School System," October 1, 1942, Mexico, cited in Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 51.

15. Casey P. Griffiths, "The Globalization of Latter-day Saint Education" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 2012), 106.

16. F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 186, states that the school was built and personally funded by Parra. Daniel Taylor stated that although Parra "may have used some of his personal money in getting it started," the Church, through the mission, financed the school. Daniel P. Taylor, interview by Gordon Irving, 1976, Atizqapan de Zaragoza, Mexico, 96, James Moyle Oral History Program, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

mission president, he began sending requests to Church headquarters for schools to assist the Mexican Saints. Being well acquainted with the Juárez Stake Academy, he recommended the Church build a duplicate school near Mexico City. Although President Bowman's suggestion did not come to fruition immediately, his proposal led to a greater awareness of the need for educating the Church's young members.¹⁷

Between the years 1946 and 1961, the Church expanded rapidly in Mexico—growing from approximately five thousand members to nearly twenty-five thousand.¹⁸ With the rising number of Church members—many of whom were illiterate—the need for increased education among them became more pronounced. No longer could this problem be ignored. During this time, a few primary schools were started by Church members, with limited official assistance from the Church.¹⁹ The experience these Church members had proved to be valuable as the Church developed more primary schools.

In 1957, Church President David O. McKay formed a committee to investigate the possibility of establishing Church-sponsored schools in Mexico. He named Elder Marion G. Romney of the Quorum of the Twelve as director of the committee, with Joseph T. Bentley, president of the Northern Mexican Mission, and Claudius Bowman as members.²⁰

17. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 187. Seeing little progress in the education of Mexico's members over the next decade, mission presidents Harvey H. Taylor and David S. Brown wrote letters to Harvey L. Taylor, who headed the Church's worldwide education system, suggesting that they be permitted to send top students from around Mexico to the colonies in order to receive the education available at Juárez Stake Academy.

18. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Facts and Statistics: Mexico," *Newsroom*, <http://www.mormonnewsroom.org/facts-and-statistics/country/mexico> (accessed May 8, 2013).

19. Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 73–76.

20. Marion G. Romney and Joseph T. Bentley to President McKay and Counselors, December 9, 1959, folder 2, box 5, Joseph T. Bentley Papers, UA 878, Perry Special Collections: "Under date of October 11, 1957 you wrote a letter to us and the late President Claudius Bowman of the Mexican Mission in which you said: 'For some time past we have given consideration to the advisability of establishing a school in Mexico for the accommodation of our youth in that land. Thus far, however, no definite decision has been reached as to where such a school should be located, what the character of the school should be, and who would be expected to attend it. We would be pleased to have you brethren serve as a committee, with Brother Romney as chairman, to make a careful survey and study of the situation and submit to us your recommendations relative thereto.'" Prior to and following his call, Joseph T. Bentley served as the controller of the Church's Unified School System.

All three were raised in the colonies. These capable leaders ascertained the number of students, the buildings necessary, the legality of the Church operating educational facilities in Mexico, the political leanings of the government, and the available educational system in each area.

Assessing Needs and Foundational Planning

From 1957 to 1960, constant correspondence passed between ecclesiastical and educational leaders in Mexico and Utah. Leaders in Mexico included Daniel P. Taylor (director of Juárez Stake Academy and son of Harvey H. Taylor) and newly called mission presidents David S. Brown and Harvey H. Taylor. Education leaders in Utah included Ernest L. Wilkinson (chancellor over the Unified School System, later known as the Church Educational System, and president of Brigham Young University), as well as Harvey L. Taylor²¹ (the previous superintendent of schools in Mesa, Arizona) and Joseph T. Bentley. Correspondence with General Authorities primarily involved the First Presidency and Elder Romney.²²

Major concerns were the politics of the Mexican educational system,²³ the buying and owning of lands, and official recognition of the Church by

21. Due to the similarity of these names, a simple caution to not confuse the two. Harvey H. Taylor and Harvey L. Taylor were not related.

22. For a few examples: Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memorandum, June 19, 1958, folder 3, box 3, Bentley Papers; Joseph T. Bentley to Daniel P. Taylor, February 3, 1959, folder 3, box 3, Bentley Papers; Daniel P. Taylor to Harvey L. Taylor, February 16, 1959, folder 3, box 3, Bentley Papers; Ernest L. Wilkinson to Harvey L. Taylor, memorandum, January 13, 1959, folder 4, box 3, Bentley Papers.

23. In a memorandum on Mexico's schools, Joseph Bentley wrote that one of the two serious problems with regard to education in Mexico was the "Communist and atheistic influence in the schools." He quoted from *Fortune* magazine, "'The Soviet investment in Mexico's old men has been for immediate operational purposes. Its major capital investment for the long term has been plowed through the years in the Mexican education system, students and teachers alike. Here the harvest has been bountiful. The school system is heavily infiltrated with Communist teachers and administrators (more than half the teachers in grade and high school by some Mexican estimates, are subject to Communist influence). Until recently both the faculty and the organized student life of the national University were largely dominated by the Communist apparatus. This was the reservoir of power from which the Communists drew their liveliest, boldest street demonstrators. During the pro-Castro riots in July of 1960, 1500 students poured into the streets to battle the police in front of the U.S. Embassy.'" Charles J. V. Murphy, "New Communist Patterns in Latin America," *Fortune* (October 1963): 106, quoted in Joseph Bentley, memorandum, October 23, 1963, folder 9, box 106, Bentley Papers.

the Mexican government.²⁴ Partially in reaction to the religious domination of the Catholic Church, the Mexican Constitution placed strict limits on all churches. The Mexican Constitution stated that no church may “acquire, hold or administer real property or hold mortgages thereon” and that places of public worship belong to the nation. It also stated that seminaries and schools “belonging to religious orders” constructed for the use of “teaching of any religious creed” were “property of the Nation.”²⁵ These legal issues remained important and would have to be dealt with in time.

Elder Romney and Joseph Bentley made critical observations and sent recommendations to the First Presidency regarding the Church’s educational activities in Mexico. First, Romney and Bentley agreed that the facilities necessary to run schools were not being provided adequately by the Mexican government and thus strongly encouraged the development of private education. Romney and Bentley’s report noted that approximately 50 percent of children between the ages of six and fourteen were illiterate and their needs were not being adequately met. The committee reported that “in 1950 some nine million Mexicans over six years of age could neither read nor write. It was ascertained during our tour of Mexico in 1958 that illiteracy was rising because the increase in population is greater than the advances in education.”²⁶

Second, the committee recommended that a number of primary schools be built in areas of large Church membership by fall 1960 in order to meet the need of the students. The committee also recommended that a high school, a junior college, and a normal school be built on land that the Church already owned in Mexico City. They knew from a 1958 complete survey of members in Latter-day Saint branches that there were 2,085 potential students (children born in the years 1947–54), and that the government was using any facility possible for the education of children.²⁷

24. See Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 88–90, for Mexican LDS leaders’ reading of Articles 27 and 130 of the Constitution.

25. Constitution of Mexico, 1917, as translated in Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 88–89.

26. Romney and Bentley to McKay and Counselors, December 9, 1959. President Claudius Bowman, president of the Mexican Mission, was killed in an auto accident on July 2, 1958, and apparently no one was called to replace him on the committee.

27. “In 1955 the Mexican government reported that, of a total of 6,833,771 children between six and fourteen years of age, only 3,936,028 received any schooling.” Romney and Bentley to McKay and Counselors, December 9, 1959.



Daniel Pierce Taylor, first superintendent of Church schools in Mexico, c. 1963. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito, in possession of Barbara E. Morgan.

Third, the committee suggested that Daniel Taylor be appointed as the superintendent of all Church schools in Mexico. They proposed that Kenyon Wagner be appointed as the new director for the Juárez Stake schools.²⁸

They anticipated that the proposed schools in Mexico City “could well form the nucleus of a center not only for Mexico, but for all the Latin American missions where priesthood manuals and materials for church auxiliaries could be prepared.” With the future expansion of the Church in mind, they continued, “We have a great work yet to do in these lands . . . developing our programs around the native cultures. Stories and illustrations for Mexico should be taken from Mexican history and from the lives of Mexican heroes such as Benito Juárez and Hidalgo. Our M.I.A. [Mutual Improvement Association] activities should feature Indian and Mexican dances, folk lore, and music.” In this same letter they noted that, by not having the center of the schools in the colonies, “our Mexican Saints can be encouraged to look to Mexico City rather than to the Juárez Stake Academy or the United States for their higher education.” They also indicated that the program would provide employment to many of the returned missionaries who were already

28. Romney and Bentley to McKay and Counselors, December 9, 1959.

serving as teachers without pay in the Church members' schools.²⁹ On January 21, 1960, the First Presidency approved the recommendations.³⁰ At this time, President Wilkinson was promoting the concept of junior colleges as feeders to Brigham Young University and took particular interest in this assignment—especially as it included the likelihood of a normal school.³¹

With his new assignment and the direction to “go to Mexico and organize schools wherever you feel it will be to the Church’s interest,” Daniel Taylor moved to Mexico City immediately and initiated his work as superintendent. By April, Taylor sent a letter to Wilkinson recommending, among other things, a legal organization of the Church schools in Mexico, to be kept separate from the Church schools in the colonies; the organization of an “Advisory Board in Mexico,” which would include the presidents of the missions and stakes and four or five other Church members with experience in Mexico and education; the opening of fourteen more primary schools; the commencement of construction for the secondary school in Mexico City on the Church-owned land, with other schools being built as needed; continued work by the superintendent of the Mexican Church schools³² to improve education all over Mexico; the continuing of the superintendent and educational leaders to build positive relations with the Mexican government leaders; and “that you, as administrator of the Unified Church School System, convey to the Board of Education of the Church and to the First Presidency the sincere thanks of the Church members in Mexico for this important step forward which in a very short time and for a comparatively low cost will strengthen the Church in Mexico beyond our fondest expectations.”³³

29. Romney and Bentley to McKay and Counselors, December 9, 1959; also quoted in Taylor, “Story of LDS Church Schools,” 2:10.

30. Romney and Bentley to McKay and Counselors, December 9, 1959; Taylor, “Story of LDS Church Schools,” 2:12.

31. For a discussion of Wilkinson’s ideas concerning junior colleges, see Ernest L. Wilkinson and Leonard J. Arrington, eds., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3:138–75.

32. Here Taylor is referring to himself.

33. Daniel P. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, April 14, 1960, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers. See also Daniel P. Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, March 23, 1960, folder 4, box 194, UA 1086, Ernest L. Wilkinson Presidential Papers, 1949–1975, Perry Special Collections.

As a result of these recommendations, Wilkinson appointed several prominent ecclesiastical and business leaders to form the Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico.³⁴ The board would meet regularly and make recommendations to the administrators of the Unified Church School System.³⁵ By November, this board, with Joseph Bentley and Harvey L. Taylor in attendance, determined that the Federal District would be the main hub for the schools and that a central campus would be built just north of Mexico City. The board also determined that the students would live in small cottages on campus, rather than large dormitories, in order to provide a family environment. House parents, local active Latter-day Saint couples, would create a homelike atmosphere through prayer, scripture study, chores, and other family activities, and would provide the youth with personal attention and mentoring. In addition, the board also agreed that the thirty-four acres of land south-east of Mexico City purchased during President Bowman's administration, known as Churubusco, was too small and that new property should be investigated.³⁶

The Purchase of “El Arbolillo”

The board's decision not to build the central campus on the Churubusco property resulted from a visit to Daniel Taylor by Ernest Wilkinson in early September 1960. Taylor explained, “I took him out to see that property and he said, ‘This is a beautiful piece of property, but I will not spend one penny here. It's too small. This is going to be a big school.’” Ernest Wilkinson had vivid memories of his own previous experience

34. The Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico included the following: Harvey H. Taylor (mission president in Mexico City), chairman; Israel Ivins Bentley (recently appointed president of the Mexican North Mission), vice-chairman; Daniel P. Taylor (superintendent of Church schools in Mexico); Agricol Lozano (Church's attorney in Mexico); Bernabe Parra and Hector Travino (local members from Mexico); and Wilford Farnsworth (vice president of the National City Bank in Mexico), secretary. Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, May 19, 1960, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers. Also see Minutes of Meeting, March 9, 1961, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers; and Notes, September 6, 1960, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

35. Minutes of Meeting, March 9, 1961, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers.

36. Minutes of the Mexican Education Council, November 30, 1960, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers. The Churubusco land later became a site of a stake center and other Church office buildings. Although at the time this was a tranquil area, it is now in a bustling district at the end of one of the city's major subway lines.

with Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.³⁷ In a letter written immediately upon the BYU president's return from Mexico, Joseph Bentley echoed Wilkinson's desire for a large school. He instructed Church education officials in Mexico to look for plots of at least 125 to 150 acres.³⁸ They in turn contacted Jose Maria Paricio, a real estate agent in Mexico City, and began the search for the appropriate land.³⁹

On September 15, Daniel Taylor, Harvey H. Taylor, and Wilford M. Farnsworth, who was also originally from the colonies, looked at three plots of land that were suggested in the northern part of the city.⁴⁰ The first was too expensive, and the next one was owned by a person not anxious to sell.⁴¹ But the third one seemed to meet all the criteria. Paricio had found this property one day as he was walking through a field of corn. He ran into Don Jose Goyeneche and asked if he knew of a piece of property around 200 acres for sale. Don Jose responded, "Yes, I'm the owner of this property right here, and it's for sale."⁴²

Don Jose Goyeneche and his wife, Dona, were from Spain and wanted to return home. They had no children and none of their family was interested in the lot. They wanted to sell everything, according to Daniel Taylor, "including the rusty nails."⁴³ There were a number of reasons this property, known as El Arbolillo (The Little Tree), was appealing.⁴⁴ First, it was large enough—110 hectares (272 acres).⁴⁵ Second, it was in the Federal District, which would allow its graduates to have preference in being admitted to the University of Mexico.⁴⁶ Third, it had water from its own wells. Fourth,

37. Daniel Taylor, interview by author, February 28, 2013, Highland, Utah.

38. Joseph T. Bentley to Daniel P. Taylor, September 7, 1960, folder 3, box 5, Bentley Papers. Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 133, has the wrong date for this letter.

39. Harvey H. Taylor, *The Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor, 1890–1972, an Autobiography*, comp. Daniel P. Taylor (Yorba Linda, Calif.: Shumway Family History Services, 1990), 254. For Harvey L. Taylor's point of view on the purchasing this property, see Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 134–39.

40. Daniel P. Taylor to Joseph T. Bentley, September 20, 1960, folder 3, box 5, Bentley Papers.

41. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013.

42. Daniel Taylor, interview by Gordon Irving, 1976, 185.

43. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013.

44. Daniel Taylor, interview by author, May 14, 2013, Highland, Utah. The name came from a small tree at an archeological site where workers gathered for lunch, and the name persisted as the area was developed into a ranch.

45. One hectare is 2.47 acres.

46. Daniel Taylor, interview, May 14, 2013.

it had a dairy and poultry farm, as well as a garden project, which would allow student employment.⁴⁷ “My attraction is based principally upon my awareness of the fact that our members are very poor,” Daniel Taylor wrote. He added, “If they are to attend our high school and junior college they will need to have projects on which they can work in order to earn their way. . . . Simultaneously it would provide the dormitories with much that they would need in order to feed the students.”⁴⁸

Although these reasons were good, the enthusiastic request for the purchase of the land was originally rejected by leaders in Utah. Bentley explained that while the proposal was presented to Elder Romney, it was initially denied due to concerns over the fact that the existing farm was losing money and would likely continue to do so.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Church leaders were concerned about the expense of this venture in light of other educational needs worldwide. Not all were equally enthusiastic about establishing more schools.⁵⁰

Shortly after, Elder Romney spoke with President McKay and discovered that the President, with his long-standing interest and professional experience in education, actually favored the purchase of this large piece of land.⁵¹ Furthermore, McKay had confidence in Harvey H. Taylor, a well-respected Church leader and Mexican citizen who was on good terms with Mexican government officials and had demonstrated prowess in purchasing land for the Church.⁵²

With this understanding, Ernest Wilkinson sent Joseph Bentley and Harvey L. Taylor to look at the land. They were impressed with what they saw and therefore recommended that it become the site of a “*centro escolar*,” which would include a *secundaria* (junior high), a *preparatoria* (high school), and a normal (teacher preparation) school. They also agreed with the concept of student employment: “We firmly believe that these young men and women should earn their own way

47. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013.

48. Daniel P. Taylor to Joseph T. Bentley, September 20, 1960, folder 3, box 5, Bentley Papers.

49. Joseph T. Bentley to Daniel P. Taylor, September 28, 1960, folder 3, box 5, Bentley Papers.

50. Wilkinson and Arrington, *Brigham Young University*, 3:166–75. See also Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee of Church Board of Education, March 1, 1963, folder 7, box 53, David O. McKay Papers, MS 668, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

51. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013.

52. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013.

as far as possible so that they do not get the idea of having everything given to them.”⁵³ As a result, on December 31, 1960, Ernest L. Wilkinson responded in favor of the proposal to buy the land.⁵⁴

On January 4, 1961, the Church Board of Education in Utah gave permission to purchase the land for \$800,000 but did not yet give funding for the purchase.⁵⁵ Writing to Harvey H. Taylor to convey the decision of the Utah board, and recognizing also that the landowner gave them only sixty days to commit to a final decision, Joseph T. Bentley recommended, “We will have to get busy . . . in order to acquire this very attractive piece of property.”⁵⁶ By the end of March, Wilkinson requested funds from the Church Building Committee, stating, “We have an option for the purchase of this property which expires on April 7, 1961, and it is urgent, therefore, that we take steps to do something about it.”⁵⁷ On April 4, the Church Expenditures Committee authorized the transfer of \$805,000 for the purchase of the property. This letter was signed by David O. McKay, J. Reuben Clark Jr., and Henry D. Moyle, who composed the First Presidency.⁵⁸ With the backing of Ernest Wilkinson and the First Presidency, Harvey H. Taylor and Daniel P. Taylor went to work on the final price and purchasing of the land.

In describing this experience, Daniel Taylor stated, “Dad was a great trader. He had the good sense to know when things are right, when they’re just, whether they should come down some more or not. And if they needed to come down, he knew the tactics of getting it down.” Daniel explained that he and his father spent over a month negotiating with Goyeneche to get the price down from sixteen pesos per square meter to nine, and they eventually bought the cows for \$40,000.⁵⁹

53. Harvey L. Taylor and Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, December 30, 1960, folder 3, box 5, Bentley Papers; Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 124. See also Ernest L. Wilkinson to Elder Marion G. Romney, January 24, 1961, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

54. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph T. Bentley, December 31, 1960, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

55. Minutes, January 4, 1961, folder 4, box 5, Bentley Papers; Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, March 28, 1961, Bentley Papers; David O. McKay, J. Reuben Clark, and Henry D. Moyle to Ernest L. Wilkinson, April 6, 1961, folder 4, box 5, Bentley Papers; Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 125.

56. Joseph T. Bentley to Harvey H. Taylor, February 22, 1961, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers.

57. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Mr. Harry E. McClure, March 31, 1961, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

58. McKay, Clark, and Moyle to Wilkinson, April 6, 1961.

59. Taylor, *Life and Times of Harvey Hyrum Taylor*.

"I suppose that we saved the Church right around ten million pesos by bringing him down as far as we could."⁶⁰

There was yet another hurdle that needed to be overcome in order to buy the land. According to Mexican law, only a nonreligious legal entity could "take title to property."⁶¹ Therefore, in May, Harvey H. and Daniel Taylor proposed creating a nonprofit "civil society," or legal entity, La Sociedad Educativa y Cultural, S. C., for the purpose of purchasing the land.⁶² Because of Wilkinson's extensive legal background, Church authorities asked him to evaluate the implications of this proposal. He concluded that "this organizational device was proposed and implemented at the suggestion of federal officials in Mexico City and other legal counsel in Mexico." Even though "these buildings are called cultural centers and provide instruction, recreation, and all other cultural activities," he pointed out, "the government is well aware of the religious services that are also held in these buildings."⁶³ Although government officials knew this society was affiliated with the Latter-day Saints, he explained, it technically met the requirements of the "actual law as enforced in Mexico." He added that "the official's interpretation at the present time of the constitution is very liberal because of the great need of educational schooling facilities."⁶⁴

60. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013.

61. First Presidency proposal regarding the purchase of the dairy operation at El Arbolillo, May 2, 1961, folder 4, box 5, Bentley papers. For further clarification on this topic, see Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 188–89, and Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 109–11. See also President Ernest L. Wilkinson to President Moyle, March 28, 1960, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers, which explains the ability of the Church to use the Mutual Improvement Association in order to purchase property for the schools.

62. Daniel Taylor to Harvey L. Taylor and Joseph Bentley, May 16, 1961, folder 4, box 5, Bentley Papers. Daniel Taylor's original proposal for the name was Asociación Educativa y Cultural. The term "sociedad" in Mexico often refers to a formally incorporated body, in this case for the purpose of the promotion of culture and education.

63. Ernest L. Wilkinson to President Henry D. Moyle, March 28, 1960, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

64. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph T. Bentley, August 4, 1960, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. For a more comprehensive explanation on the subject of Mexican property ownership and the LDS Church, see the translation and other materials regarding the Mexican Constitution, as well as the interpretation by Mexican officials and the LDS Church, including Harold W. Pratt's "Notes on the Relations between the Mormon Church and the Mexican Government since Enforcement of the Religious Laws Contained in the Constitution of 1917," in folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers. Also see Daniel Taylor,

On August 9, 1961, the society was finally organized and recognized by the Mexican government.⁶⁵ Daniel Taylor, as the superintendent of Church schools in Mexico, became the general manager of this new corporation. He hired the best legal firm in Mexico City—the one previously used by J. Reuben Clark Jr., who was a U.S. ambassador to Mexico and future member of the First Presidency of the Church.⁶⁶ Final transactions were made on August 16, 1961, and the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural became legal owners of El Arbolillo and all that came with it.⁶⁷ Ernest Wilkinson was unaware that the land was purchased with the understanding “that the owner of the land . . . should remain in possession of the same for a year.”⁶⁸

Developing the Plan for Benemérito

Although the property was purchased in August of 1961, the sellers were allowed to remain on their land for a year until they returned to Spain. Actual construction of the school did not take place until after the sellers moved out and when there was enough need, based on secondary Church student population, to move forward. Even before the final purchase of El Arbolillo, however, Joseph Bentley wrote a letter to Daniel Taylor on March 27, 1961, encouraging him to start planning the overall building projects.⁶⁹

Five months later, Harvey L. Taylor, Joseph Bentley, and Daniel Taylor met with a group at BYU who were responsible for physical facilities.

interview by Gordon Irving, 1976, 84, wherein he states, “President McKay would never allow anything to go on that had an appearance of illegality, . . . nor will the church do anything that’s outrightly illegal, but they will do those things which the government officials themselves tell them they should do in order to be able to operate in Mexico after they know the full story.”

65. Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Education for Mexican Schools, August 9, 1961, folder 5, box 5, Bentley Papers.

66. Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, memorandum, May 24, 1961, C-5, F-4, Bentley Papers. The law firm was Bashom, Ringe and Correa. See Frank W. Fox, *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), chs. 24–28.

67. Joseph Bentley to Elder Marion G. Romney, August 23, 1961, folder 6, box 5, Bentley Papers.

68. Ernest L. Wilkinson to Joseph T. Bentley, April 25, 1961, box 194, folder 4, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

69. Joseph Bentley to Daniel Taylor, March 27, 1961, folder 2, box 5, Bentley Papers.

Together, they made some key decisions. They determined that approximately sixty acres of the land was to be used immediately for the central campus,⁷⁰ and it should be “functional, clean, but not excessive.” Due to safety and security issues, they determined that the entire campus would be surrounded by a wall, and that there would be only one entrance, secured with a guard station. Recognizing the need to be in compliance with and build relations with the Mexican government leaders and people, the board also decided that this campus should be “in complete harmony with the Mexican culture,” and that they would hire a “local Mexican architect to give the buildings their Mexican touch”⁷¹ so that El Arbolillo would “appear like a typical Mexican school.”⁷²

On January 28, 1962, Ernest Wilkinson, Harvey L. Taylor, and Joseph Bentley traveled to meet with the Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico. In addition to considering physical facilities, they gave attention to personnel matters. They proposed that Kenyon Wagner, current director of the Church’s academy in Colonia Juárez, be appointed part-time supervisor of the primary schools in the Mexico City area. He would continue his doctorate in education at the University of Mexico at night, in preparation for becoming the director of the schools at El Arbolillo.⁷³ They believed that a strong Latter-day Saint leader with training in teacher development was critical in this situation.⁷⁴ In late June, the executive committee approved this plan.⁷⁵

The executive committee’s timing on the approval was critical. Only a couple of months later, on September 1, Adolfo Lopez Mateo, president of Mexico, mentioned in his message to the nation the need for secondary schools and asked for help from anyone who could offer a solution. He announced that the enrollment in the secondary schools had increased

70. Daniel Taylor, interview, February 28, 2013. Daniel still has the original blueprint and negotiations in his possession.

71. Minutes of meeting held in the BYU physical plant conference room, September 26, 1961, C-5, F-6, Bentley Papers; Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 145–46.

72. Daniel Taylor, telephone interview by author, April 23, 2013.

73. Minutes of the Meeting for the Council of the Church Schools in Mexico, January 28, 1962, folder 1, box 6, Bentley papers. See also Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, October 23, 1962, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

74. Harvey L. Taylor and Joseph T. Bentley to David S. Brown, February 16, 1962, folder 1, box 6, Bentley Papers.

75. Minutes, folder 4, box 68, Bentley Papers.

by more than 65 percent over the last 45 months and admitted the inability of the government to reach this need. He reported that in the last year they had installed 33 secondary schools and expanded 15, and had employed 5,259 new teachers and 522 administrative personnel for secondary education. Still, thousands of youth were not receiving secondary education. "I repeat, the call of your country to the labor organizations, to the industrial forces, to the bankers and merchants, to the complete people of Mexico, the educational effort does not fall exclusively upon the State. Within the means of your possibilities, the patriotism of all citizens should participate in this great work."⁷⁶

With this statement included in the September 26 memorandum to the Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico, Daniel Taylor urged the board to "proceed now with the secondary part of our program."⁷⁷ He also shared a detailed two-year plan for the building of the school. He projected that the enrollments would be 350 primaria (elementary), 1,600 secundaria (junior high), 600 preparatoria (high school), 600 normal, and 200 normal superior (secondary and preparatory teacher training) students. The buildings would be used with maximum utility and would even offer night school.⁷⁸ By June 1963, preliminary blueprints of the buildings for the schools were prepared for approval.⁷⁹ In August, Bentley urged Wilkinson to seek approval from the executive committee to begin construction "as soon as plans are available."⁸⁰ By October, the executive committee in Utah accepted the plans, as did the Mexican government.⁸¹ Construction commenced with the groundbreaking the following month.

Groundbreaking

After years of research and after buying and preparing the land for the buildings on El Arbolillo, the groundbreaking for the first building was

76. Lopez Mateo, quoted in Daniel Taylor to Ernest L. Wilkinson, September 26, 1962, folder 2, box 6, Bentley Papers.

77. Taylor to Wilkinson, September 26, 1962.

78. Advisory Board of Education Minutes, September 1, 1962, folder 2, box 6, Bentley Papers.

79. Neff Taylor, Church Building Dept., June 11, 1963, folder 9, box 106, Bentley Papers.

80. Joseph T. Bentley to Ernest L. Wilkinson, August 21, 1963, folder 4, box 194, Wilkinson Presidential Papers.

81. Joseph T. Bentley to Bob Ruff, October 19, 1963; Joseph T. Bentley to Dan Taylor, October 23, 1963, folder 9, box 106, Bentley Papers.



Groundbreaking ceremony at Benemérito de las Américas, November 4, 1963. *Left to right:* Joseph T. Bentley, Ernest LeRoy Hatch (mission president), Agricol Lozano Herrera, and Elder Marion G. Romney. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.

held on November 4, 1963, and Elder Marion G. Romney of the Quorum of the Twelve flew to Mexico City to personally supervise. “There was a spirit of great anticipation,” he recorded.⁸² In attendance were many Church members from Mexico City, including Primary children. Special guests included Church and educational leaders and Bernabe Parra, who was a member of the Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico and the one who had the vision two decades earlier of Church education in Mexico.⁸³ Kenyon Wagner, who would become the new school’s director,

82. A. Kenyon Wagner and Leona F. Wagner, *Historia del Centro Escolar Benemérito de las Américas, México D. F.* [Mexico City: El Centro, 1977], 15.

83. Special guests in addition to Bernabe Parra included LeRoy Hatch (newly called mission president and president of the Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico); Harold Brown (president of the Mexico City Stake and vice president of the board); Agricol Lozano; F. Burton Howard (representing the legal division at Church headquarters); Abraham Lozano (director of the El Arbolillo farm); Moises Rivera (member of the Council for El Arbolillo); Daniel P. Taylor; Joseph T. Bentley (representing BYU and the Unified School System); and A. Kenyon Wagner.

conducted the services. He introduced Daniel Taylor, the superintendent of Church schools in Mexico.⁸⁴

Taylor spoke of the earlier inhabitants of the area who had fought for control of the valley where the school would be located. “We are also at war,” he asserted, “fighting against ignorance, against superstition, and against the exploitation of man by man.”⁸⁵ Agricol Lozano, member of the Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico and attorney for the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural, S. C., then reminded those in attendance of their great heritage as descendants of Joseph of old and of the covenants the Lord made with the house of Israel, of which they were a remnant.

In his speech, Lozano announced the official name of the school, Centro Escolar Benemérito de las Américas (Benefactor of the Americas School), after Benito Juárez, a well-known national hero in Mexico.⁸⁶ Benemérito de las Américas was an honorific title originally given to Juárez by the government of the Republic of Columbia on May 1, 1865, and the title eventually caught on in all of Latin America. A Mexican of Native American ancestry, Benito Juárez was often referred to as the Abraham Lincoln of Mexico because of his work to bring equal rights to the country’s indigenous population.⁸⁷ Lozano explained that by adopting this name they were showing appreciation for their great ancestry and common heritage and were therefore giving honor to their “exemplary Founding Father,” Benito Juárez, “he who provided

84. Wagner and Wagner, *Historia del Centro Escolar Benemérito de las Américas*, 16.

85. Daniel Taylor, speech, Groundbreaking ceremony, Benemérito de las Américas, November 4, 1963, Church History Library.

86. The Advisory Board for Schools in Mexico determined that the school would be named after “outstanding Mexican civil servants independent of religious influence.” The board suggested Benito Juárez, one of the great Mexican Revolutionaries, for the Church’s main center, but this name was already used for the Church primary school in Ciudad Juárez and for many other schools throughout Mexico. There is a slight discrepancy in who first suggested the name “Benemérito de las Américas” for the school. Kenyon Wagner in *Historia del Centro Escolar Benemérito de las Américas*, says that he suggested it to Daniel Taylor. But Daniel Taylor recalled that Agricol Lozano suggested the name. Daniel Taylor, interview by author, April 25, 2013.

87. For more information on Benito Juárez, see Robert Ryal Miller, “Matias Romero: Mexican Minister to the United States during the Juárez-Maximilian Era,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 45 (May 1965): 228–45; and Ulick Ralph Burke, *A Life of Benito Juarez: Constitutional President of Mexico* (London: Remington, 1894).



Kenyon Wagner conducts at the groundbreaking ceremony for Benemérito on November 4, 1963. He is surrounded by Mexican children who attended one of the Church-owned elementary schools in the area. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.

a universal treasure with his immortal words ‘Entre los individuos, como entre las naciones, el respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz’” (“Among individuals, as among nations, respect for the rights of others brings peace”).⁸⁸ Furthermore, this name would set this school apart from Catholic schools typically named after saints. Following these discourses, elementary school children, joined by those in attendance, sang the Mexican national anthem.

The music and speakers set the stage for the discourse and prayer offered by Elder Marion G. Romney, who commenced his speech by recalling the days of his own childhood education in the Mexican Mormon colonies. He spoke of his love for Mexico and how this great country gave refuge to his ancestors when they were not able to have the liberty they desired in the United States. He encouraged the children to learn every word of the Mexican national anthem and to love not only the song but “to love Mexico.” He challenged the students to gain

88. Agricol Lozano, speech, Groundbreaking ceremony, Benemérito de las Américas, November 4, 1963, translation from Spanish by the author.

knowledge, reminded them that “the glory of God is intelligence,” and expressed his hope that “those who go through this school will afterwards become leaders in their communities, in their States and in the Republic.” He then prophesied, “This school for which we are breaking ground today is destined to become a great Spanish-speaking cultural center. Its influence will reach far beyond the valley of Mexico. . . . It will be felt in all of Latin America, including South America. Hundreds of thousands of people will come here. Going out from here, they will help the Nation build up its education, its culture and its spirituality.”

Following his discourse, he offered the groundbreaking prayer. In the prayer, he expressed gratitude for the Restoration, the spread of the gospel to Mexico, and the economic situation of the Church. He acknowledged that “the inhabitants of this land have in their veins the blood of Father Lehi; that they are therefore a chosen people.” He asked that the Spirit would be there during construction and that the buildings “may endure over the years to serve as places of learning.” He asked for a blessing upon all those who come here, both teachers and students.⁸⁹

School in Operation

Only three months later the first building was completed. On February 17, 1964, exactly 125 *secundaria* (junior high) students entered and began their studies at Benemérito. Three years later—as these students graduated from *secundaria*—the *preparatoria* (high school) was opened with an enrollment of ninety-six students. The students came from all over Mexico, the majority from the poor economic class. Most lived in cottages supervised by house parents who provided a family-like setting. Here they participated in group prayer and scripture study, and they attended seminary along with their secular classes. Through the years, many worked on campus in a variety of jobs to finance their own education. A campus stake was organized for high school students—a departure from the usual practice in the Church of organizing only college-age students in their own stakes. Benemérito students participated in a variety of extracurricular activities, including music, sports, academic, and civic clubs. The folkdance company particularly attracted widespread commendation.⁹⁰

89. Marion G. Romney, prayer, Groundbreaking ceremony, Benemérito de las Américas, November 4, 1963.

90. A forthcoming book by the author will describe the history and activities of Benemérito de las Américas.



Benemérito school complex seen from the air, showing fifty student houses completed during the year 1967–1968. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.

The vision of Church leaders, however, reached beyond merely *educating* the students; the vision instead focused on *training* faithful Latter-day Saints to teach and influence children and youth throughout Latin America. Because of a surplus of primaria teachers in Mexico, government authorization of more normal schools was almost impossible to receive. In addition to instituting a day of fasting and prayer among students and faculty, Daniel Taylor worked tirelessly to build relationships with Mexican officials and prove that the Church's intentions were consistent with those of the Mexican government. As a result, the government granted permission to establish a normal school, provided there were adequate numbers of Church-owned primaria schools to employ the teachers upon their graduation. Thus, in 1967, there were 531 students enrolled in secundaria, 96 students in the first year of preparatoria, and 62 in the normal school. In 1968, primaria was also included. The largest number of students enrolled at one time at the Benemérito—including primaria, secundaria, preparatoria and normal school students—was 2,803, during the 1974–75 school year.⁹¹

91. Abraham Lopez to author, email, April 25, 2013.



First buildings at Benemérito, c. 1964. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.

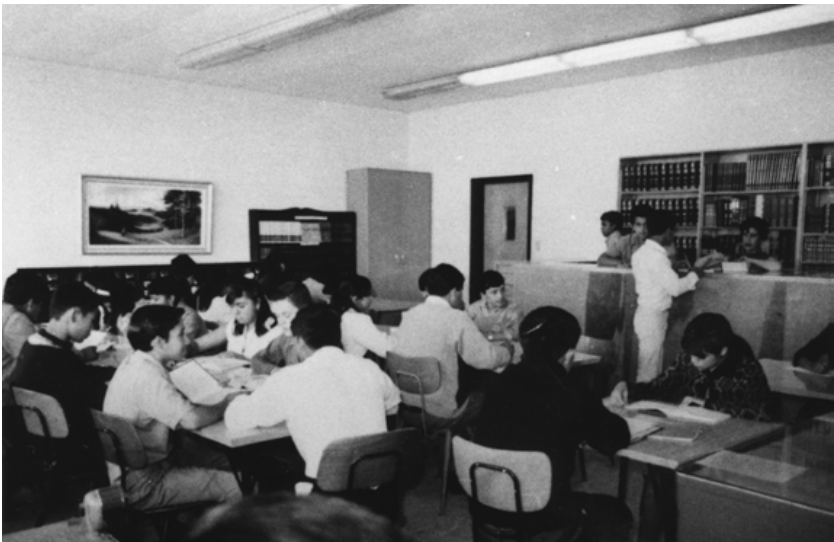
Even though the enrollment at Benemérito stayed consistent for the next decade, changes were afoot that would eventually transform the school into a unique preparatory school. In 1971, the Church adopted a policy to “not duplicate otherwise available” educational opportunities.⁹² By the 1980s, the Mexican government was providing more educational opportunities for most elementary and secondary students. Therefore, in 1984, all Church primary and secondary schools were phased out, including those at Benemérito. As a result of closing the primary schools, the normal school at Benemérito was also discontinued. Since 1985, Benemérito de las Américas has functioned solely as a preparatory (high) school. Over the next quarter of a century, enrollment gradually increased in the preparatoria school to over two thousand a year.

Following the announcement made by Elder Daniel Johnson on January 29, 2013, the entire school system at Benemérito was closed following its graduation ceremonies in June of 2013. It reopened on June 26, only a week later, to become the second-largest missionary training center in the world, serving missionaries from Canada, the

92. *Seek Learning Even by Study and Faith: Report for 1971 from Commissioner of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 1, M260 S451 1971, Church History Library. See also Casey Griffith, “Globalization,” 205–19.



Jorge Rojas speaks at the groundbreaking ceremony for the gymnasium/auditorium at Benemerito, 1967. Behind him, in the front row from left to right, are President Harold Brown, Elder Alvin R. Dyer, Agricol Lozano, and Director Kenyon Wagner. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.



Students at work in the library at Benemérito, 1967. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.



Students register for classes, c. 1967. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.



Students and employees at work on the grounds of Benemérito, c. 1967. Photo from record book kept by staff of Benemérito.



Cultural celebration at the final graduation at Benemérito, recognizing the school's long history as a cultural center for Mexican Latter-day Saints. Photo by Esli Hernandez. Used by permission and in author's possession.

United States, Mexico, and throughout Latin America who are preparing to teach in Spanish.⁹³

Conclusion

Recounting the complete half-century history of this school is beyond the scope of this paper, but suffice it to say that approximately twenty-three thousand students attended Benemérito.⁹⁴ Among the alumni are teachers, actors, lawyers, attorneys, doctors, and senators, as well as missionaries, mothers, fathers, bishops, stake presidents, mission presidents, temple presidents, and General Authorities.⁹⁵ Of the current

93. Carl Pratt, interview by author, February 22, 2013, Mexico City.

94. Lopez to author, email.

95. G. Arturo Limon D., *La Gratitud Es* (Brazil: s.n., 2004), 87–174; Mexico City Area Presidency, Daniel Johnson, Benjamin de Hoyos, Jose L. Alonso, interview by author, February 21, 2013, Mexico City, in author's possession. Survey done by Benemérito de las Américas, Abraham Lopez, vice director of Benemérito. Also Wagner and Wagner, *Historia del Centro Escolar Benemérito de las Américas*, 143–45; as of 1977, this lists one General Authority, twelve Regional Representatives, four Area Authorities, twenty-six mission presidents, and forty-three stake presidents as alumni of Benemérito, but no comprehensive survey has been completed to date.

stake presidents serving throughout Mexico, approximately 25 percent are Benemérito alumni, and since 2008, nearly 90 percent of all male graduates have served full-time missions.⁹⁶

Alfredo Miron's experience at Benemérito was typical of many students. When asked how the school affected his life, he responded: "I came from a poor family, with parents who were not active. I now have a wife whom I met at Benemérito. We have five children, all who attended Benemérito and are now all married in the temple and raising their own families. I worked for the Church Educational System for years, have served as a bishop, a stake president, a mission president and the Director of Benemérito. All of this is possible because of Benemérito."⁹⁷ Alfredo Miron was sustained as an Area Seventy in the April 2013 general conference.⁹⁸

Despite these accomplishments, the school had not realized all that Elder Marion G. Romney had envisioned at the groundbreaking. He spoke of hundreds of thousands coming, which at the previous rate would take centuries. But because of President Thomas S. Monson's October 2012 announcement reducing the age of missionaries worldwide, rather than having 600 high school graduates a year, the former Benemérito campus will have up to 1,200 missionary graduates a month.⁹⁹ These missionaries will be serving people beyond the borders of Mexico, throughout North, Central, and South America.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the numbers Elder Romney anticipated will be achieved at an accelerated pace.

Barbara E. Morgan is Assistant Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University. She earned a bachelor's degree in American studies at BYU, a master's in educational leadership at BYU, and a PhD in instructional technology at Utah State University. She is currently working on a book on the history of Benemérito.

96. Abraham Lopez to author, email, February 20, 2013.

97. Alfredo Miron, interview by author, April 5, 2013, Highland, Utah.

98. "The Sustaining of Church Officers," *Ensign* 43 (May 2013): 27.

99. The Mexico City MTC can accommodate over a thousand missionaries at a time. As of 2013, training programs are two weeks long for native Spanish speakers and six weeks for non-Spanish speakers.

100. Carl Pratt, interview by author, February 19, 2013, Mexico City.

“My God, My God, Why Hast Thou Forsaken Me?”

Psalm 22 and the Mission of Christ

Shon Hopkin

My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Ps. 22:1). “Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows” (Isa. 53:4). These two statements—one quoted from the Psalms by Christ as he hung upon the cross, and the other taken from Isaiah by Abinadi in the Book of Mormon—are familiar and dear to all Christians as prophecies that found their fulfillment in Christ’s grand atoning sacrifice. Perhaps no Old Testament texts as a whole exerted more influence on the New Testament understanding of Christ’s mission than Psalm 22 and Isaiah 53. Psalm 22 was quoted or alluded to at least eleven times by New Testament authors,¹ while Isaiah 53 was used at least ten times.² Indeed, these texts could be considered the twin pillars of Old Testament prophecy regarding Christ. How could early Christians make sense of the torture and ignominious death of their Messiah? How could Jesus be the

1. See John 12:38; Romans 10:16; Matthew 8:17; 1 Peter 2:22; 1 Peter 2:24 (three different allusions); Acts 8:32–33; Mark 15:28; and Luke 22:37. John W. Welch and John F. Hall, *Charting the New Testament* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2002), chart 2-5.

2. Uses of Psalm 22 in the New Testament will be discussed below in the paper. Other Old Testament passages that were used frequently include Exodus 20 (the Ten Commandments), eleven times; Psalm 110 (employed primarily by Paul), ten times; and Psalm 118 (with prophecies of Christ), ten times. As can be seen, only one of these passages—Psalm 118—was used primarily as a witness of Christ’s ministry. No other Old Testament passages rival these with regard to frequency in the New Testament. Welch and Hall, *Charting the New Testament*, chart 2-5.

My interest in Psalm 22 began when I was working on my master's thesis, which I wrote on Psalm 22:16. The version of that verse found in the Greek Septuagint reads, "They pierced my hands and my feet," but the Masoretic text gives the same phrase as "like a lion [they are at] my hands and my feet." Because of the Christological focus of the Septuagint rendering, the interpretation of the phrase has created heated debate throughout the centuries.



As I tried to sort through the various textual witnesses and interpretations of Psalm 22:16, I discovered that a small fragment found at Nahal Hever near Qumran was the only attestation of Psalm 22:16 among the Dead Sea scrolls. This fragment, the most ancient Hebrew witness of Psalm 22:16, actually provides a Hebrew word that could be most accurately translated as "they pierced," supporting a Christ-centered view of that text. This reading also supports teachings of Christ's crucifixion found in modern scriptures of the Restoration. A shortened version of my thesis was included in *BYU Studies* 44, no. 3, as "The Psalm 22:16 Controversy: New Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls."

This in-depth analysis of one verse of Psalm 22 formed the foundation for my interest in the entire psalm, all of which can be read as an extended prophecy of Christ's suffering, crucifixion, and eventual triumph over death. The paucity of Latter-day Saint commentary on Psalm 22, especially when compared with commentary on the other great, extended prophecy of Christ in the Old Testament—Isaiah 53—indicated to me a need for a closer look at the entire psalm. That search revealed a long history of Christ-centered interpretation surrounding Psalm 22 and profound connections with modern scripture, especially D&C 138, that I had not expected. The discoveries of that study are found in this article.

long-awaited Christ if his life ended without triumph or acclaim? Both of these chapters provided comfort that the Messiah's suffering was fore-known. Even more importantly, both scriptures show that his suffering and death were not the end but indicate that Christ would rise above the suffering and triumphantly save his people.

Notwithstanding the strength of these dual witnesses, Isaiah 53 has held place among Latter-day Saints as the preeminent Old Testament prophecy of Christ.³ Following Abinadi's example and the Book of Mormon's encouragement to "search . . . the words of Isaiah" (3 Ne. 23:1), each verse of Isaiah 53 has been dissected, analyzed, and mined by LDS scholars for any connection that would provide an ancient support for or additional understanding of Christ's mission.⁴ An entire Sunday School lesson during the Old Testament year of study centers on Isaiah's discussion of the Atonement,⁵ and the Old Testament institute manual devotes a lengthy section to it as well.⁶ Meanwhile, these two LDS resources include Psalm 22 as only one among a list of several Psalms that testify of Christ, with little or no explanatory discussion provided.⁷ A brief survey of biblical passages quoted in general conference in reference to

3. The title of an article by Keith Meservy is instructive: "Isaiah 53: The Richest Prophecy on Christ's Atonement in the Old Testament," in *A Witness of Jesus Christ: The 1989 Sperry Symposium on the Old Testament*, ed. Richard D. Draper (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 156–57.

4. See, for example, Meservy, "Isaiah 53: The Richest Prophecy," 156–57; Victor L. Ludlow, *Isaiah: Prophet, Seer, and Poet* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1982), 447–57; Donald W. Parry, Jay A. Parry, and Tina M. Peterson, *Understanding Isaiah* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1998), 470–78. Because LDS commentary on Isaiah 53 is so extensive, the authors of a bibliographic survey on Isaiah in the Book of Mormon chose to devote an additional eight pages to the observations of these commentaries in a verse-by-verse format. John S. Thompson and Eric Smith, "Isaiah and the Latter-day Saints: A Bibliographic Survey," in *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Donald W. Parry and John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1998), 495–502.

5. *Old Testament: Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Manual* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2001), 187–89.

6. *Old Testament Student Manual: 1 Kings–Malachi* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 197–99.

7. *Old Testament: Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Manual*, 117–22; *Old Testament Student Manual: Genesis–2 Samuel* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 309–15. The institute manual does contain a lengthy excerpt from Bruce R. McConkie, *The Promised Messiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 530–34, part of which is quoted at the conclusion of this paper, in which he provides numerous Old Testament prophecies of Christ.

the Atonement indicates that speakers have discussed Christ's sacrifice in terms provided by Isaiah 53 sixty-one times since 1949. This compares with only eight references to Psalm 22 during the same time span.⁸

If the New Testament writers, however, connected their messages to Psalm 22 even more frequently than to Isaiah 53, perhaps this important passage should receive a more thorough treatment in LDS understanding as well. This paper aims to illuminate the powerful, Christ-centered nature of Psalm 22. In order to do so, it will first discuss Psalm 22 in detail, demonstrating its prophetic connections with Christ's ministry, including early Christian insights regarding the psalm. It will then discuss the importance of Christ's quotation from the cross of Psalm 22:1—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"—and analyze LDS

Psalm 22 figures prominently among these and is linked by Elder McConkie with prophecy from Isaiah 53.

8. One of the primary reasons for this discrepancy is the Book of Mormon focus on the writings of Isaiah. Christ, like Moroni, provided direct encouragement in his teachings to study the words of Isaiah (see 3 Ne. 20:11; 23:1; Morm. 8:23), leading most LDS studies of the Old Testament to devote considerably more time to the teachings of Isaiah than to the Psalms. Additionally, the Book of Mormon quotes Isaiah 53 directly in Abinadi's teachings to the priests of Noah, and Abinadi connects that chapter explicitly to the mission of Christ with such forcefulness that LDS readers are strongly encouraged to view it through a Christ-centered lens. Other Book of Mormon prophets either quote directly from Isaiah 53 or appear to be influenced by its view of the suffering Christ. For example, Nephi appears to quote Isaiah 53:6 when he states that "all [have] gone astray" (2 Ne. 28:14). Alma explicitly refers to the text of Isaiah 53:4 when he states that Christ's suffering happened "that the word might be fulfilled which saith he will take upon him the pains and the sicknesses of his people" (Alma 7:11). Jacob does not clearly quote Isaiah but seems to echo an Isaianic view of Christ's sufferings when he says that Christ will suffer "the pains of all men" (2 Ne. 9:21). Other Nephite prophets, such as King Benjamin (quoting the angel in Mosiah 3:7, 9), reflect a similar understanding of and focus on Christ's suffering as that found in Isaiah 53. In contrast, there appear to be no references to Psalm 22 in the Book of Mormon, although the Book of Mormon view of a suffering Messiah does connect with Psalm 22 just as well as with Isaiah 53, and prophecies regarding Christ's crucifixion (1 Ne. 19:10; 2 Ne. 10:5; and Mosiah 15:7) and the wounds in his hands and feet (3 Ne. 11:15) connect more closely to Psalm 22 than to Isaiah 53 (see Ps. 22:16).

A search at <http://scriptures.byu.edu/> indicates that Psalm 22 has been referenced only 13 times in all recorded general conference talks and all speeches included in the *Journal of Discourses*. By contrast, Isaiah 53 has been referenced 111 times in these sources.

statements regarding it. This discussion of Psalm 22 builds throughout upon an earlier insightful LDS study provided by Paul Hoskisson.⁹

Psalm 22 and Christ's Atonement

(1) My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? why art thou so far from helping me, and from the words of my roaring? (2) O my God, I cry in the daytime, but thou hearest not; and in the night season, and am not silent.

Most Latter-day Saints and other Christians are either unaware that Christ was quoting Psalm 22:1 when he made this well-known statement from the cross (in bold text), or they see it simply as the fulfillment of an isolated prophecy from the Old Testament. When seen from a broader view, this verse introduces all of Psalm 22. The complete text of this psalm follows a pattern found in other psalms known as “Psalms of Lament,” moving from a sufferer’s cries of anguish because of his trials (vv. 1–18), to a request for aid (vv. 19–21), and ending in a note of triumph as the sufferer anticipates the assistance he will receive from God or expresses gratitude that the desired assistance has come (vv. 22–31).¹⁰ Verse one begins the lament with the cry that would later be spoken by Christ. As will be seen, the subsequent verses of Psalm 22 continue to describe the events of Christ’s suffering and crucifixion in stunning detail, providing image after image that the Christ-centered reader recognizes as vividly accurate portrayals of the Atonement, and that would have provided comfort to early Christians as they reflected upon Christ’s statement forever linking his suffering with that chapter. Indeed, as will be seen, the full import of Christ’s quotation will be missed by modern readers if its connection with the rest of Psalm 22 is not understood.

Both Matthew and Mark included this opening sentence as Christ’s only statement while upon the cross (Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34). Since this verse has been so central to a Christian understanding of Christ’s

9. Paul Y. Hoskisson, “The Witness for Christ in Psalm 22,” in *Covenants, Prophecies, and Hymns of the Old Testament* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2001), 290–301.

10. Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1981), 64–79; Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, *The Psalms of Lament in Mark’s Passion: Jesus’ Davidic Suffering*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2–8; James Limburg, “Book of Psalms,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 531–32. Psalms of lament include Psalms 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 85, 90, 94, 123, and 137.

sacrifice, the implications of the statement will receive a full treatment in a separate section below, which will also analyze doctrinal concerns expressed by early Christians regarding the cry of forsakenness. Although in these Gospels no other words from Christ were indicated, both Gospels teach that at the time of his death Jesus uttered a “loud” cry (Matt. 27:50; Mark 15:37), providing a connecting image with “the words of my roaring” in the second half of Psalm 22:1.

Psalm 22:2 continues the theme that God has not answered the prayer of the supplicant in the way he would have hoped. Although the unanswered “cry in the daytime” and “in the night season” could be read as poetic parallelism indicating a complete sense of forsakenness, Latter-day Saint readers could also see these time indications as references to Jesus’s dual periods of suffering, in the daytime upon the cross and in the nighttime at the Garden of Gethsemane. It was in that location where he pled that the “cup pass from [him]” (Matt. 26:39), but the Father in one sense “hear[d] not” (Ps. 22:2), allowing his Son to suffer the full effects of that bitter draught. According to this unique LDS understanding of the atoning nature of Christ’s suffering in Gethsemane, some LDS prophets, as will be seen below, have taught that Christ was left alone to a certain degree, not only on the cross but also in the garden, notwithstanding the fact that he was strengthened for a time by an angel (Luke 22:43).

Interestingly, Justin Martyr, a very early Christian commentator writing in the first half of the second century, also connected the sufferer’s cry in Psalm 22:2 with Jesus’s prayer in Gethsemane.¹¹ The well-known Christian theologian Augustine, however, writing about 250 years later, completely avoided any mention of Gethsemane in his commentary,¹² possibly indicating a theological shift in the Christian understanding of the garden experience. Accordingly, modern Christians have generally

11. Writing in the first half of the second century, Justin Martyr (AD 100–ca. 165) offered a verse-by-verse commentary on Psalm 22, showing how it was fulfilled in Christ. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 97–106. Quotations from Justin Martyr in this paper come from Thomas B. Falls, ed., *Saint Justin Martyr: The First Apology, The Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1965).

12. Augustine (AD 354–430) is known as one of the most influential Christian theologians throughout history. Quotations from Augustine in this paper are taken from Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms: Psalms 1–29*, trans. Scholastica Hebgin and Felicitas Corrigan, 2 vols., *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation* vol. 29 (New York: Newman Press, 1960), 1:200–28.

seen the suffering in Gethsemane as due primarily to a concern for the impending ordeal on the cross, rather than as an atonement for the sins of mankind.¹³ For Latter-day Saints, these verses describe a dual understanding of garden and cross in a way that has been largely missed in Christianity since the times of Justin Martyr.

(3) But thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel. (4) Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted, and thou didst deliver them. (5) They cried unto thee, and were delivered: they trusted in thee, and were not confounded.

These verses nuance the cry of abandonment expressed by Christ on the cross, and indicate that he trusted God even while feeling the overwhelming burden of his mission. As Hoskisson has written, the trust indicated in Psalm 22:4 was shown in the second half of Christ's Gethsemane prayer, in which he requested the bitter cup to be removed: "If this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, *thy will be done*" (Matt. 26:42, emphasis added). Jesus knew, both in the Garden of Gethsemane and on the cross, that God could be trusted to deliver him in the end, even if the possibilities appeared dark in the present. As will be seen below, echoes of this nuanced understanding of Christ's great cry have also been expressed by Latter-day Saint prophets and leaders. On the one hand, it is important to recognize that Jesus's feelings of forsakenness expressed in Psalm 22:1 support the understanding that Christ "[trod] the winepress alone," as prophesied in Isaiah 63:3, in part so that he could understand the feelings of aloneness that his people would suffer. On the other hand, it is also important to know that Christ took strength from his trust in God even during his feelings of utmost suffering. This concept allows modern-day disciples to recognize that feelings of aloneness are temporary and can be softened by an overarching trust in the Father's love for them, no matter how forsaken they may feel at times.

The sufferer's expression of hope in deliverance (Ps. 22:5), recorded hundreds of years earlier, again demonstrates a surprisingly specific connection with the details of Christ's crucifixion. On the preceding day, Jesus had celebrated a Passover meal, the Last Supper, with his disciples at precisely the time of year when Jews throughout the Mediterranean world were celebrating Israel's deliverance from bondage in Egypt, in which the angel of death passed them by (Ps. 22:4). In Christ's day, the

13. See Donald A. D. Thorsen, "Gethsemane," in Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 2:997.

Jews continued to mark their doorposts with the blood of the Passover lamb to show their own hope for deliverance during the struggles of their time. Although that Jewish hope was likely centered in Jesus's day on salvation from Rome, Christ knew that the most important deliverance was the rescue from death and sin, as had been taught in Isaiah 53.

(6) *But I am a worm (Heb. tola'at), and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people (Heb. uvzuy 'am).*

These verses connect textually with the description provided by Isaiah of the Messiah as one “despised (Heb. *nivzeh*) and rejected of men (Heb. *'am*)” (Isa. 53:3), both using the same root for “despised . . . of men” (Heb. *b-z-h* . . . *'am*). Both passages teach of a suffering Messiah who would not be received by worldly society at large but would remain a rejected outsider. Augustine's description of the suffering Christ as prophesied in Psalm 22 is particularly moving: “Our Lord was scourged and there was none to help; He was defiled with spittle and there was none to help; He was struck with blows and there was none to help; He was crowned with thorns, there was none to help; He was raised on the tree, there was none to rescue Him.”¹⁴

That the psalmist described Christ as a “worm, and no man” may have a significant dual meaning. In one sense, Christ, who “descended below all things” (D&C 88:6; see also Eph. 4:9–10), was considered as less than any other human being, having become in a manner guilty of the darkest sins of all humankind through his atoning sacrifice (2 Cor. 5:21). He was treated as the lowest of creatures, as a “worm,” and was crucified on the cross like the vilest of sinners. Job 25:4–6 demonstrates the connection between sin-induced suffering and the “worm” to which Psalm 22:6 is referring. Job's friend Bildad uses the word “worm” to suggest that Job's suffering is due to his sins, a state of uncleanness that is common to all of humankind: “How then can man be justified with God? or how can he be clean that is born of a woman? Behold even . . . the stars are not pure in his sight. How much less man, that is a worm? and the son of man, which is a worm (Heb. *tole'ah*)?” Psalm 22:7 follows the same reasoning as that provided by Bildad. Just as Bildad accuses Job of being a sinful worm, providing Job's suffering as evidence, so Christ—“a worm”—is mocked because his suffering on the cross demonstrates to them his cursed, sinful status.

14. Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:214.

However, a second possibility remains. Hoskisson has demonstrated the duality of this phrase by indicating that the word “worm” in Hebrew (*tola’at*) is a variant name for the creature (Heb. *tole’ah*) used to provide the color scarlet in the ancient world. Only royalty or the rich could afford the dye from this worm, and scarlet became identified with kingly authority and wealth. The soldiers at Christ’s crucifixion, for example, placed upon him a robe of scarlet (see Matt. 27:28; a purple robe in John 19:2) to mock him as “King of the Jews.” The coloring for this robe would have come from the *tola’at*, thus teaching that the Messiah is “a worm, and no man,” because he is more than man; he is of kingly heritage, the Son of God. This view was expressed in Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 22, which stated that Christ is no man, “because He is God.”¹⁵

(7) *All they that see me laugh me to scorn* (Gr. *exemyktērisan*; Eng. *deride*; *scorn*): *they shoot out the lip, they shake the head* (Gr. *ekinēsan kephalēn*), *saying*, (8) *He trusted* (Gr. *hēlpisen*) *on the Lord that he would deliver him: let him deliver* (Gr. *sōsatō*) *him, seeing he delighted in him.*

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke each pointedly allude to Psalm 22:7–8 (in bold text) in their passion narratives to show that Christ’s derision did not disqualify him as the Messiah, because it fulfilled biblical prophecy. Matthew’s account reflects most of the textual connections found in the other two Gospels as well, “They that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads. . . . Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said, . . . He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him” (Matt. 27:39–43). The Greek version of Psalm 22:7–8 from the Septuagint (hereafter LXX),¹⁶ which was the version most frequently used by the New Testament authors,¹⁷ shows several points of connection with these verses. The LXX root for “laugh to scorn” (Psalm 22:7 in the KJV, but Psalm 21:8 in LXX) is the same as that for “derided” in Luke 23:35 (Gr. *exemyktērizon*). The LXX phrase “wagging their heads” uses the same Greek roots as those found in Matthew 27:39 and Mark 15:29

15. Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:213.

16. The Greek Septuagint (LXX) was the earliest translation of the Hebrew Bible into any other language. It is so-named because of its miraculous translation, which, according to the story, was accomplished by seventy-two Jewish men (six from each of the twelve tribes) in seventy days. See Lancelot C. L. Brenton, ed., “Introduction,” in *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London: Hendrickson, 1999), ii.

17. Brenton, *Septuagint with Apocrypha*, vi.

(Gr. *kinountes tas kephalas*). The LXX for “deliver” mirrors that found in Luke 23:35 (Gr. *sōsatō*). The word for “trusted” in the LXX is a different root than that in Matthew 27:43 (Gr. *pepoithen*), but the similarity of the entire phrase strongly suggests a purposeful allusion.

In the psalm, these verses of scorn logically follow the preceding verses: the sufferer openly expressed trust in God in verses 3–5 and is subsequently mocked when his continued suffering appears to contradict the value of that reliance. Similarly, the emphasis in the Gospels on the mocking derision incurred by Jesus on the cross logically follows the connection with the Father that Jesus had expressed during his intercessory prayer just prior to the Crucifixion (see John 17:22). Those deriding Jesus viewed with delight the predicament of the cross that indicated to them that Jesus’s trust had been misplaced and that his belief that the Father “honoure[d him]” (John 8:54) was incorrect.

(9) But thou art he that took me out of the womb: thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother’s breasts. (10) I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from my mother’s belly.

Christ’s divine Sonship is in these verses prefigured by the image of the Father himself removing Jesus from the womb so that he could be nurtured by his mother, Mary. The need for the child to receive nourishment reveals him as a mortal being, while God’s involvement in the process indicates a unique relationship between the two. The next statement reveals that Christ was not only nurtured by his mother but also relied deeply upon the assistance of the Father. Both statements show that Jesus began to understand this unique relationship from a very early age, indicating the type of maturity demonstrated by Jesus at age twelve when he taught his own mother that he “must be about [his] Father’s business” (Luke 2:49). This special hope in and reliance upon God is expressed even more fully in the Joseph Smith Translation at Matthew 3:24–25: “And it came to pass that Jesus grew up with his brethren, and waxed strong, and waited upon the Lord for the time of his ministry to come. And he served under his father, and he spake not as other men, neither could he be taught; for he needed not that any man should teach him.”¹⁸

18. The wording of this JST addition appears to leave the identity of the father—either Joseph or Heavenly Father—somewhat unclear. This ambiguity is heightened when examining the two extant manuscripts of the JST. While both versions show “father” in this passage with a lowercase letter, in the

According to Augustine, verses 9–10 refer to the virginal birth of Christ and to the fact that he was born of the “womb” of the Jewish people. The Jewish people had “rejected [Christ] instead of bearing [him]; and if [he] did not fall, it was because” God had upheld him.¹⁹ Christ was no mere infant but had a unique relationship with the Father from his earliest days. The phrases “But thou art he that took me out of the womb” and “I was cast upon thee from the womb” could be understood as symbolizing God’s role in Jesus’s birth as a midwife figure (or even a father figure, although fathers were not typically present at birth),²⁰ one who would catch, support, and comfort the newborn infant as it emerged from the womb and began to be fed and nourished by its mother. These verses could also indicate that God provided a unique protection and support from Jesus’s earliest days in the role typically filled by a father. Justin Martyr used these verses in Psalm 22 to teach that Christ’s atoning sacrifice was not carried out only at his death, but instead began at the beginning of his life, when he was called “from the womb.”²¹ In connection with John the Revelator’s testimony that Jesus had been called “from the foundation of the world” (Rev. 13:8), Latter-day Saints would trace Christ’s calling as the Messiah back even further to the premortal Council in Heaven (see Moses 4:1–4; Acts 2:23; and 1 Pet. 1:20). Psalm 22:9–10 could likewise indicate that Jesus was called as the Messiah even before he was born.

JST manuscript NT1, scribe Sidney Rigdon also did not capitalize “father” in Christ’s injunction to be perfect as the Father is (Matt. 5:48) or in the Lord’s prayer (Matt. 6:9), both of which were capitalized in the KJV and the 1828 Phinney Bible that Joseph Smith consulted during his translation efforts. For further information about Joseph’s Bible translation, see Kent P. Jackson, “Joseph Smith’s Cooperstown Bible: The Historical Context of the Bible Used in the Joseph Smith Translation,” *BYU Studies* 40, no. 1 (2001): 41–70. On the other hand, in the JST manuscript NT2, scribe John Whitmer *did* capitalize the word “father” in Matthew 5:48 and throughout Matthew 6 whenever the text referred to God the Father. A close reading of the Gospels, however, demonstrates that Jesus never referred to Joseph as his father (see Luke 2:48–49). These JST verses, then, can be taken to mean that Jesus served under his true Father and relied upon heavenly training from a very young age, as Psalm 22 illustrates.

19. Brenton, *Septuagint with Apocrypha*, 203.

20. See Victor H. Matthews, *Manners and Customs in the Bible* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendricksen, 1991), 73–74.

21. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 98.

(11) *Be not far from me; for trouble is near; for there is none to help.* (12) *Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round.* (13) *They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ravening and a roaring lion.*

The passion narratives emphasize that some of Christ's feelings of forsakenness occurred because his Apostles did not always stand by him throughout his greatest hours of need. When he prophesied of his crucifixion, Peter had early on sought to dissuade him from his atoning mission (see Matt. 16:22–23; Mark 8:32–33). While suffering in the Garden of Gethsemane, Christ repeatedly returned to Peter, James, and John to express his concern that they were unable to stay awake and “watch with [him]” (Matt. 26:38–40). Notwithstanding their expressed intention to stand with Christ no matter what the difficulty, when Jesus was betrayed by Judas and taken captive, “all [his] disciples forsook him, and fled” (Matt. 26:56; Mark 14:50). Luke does not explicitly describe this abandonment but instead includes Peter's threefold denial, adding the detail that Jesus “turned, and looked upon Peter” (Luke 22:61). These details are correctly prophesied in the psalmist's exclamation that “there is none to help.”

Both Justin Martyr and Augustine saw verses 12 and 13 as continuing the passion narrative. Justin understood the calves and strong bulls (Ps. 22:12, translation according to LXX) that had “besieged [him] round”²² as representations of the Pharisees and Sadducees who surrounded Christ at his trial, slapping and spitting upon him. He equated the “roaring lion” with King Herod.²³ Augustine instead equated the roaring lion with the Jewish people as they screamed, “Crucify Him, crucify Him!”²⁴ From the viewpoint of biblical imagery, the lion—the symbol of the tribe of Judah—is an appropriate representation of the Jewish leaders who cried for Jesus's death. Since Bashan was used by Israelite prophets as a symbol of haughty pride (see Jer. 22:20; 50:19; Ezek. 27:6), the bulls of Bashan appropriately represented the self-vaunting, self-protecting strength of the Jewish leaders.²⁵

(14) *I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels.*

22. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 103.

23. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 103.

24. Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:203.

25. See Hoskisson, “Witness for Christ in Psalm 22,” 294.

Surprisingly, neither Justin or Augustine connected this description with its most obvious fulfillment—the water mingled with blood that flowed from the spear-wound in Jesus’s side (see John 19:34). According to Elder James E. Talmage, this event signaled that Christ had died of a broken heart.²⁶ If so, then the psalmist used very appropriate imagery for that experience when he described Christ’s heart like wax melted in heat and his life as being poured out “like water.” Although he did not connect this verse with Christ’s heart, Justin used it to point to Christ’s suffering in the Garden of Gethsemane, a connection possibly again indicating an early understanding of Gethsemane that was later lost to the Christian world. “His perspiration poured out like drops of blood as He prayed, . . . His heart was like wax melting in his belly.”²⁷ Justin also connected the phrase “all my bones are out of joint” (Ps. 22:14) with the challenges of Gethsemane.²⁸ A different but equally appropriate fulfillment, however, was seen by Augustine, who understood this prophecy as being fulfilled in the painful posture of the Crucifixion.²⁹

(15) *My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death.*

All four Gospel writers included the detail that Christ was offered vinegar while upon the cross (see Matt. 27:48; Mark 15:36; Luke 23:36; John 19:29). Only John explicitly provides a reason for the proffered drink in Christ’s statement “I thirst” (John 19:28). As described by Hoskisson, “There is no better poetic imagery for extreme thirst than a potsherd, a broken piece of pottery. In those days, everyday pottery was not glazed. Therefore, if a drop of water was put on a broken piece of unglazed pottery, the drop would be soaked up almost instantly. Severe dehydration also causes the mouth to become dry and the tongue to swell up so that it ‘cleaveth’ to the jaws.”³⁰ For the Psalmist, this suffering thirst was directly connected to being brought “into the dust of death,”

26. James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 668–69, n. 8. For a nuanced medical understanding of Jesus’s death, see W. Reid Litchfield, “The Search for the Physical Cause of Jesus Christ’s Death,” *BYU Studies* 37, no. 4 (1998): 93–109. Litchfield states that the best explanation for Jesus’s death is cardiac arrhythmia, according to him a figurative equivalent to the “broken heart.”

27. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 103.

28. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 103.

29. Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:203.

30. Hoskisson, “Witness for Christ in Psalm 22,” 295.

with dust again evoking feelings of dryness and a lack of water. With characteristic accuracy, this depiction in Psalm 22 perfectly matches John's account, as he links Christ's thirst with his death, stating, "When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost" (John 19:30). Dust is also associated with death in Genesis 3:19, in which Adam is told that he will "return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." This intertextual connection may indicate that the psalmist associated the fate of the sufferer with the fate of Adam (and his posterity), providing another point of contact between Psalm 22 and the early Christian understanding of Christ as the "second" or "last" Adam (see 1 Cor. 15:22, 45–47).

(16) For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet. (17) I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me.

The psalmist's description of the assembly of the wicked as dogs, a derisive term often reserved in the Bible for the ritually impure,³¹ points to Christ's illegal trial before the Jewish leaders and his subsequent crucifixion in the presence of his enemies, who "look and stare upon [him]." In fact, the Greek LXX for "assembly" in verse 16 is *synagōgē*, the same word used for the Jewish place of worship. Both Augustine and Justin Martyr equated the "assembly of the wicked" with the gathering of Jews who cried to Pilate to "crucify him!"³² According to Augustine, the stretching posture of the Crucifixion placed strain upon Jesus's body in a way that allowed his very bones to be counted or "told."

Even more importantly, verse 16 provides what may be the clearest prophecy of Christ's crucifixion anywhere in the Old Testament, stating that "they pierced my hands and feet." The King James Version translation actually follows the Greek LXX in this case rather than the Hebrew Masoretic text. The Masoretic text instead offers the problematic "like a lion (Heb. *ca'ari*) [they are at] my hands and my feet." This one word—"they pierced" in LXX or "like a lion" in the Masoretic text—was one of the most significant points of Jewish and Christian controversy over biblical interpretation for many centuries. Jewish scholars maintained

31. See Michelle Ellis Taylor, "Dog," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 352.

32. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 104; Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:215.

that the Masoretic text was the most correct version, and Jews were known to open a new Bible translation to this very verse in order to ascertain the bias of the translators. Christians, on the other hand, accused the Jewish people of tampering with the text and continued to aver that the translation “pierced” reflected the oldest understanding.³³ In the past few decades, the Dead Sea Scrolls have finally offered some assistance and clarity on the subject, supporting a reading found in a minority of ancient Hebrew manuscripts. A small Psalms fragment from Nahal Hever (5/6 Hev-Se4Ps, Fragment 11) replaces the final *yod*, which would give the reading “like a lion,” with a final *waw*, creating a verb most likely translated as “pierced” and thus providing “they pierced my hands and my feet,” supporting the LXX witness. The *yod* and *waw* are the two letters most easily confused in Hebrew, explaining how the variant may have originated.³⁴

Although the passion narratives do not specifically mention the piercing of Christ’s hands and feet, this was a typical mode of crucifixion. When Jesus appeared to the disciples, he told them to “behold [his] hands and [his] feet” (Luke 24:39). The Book of Mormon further strengthens this witness. When Christ appeared to the Nephites, he asked them to “feel the prints of the nails in [his] hands and in [his] feet” (3 Ne. 11:14). Doctrine & Covenants 6:37 offers the same witness of the fulfillment of Psalm 22:16 in Christ’s crucifixion: “Behold . . . the prints of the nails in my hands and feet.” Following the emphasis in Paul’s writings, when Christians throughout the world ponder the sacrifices of the suffering Christ, they connect those sufferings with crucifixion upon “the cross of Christ” (Gal. 6:12; see also Gal. 6:14, Philip. 3:18, Heb. 12:2), an event prophesied with great detail centuries earlier by the LXX version of Psalm 22:16 and supported by the Dead Sea Scrolls. The use of this verse in early Christian accounts will be discussed further below.

(18) *They part my garments* (Gr. himatia) *among them, and cast lots* (Gr. ebalon klêron) *upon my vesture* (Gr. himatismôn).

This verse of Psalm 22 was alluded to in all four of the Gospel passion narratives. Each of the three synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) share the same connections, mentioning that the persecutors

33. See Gregory Vall, “Psalm 22:17B: ‘The Old Guess,’” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 116, no. 1 (1997): 46–48.

34. Shon Hopkin, “The Psalm 22:16 Controversy: New Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BYU Studies* 44, no. 3 (2005): 161–72.

“cast lots” (Gr. *ebalon klēron*) in order to divide the garments or raiment (Gr. *himatia*) of the sufferer. John’s gospel, however, goes further. Although the verse in Psalms could be interpreted as simple Hebrew parallel structure—they “cast lots upon my vesture” is a poetic restatement of the equivalent phrase “they part my garments among them”—John instead saw a nuance in the parallel phrases that closely connected with Christ’s experience. Not only did the persecutors divide Jesus’s garments, but John also mentions that there was a second “vesture” or “raiment,” a special “coat . . . without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment (Gr. *himatia*) among them, and for my vesture (Gr. *himatismōn*) they did cast lots” (John 19:23–24). Once again, Psalm 22 points to Christ’s sacrifice with detailed precision.

(19) But be not thou far from me, O Lord: O my strength, haste thee to help me. (20) Deliver my soul from the sword; my darling from the power of the dog. (21) Save me from the lion’s mouth: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns.

These verses contain the middle section of the Psalm, moving from the lament into the plea for help. The sufferer’s cry in verse 1, “Why hast thou forsaken me?” shifts to a plea in verse 19, “But be not thou far from me, O Lord . . . haste thee to help me,” indicating his continued faith and hope in God’s willingness to rescue him. The mention of the sword connects well with the spear thrust into Jesus’s side. Even that spear thrust, however, shows that God had spared Jesus from being killed by the Romans. Jesus had power of life and death and had already given up his life when the wound came, trusting to God that he would be able to “break the bands of death” (Mosiah 15:8). The spear, then, like the sword of verse 20, is a symbol for the greater weapon from which Christ was rescued, the sword of death. Accordingly, the psalmic plea was not to deliver Christ’s body from the sword, but instead to deliver his “soul” (Gr. *psychēn*). In the subsequent parallel phrase, that which the KJV renders as delivering “my darling” from the power of the dog could be better translated as delivering my “only-begotten” or my “only begotten-ness” (Gr. *tēn monogenē mou*). Seen in this light, both of these phrases emphasize Christ’s desire to finish his mission in a sinless, perfect fashion, with his worthiness, power, and authority from the Father completely intact.

The symbols of the dog (the Gentile Romans?) and the lion (the wicked Jewish leaders?) again surface in this section. Justin Martyr saw

a clear allusion to the Crucifixion in verse 21 that would be missed by most modern readers. For him the “horns of the unicorn” (a KJV translation better rendered as “horns of the wild ox”) are a visual reminder of the arms of the cross to which Christ was nailed.³⁵ God had indeed heard Christ’s laments and pleas “from the horns,” or from the cross.

(22) I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee. (23) Ye that fear the Lord, praise him; all ye the seed of Jacob, glorify him; and fear him, all ye the seed of Israel. (24) For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted; neither hath he hid his face from him; but when he cried unto him, he heard. (25) My praise shall be of thee in the great congregation: I will pay my vows before them that fear him.

These verses begin the final section of the psalm, in which the sufferer’s prayer has changed from lament and plea into praise for God’s deliverance. The shifting perspective of the psalmist, a feature of Hebrew poetry found regularly in passages from Psalms and Isaiah,³⁶ creates a challenge for modern readers. Notice how the text seems to change from first person in verse 22—usually described in LDS understanding as “speaking Messianically”—to third person in verse 23, with a possible shift back to first person again in verse 25. Paul Hoskisson has stated, “The reason for this change may be that the rest of the Psalm, which contains a poetic description of the postmortal mission of Christ, contains no parallels with the mortal life of [the psalmist]. Thus, the psalmist must now wax poetic about Christ’s visit to the spirit world, the Judgment, and the eternal rewards of the faithful, and he must describe these events as if he were watching them instead of personally experiencing them.”³⁷ The time perspective of the Psalm also appears to shift, promising in verse 22 to praise God in a congregation of the sufferer’s brethren after the trial has concluded. Verses 23–25 speak of the trial as already having passed, declaring that God has already “heard” and responded to the cry of the sufferer (Ps. 22:24), a very different image than that found in the first two sections of the psalm. As connected to Christ’s sacrifice and subsequent victory over death and sin, these triumphant

35. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 105.

36. See, for example, Isaiah 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–14; 53:1–12, commonly known as the servant songs. See also Psalms 2, 8, 9, 21, 40, 45, 67, 68, 69, 89, 91, 110, 118, and 132.

37. Hoskisson, “Witness for Christ in Psalm 22,” 297.

lines can only refer to events subsequent to Christ's sacrifice and death on the cross.

Both Justin Martyr and Augustine struggled in connecting these sections with Christ because of doctrinal difficulties. Since both partook of the developing Christian belief that Christ and God would no longer speak from the heavens after Jesus's ascension, they were not able to see continuing revelation in the statement "I will declare thy name unto my brethren" (Ps. 22:22). Augustine, in a solution that would be comfortable for most Latter-day Saints, saw the continued witness of Christ as an allusion to the Holy Communion (known as the sacrament in Latter-day Saint terminology), since in that rite the Catholics believed that Jesus descends from heaven to connect man with the Father again.³⁸ Justin Martyr took a more surprising route, devoting considerable space to a description of how God had changed the names of Old Testament patriarchs and New Testament Apostles.³⁹

The LDS belief in both the reality of Christ's preaching in the spirit world and the reality of Christ's living voice and continued witness to the world in modern days equips them to understand this beautiful section more fully than any other people.⁴⁰ The sufferer's statement, "I will declare thy [the Father's] name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee" beautifully reflects Christ's important witness immediately after his death when visiting those waiting for him in the spirit world. Doctrine and Covenants 138 describes this gathering

38. Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:221–22.

39. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. 106.

40. An alternate interpretation of these verses could be that the Psalmist at this point chooses to break away from speaking in the voice of the sufferer (Christ) in order to bear witness among his brethren of God's goodness and of the sufferer's eventual triumph. Although this interpretation would negate the ability to see these verses in connection with Christ's own teaching efforts after his death, and would instead associate them with the witness of God's prophetic messenger, it would still demonstrate the triumphant message of the psalm to which Christ appears to have been referring when he quoted Psalm 22:1 from the cross. This alternate interpretation does not solve the difficulties of shifting voice and time any better than the explanation given in this paper. One effect of this poetic shifting of voice and time could also be to provide a sense of universality and timelessness to the witness that would be given, so that it cannot be easily attached to any one individual or to any one time.

in terms reminiscent of the “congregation” mentioned in Psalm 22.⁴¹ “And there were gathered together in one place an innumerable company of the spirits of the just. . . . While this vast multitude waited and conversed, . . . the Son of God appeared, declaring liberty to the captives who had been faithful; and there he preached to them the everlasting gospel” (D&C 138:12–19). In this context, the psalmist’s statement that God had not “despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted; neither hath he hid his face from [them]; but when [they] cried unto him, he heard” not only refers to God hearing Christ in the midst of his affliction but also fits Joseph F. Smith’s description of the congregation assembled waiting for Christ, whose cries God had also heard. Smith states that this group “had offered sacrifice in the similitude of the great sacrifice of the Son of God, and had suffered tribulation in their Redeemer’s name. . . . I beheld that they were filled with joy and gladness, and were rejoicing together because the day of their deliverance was at hand. They were assembled awaiting the advent of the Son of God into the spirit world, to declare their redemption from the bands of death” (D&C 138:13–16). Since these verses indicate that the sufferer, Christ, would continue to testify of the Father’s goodness after the conclusion of his ordeal, they also support the Latter-day Saint understanding of Christ’s voice as it would continue to speak from heaven to God’s people in future times, including the vision in the Sacred Grove and the many revelations recorded in Doctrine and Covenants. Christ’s encouragement to trust in the Father in the midst of tribulation, found in Doctrine and Covenants 78:17–18, is just one of numerous examples of modern revelation in which Christ continued to testify of God’s goodness and his willingness to save sufferers from trials, as promised in Psalm 22: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye are little children, and ye have not as yet

41. Other LDS scholars have noted the similarities between the final third of Psalm 22 and Christ’s visit to the spirit world, as described in Doctrine and Covenants 138. According to LeGrand L. Baker and Stephen D. Ricks, “The final third of the 22nd Psalm . . . tells that after the Savior left the cross, he descended in triumph into the Underworld. The last third of that psalm takes place ‘in the midst of the congregation’ of the dead—just as in D&C 138. It is remarkable how closely the psalm’s account maps to the concepts found in President Joseph F. Smith’s revelation. Both teach the same things.” LeGrand L. Baker and Stephen Ricks, *Who Shall Ascend into the Hill of the Lord? The Psalms in Israel’s Temple Worship in the Old Testament and in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2009), 435–36.

understood how great blessings the Father hath in his own hands and prepared for you; and ye cannot bear all things now; nevertheless, be of good cheer” (D&C 78:17–18). As evidenced by these latter-day doctrinal connections with Psalm 22 when compared with the doctrinal challenges of Augustine and Justin Martyr in their discussion of the psalm, a belief in modern-day prophecy and revelation strengthens a belief in ancient biblical prophecy and revelation.

(26) The meek shall eat and be satisfied: they shall praise the Lord that seek him: your heart shall live for ever. (27) All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. (28) For the kingdom is the Lord's: and he is the governor among the nations. (29) All they that be fat upon earth shall eat and worship: all they that go down to the dust shall bow before him: and none can keep alive his own soul.

The first phrase of verse 26, “The meek shall eat and be satisfied,” contains the message of two verses in the Beatitudes: “Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth” (Matt. 5:5) and “Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled” (Matt. 5:6). This allusion may indicate yet another way in which Psalm 22 prophesied that Christ would one day declare God’s name and truth “in the midst of the congregation” (Ps. 22:22) during his mortal ministry and beyond. For Latter-day Saints, these verses continue to witness of the powerful blessings that would come as Christ trusted in his Father, suffered for the sins and pains of the world, and broke the bands of death. Because Christ suffered faithfully, he and all of the meek with him “shall eat and be satisfied” (Ps. 22:26). These words apply especially to those living in the last days who, thanks to the restoration of the gospel, are able to appropriately “eat” the sacrament under proper priesthood authority and feast upon the words of Christ revealed in the last days. And further, they provide a witness of the judgment day and resurrection, when all those in the spirit world who have suffered and turned unto Christ will see their spirits and bodies “united never again to be divided, that they might receive a fulness of joy” (D&C 138:17). Indeed, not only the righteous, but “all they that go down to the dust” (Ps. 22:29), or all who have been born of the dust of the earth and will return to it in death (see Gen. 3:19), will eventually be led to “bow before [God]” in acknowledgement of the blessings of the resurrection.

None of these—none of us—is able to “keep alive his own soul” (Ps. 22:29), but in the end, they will receive a fullness of joy because the

suffering Messiah *was* able to keep alive his soul (see v. 29). As the Only Begotten, he was able to choose death (John 10:17), and he also had power to break the bands of death as he rose from the dead (Alma 7:12). Because of this, as Philippians 2:10–11 testifies, “Every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth . . . [and] every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.” Or, as Psalm 22:27 and 29 describe the future universal worship of Christ, “All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. . . . All they that be fat upon earth shall eat and worship: all they that go down to the dust shall bow before him.” Christ would indeed become “the governor among the nations” (Ps. 22:28; see also Isa. 9:6–7). The psalmist’s statement “for the kingdom is the Lord’s” prophesies of the reality that the sarcastic plaque—“this is Jesus the King of the Jews” (Matt. 27:37)—that had been placed above the crucified Christ would one day be acknowledged as a reality by all living beings.

(30) A seed shall serve him; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation. (31) They shall come, and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done this.

The final verses of Psalm 22 again connect with that other twin pillar of Old Testament prophecy about Christ. Isaiah 53:10 also teaches that when Christ suffered for the sins of mankind, he would “see his seed.” That seed, those spiritually begotten (Mosiah 5:7) through Christ’s Atonement, “shall serve him” (Ps. 22:30), both in this life and throughout the eternities. In the last days, Peter, James, John, and other saints from ages past—a portion of Christ’s seed—“[should] come, and . . . declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born” (Ps. 22:31), those of the latter-day Restoration who are spiritually alive in Christ. The same is occurring in the spirit world, where “from among the righteous, he organized his forces and appointed messengers, clothed with power and authority, and commissioned them to go forth and carry the light of the gospel to them that were in darkness, even to all the spirits of men[.] . . . to declare the acceptable day of the Lord and proclaim liberty to the captives who were bound, even unto all who would repent of their sins and receive the gospel” (D&C 138:30–31). According to the concluding statement of Psalm 22:31, what do these messengers proclaim on earth and in heaven? They declare “the gospel” (D&C 138:30); they teach that “[Christ] hath done this” (Ps. 22:31).

Thus concludes one of the most accurately detailed descriptions of Christ’s Atonement and of its everlasting consequences found anywhere

in scripture. Both Augustine and Justin Martyr saw in the entirety of the psalm a strengthening affirmation of their faith in Christ and a potent tool to teach of Christ's atoning sacrifice to others. Their Christ-centered explanations of the psalm reveal a deep religious fervor regarding the passion of Christ, expressed in beautifully crafted prose, and provide a moving and powerful witness of his atoning sacrifice. Notwithstanding the strength of their witness, however, a more complete understanding of Psalm 22 is possible only through the lens of the restored gospel. Teachings revealed by modern-day prophets regarding Gethsemane, continuing revelation, the restoration of the gospel from apostasy, and the reality of the spirit world enable the Latter-day Saint reader to see the full value of this inspired text.

To draw together the New Testament references in the foregoing commentary, the following table summarizes the direct allusions to Psalm 22 found in the Gospel narratives. It also includes the noncanonical Gospel of Peter (separated by a bold line), which will be discussed below.

Psalm 22 (LXX Psalm 21)	Matt	Mark	Luke	John	Peter
22:1—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"	27:46	15:34	—	—	5:19
22:7–8—"All they that see me . . . shake the head, saying, He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him."	27:39–43	15:29–32	23:35–39	—	3:6–9
22:18—"They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture."	27:35	15:24	23:34	19:24	4:12
22:16—"They pierced my hands and my feet."	—	—	—	—	4:13–14

As can be seen, all four canonical Gospels allude to Psalm 22. Although John does so only once, his allusion to Psalm 22:18 is more pointed than those provided by the synoptic Gospels, since he includes both the dividing of Christ's garments and the casting of lots for his seamless coat as fulfilling that verse in detailed ways. Matthew, Mark, and Luke each connect the derision heaped upon Jesus with Psalm 22:7–8, but only Matthew and Mark include the opening line of the Psalm as stated by Christ upon the cross. That the Gospel writers each used Psalm 22, and that those allusions were drawn from the beginning, middle, and end of

the lament section, indicates that the entire Psalm, rather than just the opening line, provided a lens for the passion narratives.

There is significant scholarly debate surrounding the Gospel of Peter,⁴² a noncanonical Gospel purportedly written by Simon Peter that was preserved in the vicinity of Syria. According to early interpretations, the gospel was written no earlier than the first half of the second century. That dating would indicate that the Gospel of Peter was probably dependent on the other, canonical gospels and that it reflects a continuing and possibly growing effort to understand the story of Christ's life in terms of Psalm 22. More recent scholarship claims that the gospel may preserve the earliest seeds of the passion narratives, possibly being written—in its first form—as early as the first half of the first century AD.⁴³ This fascinating assertion would indicate that Christians understood Christ's suffering in terms provided by Psalm 22 very early on. The Gospel of Peter is written in such a way that almost every concept discussed therein points to one of the psalms, and Jesus is seen as the fulfillment of many of the psalmic prophecies.

As can be seen in the chart, there are four clear textual allusions to Psalm 22 found in the Gospel of Peter, more than are contained in any of the canonical gospels. In this Gospel, an altered version of Psalm 22:1 is given as Christ's final (and only, as in Matthew) statement from the cross: "My power, (my) power, you have abandoned me."⁴⁴ Gospel of Peter 3:4 contains a connection with the taunting in Psalm 22:7–8, and 4:3 offers a clear allusion to the parting of the garments in Psalm 22:18, the only intertextual allusion contained in each one of the Gospel accounts: "And they piled his clothing in front of him; then they divided it among themselves and gambled for it." The most fascinating allusion in the Gospel of Peter, since it is not found in any of the canonical Gospels, is 6:1, which indicates that nails were pulled from Christ's hands, connecting with the piercing of the hands in Psalm 22:16. Its inclusion in the Gospel of Peter, whether early or late, and its absence in the canonical Gospels, may indicate a reticence by the other Gospel authors to use the text because of the existence of the two variants discussed above. Or the authors of the canonical

42. All quotations and references to the Gospel of Peter are from Robert J. Miller, ed., *The Complete Gospels: Annotated Scholars Version* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1992), 399–407.

43. For a review of these scholarly views, see Miller, *Complete Gospels*, 399–401.

44. Gospel of Peter 5:5.

Gospels, who could not include all possible allusions in their narratives, may have felt that they had already pointed clearly to the Christ-centered witness of Psalm 22 and chose instead to allude to the text of Zechariah 12:10: “They shall look upon me whom they have pierced” (see John 19:34–37), an allusion not included in the Gospel of Peter. Later Christian authors and commentators would show little hesitancy in using Psalm 22:16 to demonstrate the prophesied reality of Christ’s crucifixion.⁴⁵

To the New Testament literary allusions in the chart must be added Hebrews 2:12—“I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee”—an exact quote of Psalm 22:22 in LXX 21:23: “I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee.” The author of Hebrews is describing how Christ put himself in subjection to all things and was then raised to a position in which all things are under his feet. In his use of Psalm 22, as he wrote long after Jesus’s suffering and resurrection, the author of Hebrews chose to emphasize the victorious nature of Jesus’s Atonement by quoting from the final section of the psalm, showing how later Christians gained comfort and understanding from the full text.

The Importance of Christ’s Cry from the Cross⁴⁶

Before discussing the importance of Jesus’s cry from the cross, it is necessary to first address a possible reason why Luke and John chose not to include Psalm 22:1 in their narratives. Both of these Gospel authors described Jesus making statements that demonstrated his continuing reliance upon and connection with the Father—“Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit” (Luke 23:46)—and his awareness of those around

45. Other early Christian authors who referred to the piercing of the hands and feet were Justin Martyr, Tertullian (AD 160–225), and Cyprian (AD 200–258), each writing at early dates, although they used various Latin words such as “pierced,” “exterminated,” “tore,” or “dug” to translate the LXX. See Justin Martyr, *The First Apology*, 1.35.5–7; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 97, 104; Tertullian, *Against the Jews* 8:17; 10:4, 11; Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 3:19; *Apologetical Works: Tertullian*, trans. Rudolph Arbesmann (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1962); and Cyprian (AD 200–258), *The Treatises of Cyprian* 12.2.20, 13.10–11 in *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 5: Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994).

46. Many issues connected to Psalm 22, and especially Psalm 22:1, can be found in the excellent discussion provided in Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:1044–62.

him—"Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34). In their purposeful description of Christ upon the cross, his cry showing a stark separation from the Father may not have been the image they wanted to emphasize.

Later Christians struggled to reconcile their theological beliefs with Psalm 22:1. One of the primary reasons for this concern can be found in a significant difference that exists between the LXX version (actually 21:2 in LXX) and the Masoretic text. While the Masoretic text states, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Why art thou so far from helping me and from the words of my roaring?" the LXX used by early Christians states, "O God, my God, attend to me: why hast thou forsaken me? The account of my transgressions is far from my salvation." The LXX could thus be read as implying that the sufferer is in difficulty and is far from salvation because of his transgressions or sins. While this connection actually fits well with Paul's identification of Christ as the cursed one (Gal. 3:13), who became sin for us (2 Cor. 5:21), some theologians were loath to connect Christ's innocent suffering with the guilty suffering of a true sinner.⁴⁷

The second theological concern came from Trinitarian theologians such as Augustine who struggled to understand how Christ could be completely separated from or forsaken by God while he himself was God.⁴⁸ Under certain Trinitarian viewpoints, the manifestation of God in Christ could theoretically be separated from the presence of God in the rest of the universe, but this separation would not change the divinity of Christ—that Christ is the same God from which he is being separated. As a result of this challenge, these theologians have seen Christ's statement not as a doctrinal or historical statement, but as a statement made by Christ (or, more often, as a statement introduced later by Mark and Matthew) solely for the purpose of showing Jesus as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. Since Latter-day Saints understand Christ as the Son of God and a distinct being from the Father, this theological challenge for Trinitarians is not an issue for them. Still, the issue of whether the Father would truly "abandon" his Son remains a significant issue for Latter-day Saints as well and will be discussed further below. As stated above, Luke and particularly John, who always showed the closeness between the Father and the Son, may have

47. Augustine seems to have been the first to mention this concern, speaking to the people of Hippo on March 23, 395. See Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:210.

48. Augustine, *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, 1:210–11.

chosen not to include a statement that might be misconstrued by future readers as a disconnect between the two.

Why, then, did Mark and Matthew include that statement, both Gospels offering it as the only thing Jesus said while upon the cross? Recognizing that the cry was not just a quotation of one biblical verse but was instead the opening line of a psalm, we may assume that Christ was not simply fulfilling prophecy and expressing his feelings of loss while hanging on the cross but, in addition, was still lovingly teaching his people by communicating to them the many concepts contained in Psalm 22—including his final victory over suffering—while uttering only one short phrase. In the midst of his own suffering, perhaps he was attempting to pierce the fog of confusion and shocked doubt that surrounded his followers, who never expected to see their Messiah tortured and killed, and to provide them with some scriptural context that his suffering was foreknown and that he would eventually be exalted in triumph.

Matthew and Mark are clear that Jesus was speaking to a certain degree in coded language, sharing a message that was completely misunderstood by some present, who thought that he was calling for Elijah (Matt. 27:47, 49). Those familiar with the psalms, however, would have immediately recognized the reference and would have connected the statement with the entire psalm, much as Latter-day Saints who hear the phrase “Come, come, ye Saints” will immediately recall the tune and the following line—“No toil nor labor fear.”⁴⁹ Subsequent pondering upon this famous Latter-day Saint hymn would reveal even more messages indicated by simply quoting the opening line. Those not familiar with the hymn would be left not understanding that the call to “come, ye saints” encapsulates an entire sermon on enduring trials with courage through the support of God.⁵⁰ In a similar way, the scripturally illiterate at Christ’s crucifixion would not have been aware of this evidence of Christ’s love for his disciples and would have missed his message to them that he would triumph in the end. Instead, they would have seen his cry only as another demonstration of his failure and his cursed status before God.

49. William Clayton, “Come, Come, Ye Saints,” in *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), no. 30.

50. It is possible that Christ actually quoted more of Psalm 22 while on the cross, but that Matthew and Mark recorded only the first line. Considering the misinterpretation of the solitary line by many who were present, however, this possibility seems unlikely. A quotation of a significant portion of the hymn would have been difficult to misconstrue.

Notwithstanding the clarity of the allusion, while many of those present at the Crucifixion had the scriptural knowledge to recognize it,⁵¹ most would not have been in a position to understand the full import of the connection until much later when they had time to ponder the meaning of Jesus's words and actions. The quotation of Psalm 22:1 would have given them a place to look after Christ's death and would have begun to provide a scriptural understanding for why the Crucifixion happened and what its result would be. Indeed, Mark's quotation of Psalm 22:1 (including the allusions to Psalm 22:7–8 and 18 as well) has been considered by at least one biblical scholar to be the foundation upon which the entire passion narrative was presented by the authors of the synoptic Gospels.⁵² The Gospel of Luke demonstrates this burgeoning understanding with the two disciples on the road to Emmaus: "Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken: Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Luke 24:25–27). Jesus's description that the prophesied Messiah would suffer all things and then enter into glory fits the pattern of Psalm 22 precisely.

Two important questions remain for biblical scholars. First, was the quotation of Psalm 22:1 truly intended to reference all of Psalm 22? Numerous biblical scholars have seen it this way.⁵³ As has been said,

51. For a discussion of the scriptural knowledge of Mark's readers, see Ernest Best, "Mark's Readers: A Profile," in *The Four Gospels*, ed. F. Van Segbroeck (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 2:839–58. See also Donald Juel, *A Master of Surprise: Mark Interpreted* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 133–39. Although these scholars are referring to the readers of Mark, rather than those present at the Crucifixion, according to Geza Vermes this statement had likely become an Aramaic proverbial expression of lament that would have been commonly identified with Psalm 22. Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 115. Loren Fisher discusses the way in which the first lines of the Psalms acted as titles of the entire Psalm during New Testament times. Loren R. Fisher, "Betrayed by Friends: An Expository Study of Psalm 22," *Interpretation* 18 (1964): 22–25.

52. "[This] gives evidence of the widespread influence and fundamental significance of the psalm in the passion tradition. It is difficult to conceive the passion narratives without allusions to Psalm 22. It is as difficult to explain allusions to the psalm as secondary." Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 116.

53. For examples of scholarly discussion that see Christ's statement as an allusion to the full text of Psalm 22, see Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, *The Psalms*

the first line was typically used as the title for the entire psalm.⁵⁴ The Gospel authors do not just allude to the first line of the psalm but include references from the beginning (Ps. 22:1), middle (Ps. 22:7–8), and near the end (Ps. 22:18) of the lament section. One scholar has suggested that the entire psalm was first used as a whole by Christians of the first century who gathered for a day of thanksgiving, during which they recited Psalm 22 in order to prepare to partake of the Lord's Supper.⁵⁵ Tertullian, writing in the second half of the second century, indicated plainly the common Christian view when he stated, "If you ask for further prophecy of our Lord's Cross, you can find complete satisfaction in the twenty-[second] psalm, which comprises the whole passion of Christ, who was even at that date foretelling of his own glory."⁵⁶ Writing even earlier, in the first half of the second century, Justin Martyr gave a verse-by-verse commentary on Psalm 22 that has already been quoted extensively above, as has Augustine's commentary, written much later in the second half of the fourth century. In AD 553, when Theodore of Mopsuestia averred that the psalm did not refer to the crucifixion of Christ, he was censured by the Second Council of Constantinople and condemned by Pope Vigilius.⁵⁷

Additionally, Jewish authors also connected Psalm 22:1 and its introductory statements with famous salvational figures such as David and

of Lament in Mark's Passion: Jesus' Davidic Suffering, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 118–48; Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, "Challenging the Divine: LXX Psalm 21 in the Passion Narrative of the Gospel of Mark," in *The Trial and Death of Jesus: Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, ed. Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 119–70; Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 114; Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms through the Lens of Intertextuality*, ed. Peter Lang, Studies in Biblical Literature, vol. 26 (New York: Studies in Biblical Literature, 2001), 80–82; E. Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), 166; Joseph Schmid, *The Gospel according to Mark*, trans. K. Conden (New York: Mercier Press, 1968), 295–96; and Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952), 593–94.

54. See footnote 50.

55. Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Appropriation of the Psalms of Individual Lament," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 223–41.

56. Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 3.19.5. See note 44 above.

57. See J. C. Basset, "Le Psaume 22 (LXX 21) et la croix chez les pères," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 54 (1974): 383–89.

Moses, and even the entire Israelite people,⁵⁸ and then went on to show how the entire psalm connected to key events in their lives or history. The most complete Jewish effort to connect Psalm 22 with a salvational figure besides David was to the life of Esther, quoting Psalm 22:1 during Esther's time of anguish and concern in order to prefigure her eventual triumph as indicated at the end of Psalm 22.⁵⁹ Indeed, some Ashkenazi Purim

58. See Midrash *Tehillim* 22:8, 22:1, and 22:17 for examples of these verses being attributed to David, Moses, and all of Israel, respectively.

59. Babylonian Talmud *Megillah* 15b adds some elements to the biblical story of Esther to emphasize her feelings of forsakenness (connected to Psalm 22:1) just prior to requesting the audience of King Ahaseurus (Esther 5:1–3). Esther's success with Ahaseurus allows her to live when her death appeared almost certain. That victory over death in turn allowed her to successfully become a savior figure for the Jewish people. Esther's final victory was prefigured by her quotation of Psalm 22:1, which pointed to the victorious conclusion of Psalm 22.

The Babylonian Talmud *Yoma* 29a also connects Esther with Psalm 22, quoting the inscription that opens that Psalm—"To the chief musician upon Aijeleth Shahar [Heb. 'hind of dawn'], a Psalm of David"—in order to describe Esther's glory after the deep challenges of her afflictions. As the passage states, the purpose of the opening inscription is "to tell you that just as the dawn is the end of the whole night, so is the story of Esther the end of all the miracles." This Talmudic passage again demonstrates that in rabbinic literature the literary allusion to one verse was regularly intended to point to the entire passage as an interpretative lens. Indeed, this is the regular pattern in Jewish synagogue worship services.

Midrash *Tehillim* 22 contains a verse-by-verse commentary on Psalm 22, referring multiple times to events in Esther's life that coincided with the psalm, including Esther being identified as the psalm's principle subject. In this commentary, Psalm 22 becomes the prayer of Esther, although it is broken up into numerous different prayers offered at different times of need or of triumph.

Interestingly, while Esther is seen as a deliverer or savior figure throughout this commentary, the title "the Hind of Dawn" is also given to God (22:4–5), who saves Israel. While there is no overt connection of God with the suffering portions of the hymn, other Jewish identifications for this title, connected to this psalm, indicate that the triumphant one will bring salvation only after a period of suffering. In a similar vein, another Jewish translator of Psalm 22, Aquila, provided a reading for the Hind of Dawn as "For the Maker of Victory." Some pieces of Jewish literature could be read as indicating that Psalm 22 was applied by the Jews to a suffering but eventually triumphant Messianic figure. See Pesiqta *Rabbati* 34–37; Yalqut *Shimoni* on Psalm 60:1.

It is unclear whether this Jewish connection of Psalm 22 with Esther, and the connection of the first verse with the entire storyline, preceded or post-dated the Christian passion narratives. Some scholars have asserted that Esther began to be connected with Psalm 22 only in the third to fifth centuries AD,

services (a festival commemorating the story of Esther) still include a reading of Psalm 22 today.⁶⁰ Understanding Jesus's quotation of Psalm 22:1 in isolation from the rest of the psalm obscures all that the statement would have meant to his Jewish-Christian audience.

The second question remaining for biblical scholars is whether the statement was truly made by Jesus on the cross, or whether the quotation of Psalm 22:1 was simply placed in his mouth by later Gospel authors in order to attach his sacrifice to biblical prophecy. Although it is impossible to fully ascertain the historicity of words in a text that was written decades after the event and that is received in modernity through a distance of centuries, a number of details strengthen the argument that Christ really spoke the statement as he hung upon the cross.

possibly as a response to Christian claims. See, for example, Esther M. Menn, "No Ordinary Lament: Relecture and the Identity of the Distressed in Psalm 22," *Harvard Theological Review* 93, no. 4 (2000): 317. Others, however, have posited that Esther was already connected with Psalm 22 during the time of the Second Temple, and that Psalm 22 would have been read during the celebration of Purim, which was originally on the 14th of Nisan. D. Simonsen, "Le Psaume XXII et la Passion de Jesus," *Revue des études Juives* 22 (1891): 283–85. The Christians then simply switched from Esther to Christ during their commemoration of the Crucifixion, which was celebrated on the 14th of Adar. Whichever direction the influence tended, however (if one tradition did influence the other), the fact that the Jewish tradition associated the statement in Psalm 22:1 with the entire psalm and connected it to a foundational salvation narrative is a strong supporting argument for a similar understanding in Christian usage.

60. Another example of this practice is demonstrated by Midrash *Tehillim* 22:1–32, which starts by using the standard synagogue practice called proems. Proems are a method of introducing the scripture narrative to be liturgically read in the synagogue service with a single verse of scripture, usually from the Writings (in the Hebrew scriptures, these are Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Esther, Lamentations, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Daniel, Ezra, and the Chronicles). That single verse is then followed by commentary that connects directly with the scripture passage to be read that day. The reading for the day does not just connect to the single introductory verse read but typically connects to the broader theme following that verse. Midrash *Tehillim* 22:1–17 contains a number of these proems, almost all of them introduced by Psalm 22:1. This inclusion of proems in the text likely indicates that Psalm 22 was read in synagogue worship from very early dates. A medieval source from the eleventh century is the earliest source indicating that Psalm 22 was indeed read during the feast of Purim (commemorating Esther's victory) on the 14th of Adar. Other sources, particularly Ashkenazic documents, clearly state that Psalm 22 was used in this way. Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1993), 110.

Two of the evidences that both believing and unbelieving biblical scholars use to determine the possibility of historicity in ancient texts are called “embarrassment” and “inherent ambiguity.”⁶¹ These two theories indicate that the authors of the Gospels would have desired to downplay or eliminate any actions or words of Christ that either seemed to diminish his power and might or were not easily explained. Thus, if an event appears in the narrative that would have been “embarrassing” to early Christians (Peter’s denial of Jesus, for example) or that might have worked against their message of Jesus as the Messiah and Son of God, then that event is even more likely to have happened.⁶² The entire narrative of Jesus undergoing the death of a cursed criminal would have gone against the cultural sensibilities of Jews and Christians of the time, as is often evidenced by statements in the Gospels.⁶³ This would also have been true of any statement making his relationship with the Father ambiguous. Ironically, the existence in the narrative of an event that would prove doctrinally problematic for some Christians actually works to strengthen modern confidence in that event’s reality.

Another tool used to determine biblical historicity, while still not conclusive, is titled “Hebrew and Aramaic traces” and is found in the effort that Mark and Matthew used to provide the original Aramaic for Jesus’s statement.⁶⁴ This language, the spoken language of Jews in Christ’s day, was not readily accessible to Mark’s Gentile audience and was even translated by Matthew for his primarily Jewish audience (Matt. 27:46). Hebrew or Greek would have connected the statement most clearly to its Hebrew or Greek scriptural antecedent in Psalm 22:1. Greek was the lingua franca of the day and was the primary language of the Gospels. For these reasons, this instance of Aramaic usage in Matthew and Mark is noteworthy as one of the few examples from any of the Gospels. Much as with Jesus’s other plea in the Garden of Gethsemane, in which he refers to the Father as “Abba,” the Aramaic lends a feeling of authenticity to the statement and strengthens the possibility that Jesus truly spoke those words from the cross. The historicity of the account

61. Darrell L. Bock, *Who Is Jesus? Linking the Historical Jesus with the Christ of Faith* (New York: Howard Books, 2012), 21, 23.

62. Examples of this in the Book of Mormon could include Nephi’s bemoaning of his own weakness (2 Ne. 4), or Corianton’s sin (Alma 39:3).

63. Examples include Peter’s refusal to accept Christ’s prophecy of his crucifixion (Matt. 16:22) or the certainty with which the disciples on the road to Emmaus have abandoned their belief in Jesus as the Messiah (Luke 24:20–21).

64. Bock, *Who Is Jesus?* 22–23.

is further strengthened by the recorded nuance that some present actually misunderstood Jesus's statement. This detail that seems of relative unimportance in the passion narrative again works to indicate that Matthew and Mark were recording a real event.

Latter-day Saints and Psalm 22:1

What, then, have Latter-day Saint prophets, apostles, and scholars thought of Psalm 22:1?⁶⁵ All statements in modern scripture and by modern prophets and apostles indicate that the cry was strictly historical. An early revelation affirms the prophecy of Isaiah 63:3, indicating that Christ had, of necessity, "trodden the wine-press alone" (D&C 76:107). Elder Erastus Snow's comments support this concept: "It was necessary that the Father should thus measurably forsake his Son, leaving him to his enemies, otherwise they never could have fulfilled what had been prophesied concerning him."⁶⁶ Elder Melvin Ballard's well-known statement maintains a similar viewpoint: "In that hour I think I can see our dear Father behind the veil looking upon these dying struggles until even he could not endure it any longer, and . . . so he bowed his head, and hid in some part of his universe, his great heart almost breaking for the love that he had for his Son."⁶⁷ Elder James E. Talmage referred to the cry in his enduring commentary *Jesus the Christ*, "What mind of man can fathom the significance of that awful cry? . . . In that bitterest hour the dying Christ was alone, alone in most terrible reality. That the supreme sacrifice of the Son might be consummated in all its fulness, the Father seems to have withdrawn the support of His immediate Presence, leaving to the Savior of men the glory of complete victory over the forces of sin and death."⁶⁸ In more recent times, Elder Robert D. Hales has affirmed, "The Savior of the world was left alone by His Father to experience, of His own free will and choice, an act of agency which allowed Him to complete His mission of the Atonement."⁶⁹

65. LDS commentary on Psalm 22 has been so minimal that only verse one requires (or allows) extended discussion.

66. Erastus Snow, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 21:26, October 1879.

67. Melvin J. Ballard, quoted in Bryant S. Hinckley, *Sermons and Missionary Services of Melvin Joseph Ballard* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1949), 147–57.

68. James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 661.

69. Robert D. Hales, "Behold, We Count Them Happy Which Endure," *Ensign* 28 (May 1998): 75.

Like Justin Martyr hundreds of years earlier, Brigham Young connected Christ's physical suffering in Gethsemane to the aloneness mentioned by Psalm 22:1, although not overtly referencing that verse. As he stated it, "The Father withdrew Himself, withdrew His Spirit, and cast a vail over [Jesus]. That is what made him sweat blood."⁷⁰ Later on, Latter-day Saint biblical scholar Stephen Robinson connected this withdrawal in the garden with Paul's teaching that Christ was made to be sin for us: "Christ had become guilty of the sins of the world, guilty in our place. . . . In Gethsemane the best among us vicariously became the worst among us and suffered the very depths of hell. And as one who was guilty, the Savior experienced for the first time in his life the loss of the Spirit of God and of communion with his Father."⁷¹ Elder Neal A. Maxwell was also drawn to the power of Christ's statement of loss while on the cross, but seemed to equate that aloneness with sufferings typically associated by Latter-day Saints with the Garden of Gethsemane as much as with the cross: "All our infirmities and sicknesses were somehow, too, a part of the awful arithmetic of the Atonement. . . . His sufferings—as it were, *enormity* multiplied by *infinity*—evoked His later soul-cry on the cross, and it was a cry of forsakenness."⁷²

Christians and Saints alike have taken comfort that even Christ at times suffered feelings of aloneness. From the depths of Liberty Jail, Joseph Smith wrote a letter expressing sentiments connected to Jesus's cry, penning the phrase "O God, where art thou?" (D&C 121:1). Later in the letter, Joseph recorded God's response, teaching him that even if Joseph had felt alone, he needed to remember that Christ had descended even lower: "The Son of Man hath descended below them all. Art thou greater than he?" (D&C 122:8).

In a well-known sacramental hymn, Latter-day Saints sing, "Although in agony he hung, no murmuring word escaped his tongue."⁷³ As discussed above, Christ's cry not only expressed true feelings of suffering but also was intended as a loving lesson of hope for his followers. This understanding tempers the suggestion that he was hurling any type of accusation against his Father. Later verses in Psalm 22 emphasize that Christ would continue to trust in God, notwithstanding his extreme

70. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 3:206, February 17, 1856.

71. Stephen E. Robinson, *Believing Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 118–19.

72. Neal A. Maxwell, "Willing to Submit," *Ensign* 15 (May 1985): 73.

73. Eliza R. Snow, "Behold the Great Redeemer Die," in *Hymns*, no. 191.

difficulties, and that he knew with certainty that God would deliver him in the end. The LXX text of the very verse that Jesus quoted also provides this nuanced understanding as it shifts the emphasis more toward a plea than an accusation: “O God my God attend me, Why [for what purpose (*hinati*)] have you forsaken me?” (LXX for Psalm 22:1). Elder Jeffrey R. Holland has taught that although Christ was alone, he was never truly abandoned by the Father. Referring to the agonies of Gethsemane, he stated, “This is such a personal moment it almost seems a sacrilege to cite it. A Son in unrelieved pain, a Father His only true source of strength, both of them staying the course, making it through the night—together.”⁷⁴ Thus, although the Father, of necessity, suffered apart from his Son for a time, in another sense he suffered with him, feeling his pains and sufferings acutely, loving him and longing to give comfort to him. According to Elder Holland, Christ relied upon his knowledge of the Father’s love and support, helping him to make it through the awful sacrifice. One of Elder Holland’s purposes in making this statement may have been to indicate that so does the Father love us and long to comfort us, although at times we might suffer intense trials and feel alone or abandoned.

This appears to have been the dual message of Christ’s cry upon the cross. On the one hand, that cry showed that Christ had truly “descended below all things” (D&C 88:6), so that he could understand and succor his people (Alma 7:12), giving them a sense of comfort in their moments of aloneness. On the other hand, it demonstrated that Christ’s suffering—and by implication, our own—was foreknown by God, and that on the other side of his suffering, Christ would emerge triumphant in order to redeem the spirits in prison and proclaim the goodness of God in “the midst of the congregation” (Psalm 22:22; see also D&C 138:16, 38).

I conclude this article with the stirring words of Elder Bruce R. McConkie, who clearly taught the importance of Psalm 22 as a witness of Christ’s sacrifice and resurrection:

The Holy Ghost, through David, said: “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Ps. 22:1)—thus revealing aforetime the very words Jesus would speak on the cross in that moment when, left alone that he might drink the dregs of the bitter cup to the full, the Father would entirely withdraw his sustaining power. . . . The Psalmist speaks of our Lord’s birth, of his reliance on God, of his troubles, and then . . . the mob at the foot of the cross. . . .

74. Jeffrey R. Holland, “The Hands of the Fathers,” *Ensign* 29 (May 1999): 14.

Following this is the promise that the Lord shall be praised “in the great congregation,” and that “all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. For the kingdom is the Lord’s: and he is the governor of the nations.” Clearly this has reference to the final millennial triumph of truth, a triumph that is to be when the gospel brought by the Messiah is restored again and carried according to his will to all men. Finally, in this Psalm, it is of the Messiah that the account speaks in these words: “A seed shall serve him; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation”; that is, the Seed of David, generated by the Father, shall serve in righteousness, with this result: “They shall come, and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done this.” (Ps. 22:22–31.) And in harmony with this prophetic assurance, we now declare unto all people born after Messiah’s day, the righteousness of the Father in sending his Son and the righteousness of the Son in doing all things for men that needed to be done to bring to them both immortality and eternal life.⁷⁵

In proclaiming these central Easter lessons of suffering swallowed up in the triumph of the resurrection, Psalm 22 takes its place for Latter-day Saints alongside Isaiah 53 as one of the twin pillars of Old Testament prophecy of Christ.

Shon Hopkin is Assistant Professor of Ancient Scripture at Brigham Young University. He received his bachelor’s and master’s degrees in Ancient Near Eastern Studies from Brigham Young University, focusing on the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, and earned a PhD in Hebrew Studies from the University of Texas at Austin, focusing on medieval Hebrew and Arabic literature. His current and upcoming publications include articles and chapters about Isaiah, Psalms, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Book of Mormon, and medieval Judaism in the *Journal of Book of Mormon and Other Restoration Scripture*, *BYU Studies*, *Religious Educator*, and in edited books through such groups as the Binah Yitzrit Foundation. He is currently working with others on a harmony of Isaiah’s writings as found in the Bible, Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith Translation, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. He taught for the Seminaries and Institutes program in the Church Educational System for fourteen years and enjoys speaking for the EFY program. He and his wife, Jennifer, live with their four children in Orem, Utah.

The author would like to express appreciation for John W. Welch’s help in conceiving and framing this article, as well as for the help of a very able research assistant, David Ridge.

75. Bruce R. McConkie, *The Promised Messiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 530–32.

Likening in the Book of Mormon

A Look at Joseph M. Spencer's *An Other Testament: On Typology*

Alan Goff

I would not give a fig for the simplicity this side of complexity, but I would give my life for the simplicity on the other side of complexity.

Oliver Wendell Holmes¹

Doctrine and Covenants section 84 places Latter-day Saints under condemnation “until they repent and remember the new covenant, even the Book of Mormon” (D&C 84:55–57). From the beginning of the Restoration, neglect of the Book of Mormon has been a hallmark of both those who accept and reject it. Before the 1980s, Latter-day Saint readings were often characterized by summary, with little or no exegetical analysis. Readings by Book of Mormon critics were similarly superficial, dismissing the book as not worthy of their attention. The value of capable and close readings of the scripture became more apparent with the work of Hugh Nibley and John W. Welch and continued with the work of FARMS. Quality work continues today with talented readers such as Grant Hardy and Terryl L. Givens. Joseph Spencer’s book *An Other Testament*, published by the Salt Press in 2012, builds insightfully upon the works of those who have gone before and takes Book of Mormon analysis to a new apex, setting the standard very high for any who follow. If anything, the book itself deserves close reading because it teaches the method and results of close reading.

Main Considerations of Spencer’s Approach

At the root of Spencer’s approach to the Book of Mormon is an essential humility; his book comes with a certain sacred discontent. Spencer

1. This quotation is often attributed to both Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. and Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.

asserts that, if read properly, the Book of Mormon will overturn assumptions, challenge complacency, and mandate a rethinking of the relationship between readers' quotidian practices and the theory by which they live. Being better readers of this scripture impels us to be better people, and conversion is the ultimate result. Our readings will not succeed in corraling and containing the text, but we must try our best. And in so trying, we will be like ancient Jerusalem, a dish that becomes new when it is wiped clean and turned upside down by the divine hand (see 2 Kgs. 21:13; Isa. 29:16).

Spencer forthrightly looks at the evident fissures in the Book of Mormon text. Believers often want to assimilate the scripture to other parts of itself and to other writers within the book, as well as other canonized scripture, as if all scripture is homogenized to say the same thing regardless of the writer's intention, capability, personality, and historical circumstance. As its multiple authorship would suggest, the Book of Mormon is somewhat fragmented and not as unified as its defenders might expect. Spencer refers to rifts in the text (108–9) and speculates that Nephi changes his intention in writing the record partway through his historical task (40–41).

However, the Book of Mormon is no less divine because it is fragmented; it is no less human because it is divinely inspired. Yet it deserves to be treated in all its various aspects. The notion that the book might contain seams and fractures that need to be read in a complex and nuanced way is a useful tonic to both believers and nonbelievers. It is a rather whiggish view to maintain that sacred texts are always consistent, always rising above the fallibility of human interaction with the divine. The idea approximates the contemporary popular image of science as somehow more distanced and objective than the millions of pixels composed of very human scientists who make up the big picture.

Spencer pours a foundation of exegetical excellence in Mormon scripture; his work is characterized by close reading, punctuated by persistent and rewarding intertextual surprises. Biblical textuality is notable for its constant reference to other parts of its corpus; that is the major device through which the Bible acquires its complexity. The Book of Mormon is also noteworthy for its textuality, its constant references to the Old Testament and to earlier parts of its own text. The Book of Mormon, as a branch broken off the Bible and written by Jews exiled to a different land, is as persistently allusive as is the Bible. Any adequate reading must take into account this intertextuality. The casual reader who resorts to dismissing the connections between the Book of

Mormon and the Bible by referring to plagiarism manifests a certain textual illiteracy that is more than compensated for by the new class of readers that I have referred to above.

Spencer also foregrounds his argument with certain theological underpinnings, which he adapts for a Latter-day Saint audience. He notes that his purpose is to explore a particular type of complexity in the Book of Mormon, the “theological complexity” of the scripture (xi). Latter-day Saints tend toward a reflexive reaction against theology, believing it to be something native to Athens but not Jerusalem. Some say that Latter-day Saints do not “do” theology. Conflating all theology with systematic theology is not useful. Latter-day Saints inevitably do theology because they maintain that certain conceptions of God, society, nature, and humanity are all held together in a divine economy. The lessons LDS missionaries offer to investigators are theological. The lessons taught in Primary and Sunday School are theological. The discussions heard in high priests groups are theological (if veering toward speculative theology). Mormons have an understandable reaction against more formal and systematic theology, but we cannot escape doing theology in the way Spencer discusses the matter. We all do theology to some extent.

Noteworthy also, I suggest as a literary critic, is that historical or theological readings so often look to me like literary readings, exploring formal structure and allusiveness, character and narrative voice. Spencer accomplishes this literary-theological mission in all fidelity to the commitment that the Book of Mormon is an inspired ancient text translated by Joseph Smith; in fact, the divinity of the book is magnified by its reliance on literary forms of biblical textuality.

Types of Typology

Spencer begins his Book of Mormon reading by resorting to a concept most often explored as literary analysis in the Christian and biblical tradition: typology. Spencer reads typology to be a certain form of exegesis, and typology is also one version of intertextuality, a theoretical avenue most commonly explored in literary theory but also with a theological dimension. Alma’s own conversion story is told by updating the tradition and showing its relevance to events in Alma’s experience and in the modern reader’s: “Alma’s weaving together of a scriptural text with his own conversion experience exemplifies how the Book of Mormon should be read” (xii). This is a venerable exegetical principle most notably articulated by Leo Strauss: one should read a writer the way that writer reads predecessors. The most important predecessor text for

Book of Mormon narrative generally is Isaiah, so it is important to see how Nephi, Mormon, Abinadi, and the resurrected Jesus update Isaiah, applying the Hebrew prophet's text to contemporary circumstances.

Spencer points out two distinct versions of typology. First is Nephi's version that always reads the past into the present and applies to his community a covenantal, communal relationship with the house of Israel. In his types, the law and the prophets are always fulfilled in Christ. In short, Nephi's typology has two essential elements: first, it is communal, not individual, and second, it has its telos in the Messiah (97). If we modern readers do the same, likening Isaiah and Nephi to ourselves, we read our own experience as connecting in some important way to the promises made to Israel in the past and seeing them fulfilled in our own lives: "Typology is a question of allowing a new thought to rework memory, so that it becomes possible to advance in the knowledge of God" (xii).

The second variety of typology is introduced by Abinadi, who transforms the types so they are more individual, more focused on specifically forecasting events of Christ's advent in the meridian of time, and more about modeling the lives of individual believers on that of Christ—while omitting the covenantal and eschatological filiations of Nephi's typology.

Importantly, both of these versions fall well within the range of what typology meant to New Testament Christians, who borrowed the typological method from the Hebrew Bible, then strengthened it to make figuralism a major feature of Christian hermeneutics. Likewise, both typological classifications fit well within the fourfold senses of scripture developed in medieval exegesis.

Typology and Historicity

Spencer invests considerable space in analyzing the structure of Alma 36 and how its form asserts meaning. Alma reads his own commission through the lens of Lehi's story. Spencer's reading highlights the "strikingly parallel" connections (8) between Alma's and Lehi's experience. Allusions to Lehi's exodus are important, but the central text interwoven into Alma's narrative is that of Lehi's prophetic commission. In fact, Spencer notes that we should refer to the latter passage not as the story of Alma's conversion but as a prophetic commission narrative. Readers can hardly escape the recurrent patterns as Spencer shows how the narrative of Alma's experience looks to Lehi's prophetic commission as a model, with a direct citation of Lehi's experience found in the middle

of Alma's story. The direct quotation (in Alma 36:22 of 1 Ne. 1:8) demonstrates that "Alma's encounter with the angel, along with its visionary aftermath, is *supposed* to be an echo of Lehi's two visions" (9).

It helps to know that prophetic commissions and throne theophanies are seen frequently into the Old and New Testaments (with examples also found in the Apocrypha), with connections often drawn between them. "Luke's accounts of Paul's conversion are deliberately patterned on Hebrew prophecy,"² including the prophetic commissioning of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah.³ One biblical scholar notes twenty-seven examples of commission-type scenes in the Old Testament,⁴ and the New Testament contains even more, with thirty-seven such examples.⁵ Spencer's articulation of the typology between Lehi and Alma is even more persuasive when seen as one iteration in a series of recurring commission events binding the biblical and Nephite records together.

Alma's theophany and commission are historical, but the account itself also follows a literary pattern. By drawing upon Lehi's throne theophany it reaches back into the past to foundational experiences, bypassing mundane history to become a vibrant, relevant, and eventual history. Alma's typological connection to past events makes them relevant to contemporary needs. "The act of interweaving a scriptural text with a historical experience allows both to breathe life into each other. The scriptural text, on the one hand, comes to life and reveals its latent universality" (26). Type informs antitype, and both, through figural transformation, impel the reader to the future. Modern readers should be transformed by this chain of figuration—converted as were Lehi and Alma. "*Every* reader of the Book of Mormon lives out—like Alma and Helaman—a reenactment of Lehi's visionary experiences. One is, without warning and while about one's business, unexpectedly confronted by a messenger who proffers a book and bids one to read" (27).

Modernity is generally not sympathetic to such a notion of eventual history. Historicism dismisses such fluid notions of temporality, and by taking up such a concept of history and the Book of Mormon, Spencer narrows his potential audience. But for him, the historicity question

2. Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 7.

3. Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 9.

4. Terence Y. Mullins, "New Testament Commission Forms, Especially in Luke," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95, no. 4 (1976): 603.

5. Mullins, "New Testament Commission Forms," 605.

regarding the Book of Mormon is being asked the wrong way, for the book is neither historical nor unhistorical but rather nonhistorical. The events described in the book happened, but they must be “subtracted from the dichotomy of the historical/unhistorical because the faithful reader testifies that the *events*—rather than the *history*—recorded in the book not only took place, but are of infinite, typological importance” (28). Regarding outside interventions of forceful grace like Paul on the road to Damascus or Alma on the road to nowhere, the reader comfortably ensconced in a recliner and satisfied with modernity is not likely to be open-minded about such an antique-and-ever-new concept of historical time.

For those receptive to concepts of sacred time and typological figuration, “the historicity of *the Book of Mormon* is not in question. Rather, as Alma makes clear, it is the Book of Mormon that calls the historicity of *the individual* into question” (28) by inviting the reader to step out of profane temporality and into sacred time. The reader is not merely a lone individual but a soul bound into an endless chain of recurrent events joined by covenants and texts.

Challenging modernity is an audacious venture. I wish Spencer well in that struggle; I even offer to enlist. But the prospects of the sacred encroaching into the territory of the profane are not so good, because such a transformation requires adept and perceptive readers, the kind our modern culture and technologies tend to discourage rather than promote.

Likening and Typology in Abinadi and Isaiah

Spencer’s fundamental exegetical approach is to read the Book of Mormon intertextually; the scripture reveals its most important meanings while one text is being read against another. Nephi, Abinadi, the risen Christ: all deepen their message by reading Isaiah. Isaiah is recited and commended so many times in the Book of Mormon, by so many readers, that moderns cannot escape the conclusion that they cannot understand the Book of Mormon without appreciating Isaiah.

Spencer’s detailed reading of the Book of Mormon offers many productive insights for the inclusion of so much Isaiah in Nephi’s record. He also makes a useful distinction between Nephi’s handling of two kinds of recurrence: typology and likening. When Nephi likens Isaiah to the Nephites, he shows how the biblical prophet’s writings are a pattern to apply to his own people’s experience. “Likening is, for Nephi, what one does *with* the Book of Isaiah, while typology is what one learns

from the Book of Isaiah” (99). Nephi’s likening is much like Mormons on Pioneer Day. They dress up in flannel shirts and gingham dresses and reenact the entry of the Saints into the Salt Lake Valley, celebrating the deliverance of God’s people into a promised land. Likening helps communities understand the continuity between their own history and that of biblical Israel. To liken includes taking the hermeneutical principle present in the predecessor text, then updating and applying it to the successor text and to the community that text is designed to bind together. “To liken Isaiah would be to take Isaiah’s writings as a template for creatively interpreting something non-Isaianic, to employ an ‘Isaianic framework’” (76). It should also be remembered that, for Nephi, to liken Isaiah is always to function within a community; likening is a covenantal interpretation, not an individual one (76).

Spencer points out Isaiah’s citation of the common ancient Near Eastern creation myth of the divine battle with the forces of chaos; the prophet notes the Lord’s vanquishing of Rahab and the decollation of the dragon. Nephi’s own experience with Laban in which he too decapitates his foe is an updating of Isaiah’s symbolism (84), all in the service of showing how the Lehi covenant is wrapped up in God’s deliverance and in Nephi’s obedience to divine commandment (89). Isaiah’s citation of the Rahab story connects the first exodus from Egypt to the second exodus that he foresees. “Nephi could read himself into Second Isaiah as the embodiment of the earlier exodus to which the eschatological exodus—which Nephi consistently associates with the eventual gathering of Israel—would look back” (91). All these exoduses are part of the unfolding of the divine pattern in different generations of Israelites.

Spencer provides another essential reading of Isaiah by analyzing the confrontation narrative between Abinadi and Noah’s priests. Spencer shows why the priests pose the question they do, and why they cite Isaiah 52:7–10 as a way to confound the prophet. Spencer’s book is brimming with shrewd and groundbreaking interpretations, but this section is a work of particular genius and of grace. I have read Mosiah 12 many times and have wondered why the priests offer the passage from Isaiah 52 in attempting to ensnare Abinadi. Spencer offers a reading that does what good explanations often do: it blindsides the reader, who responds, “Why didn’t I think of that? It’s so apparent now.”

The background of Abinadi’s confrontation with Noah and his priests is the Zeniffite recolonization of the land of Nephi. Zeniff sees himself as Nephi restored, the first Nephite king who travelled to the promised land to (re)possess it, “right down to gaining superiority over

the Lamanites and claiming the land over which Nephi himself had originally ruled” (131). Along with this return to foundations comes a particular eschatological view of Nephite history. Zeniff and his successor, Noah, interpret Isaiah as prophesying that once they had possessed the land, the people no longer had any need for prophets; they had arrived, been delivered, and achieved salvation (144–45). They quote Isaiah 52:7: “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings; that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth” (Mosiah 12:21). Noah and his priests believe they have brought about the eschaton; their deliverance is secure and permanent. They expect only good tidings, peace, and salvation to be declared, when here comes Abinadi pronouncing judgment and condemnation.

This understanding makes sense of the judicial charge of blasphemy and sedition brought against Abinadi. The prophet must engage the priests’ “orthodox” reading with his “unorthodox” interpretation of Isaiah (135). “Through an audacious reworking of the meaning of the spirit of prophecy, coupled with an interpretation of Deuteronomy 18 that is clearly distinct from Nephi’s much earlier interpretation, Abinadi presents himself to the priests as a radical revisionist” (141). For the priests of Noah, Isaiah 52:7–10 had a plain meaning that could not be challenged (142) and yet was controverted by Abinadi’s very presence and claims of “thus saith the Lord.”

Spencer’s long and involved reading here, which I have only touched upon, makes sense of the Abinadi proceedings in a new way that is likely to become definitive, at least for the foreseeable future. Spencer’s insights into the confrontation between Noah and Abinadi are also a parade example of what close readings of the Book of Mormon demand of the reader. Perhaps we modern readers have become too much like the priests of Noah, misunderstanding Isaiah and therefore too often misappropriating the text. Spencer’s own audacious reading shakes us from our complacency and, in my mind, makes more sense of the Abinadi story than any other since the recovery of the Book of Mormon.

Typology between Abinadi and Alma

The story of Abinadi becomes a type for later events regarding the conversions of Alma the younger and the four sons of Mosiah. After narrating the story of Alma’s encounter with an angel, Mormon quotes Alma as citing the Lord, who says, “Marvel not that all mankind, yea, men and women, all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, must be born again”

(Mosiah 27:25). This is an echo of the Isaiah passage quoted by Abinadi that asserts, “The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God” (Mosiah 12:24).

Mormon notes what Alma and his companions did once their hearts had been changed: “Alma began from this time forward to teach the people, and those who were with Alma at the time the angel appeared unto them, traveling round about through all the land, *publishing* to all the people the things which they had heard and seen, and preaching the word of God in much tribulation” (Mosiah 27:32; italics added)—a clear reference to the priests of Noah who, attempting to trap Abinadi, quote Isaiah about publishing peace and salvation (Mosiah 12:21). To punctuate the point and drive the allusion home, a few verses later, the four sons of Mosiah are singled out for “publishing all the things which they had seen” (Mosiah 27:35) to the Nephites. Mormon then alludes again to the Isaianic passage explicitly: “And how blessed are they! For they did publish peace; they did publish good tidings of good; and they did declare unto the people that the Lord reigneth” (Mosiah 27:37), thus reaffirming Abinadi’s interpretation of this passage, which points not to the comforts of repossessing the land of promise (as the priests and people of Noah understood) but instead to the declarations of prophets to all people. The story of Alma and the sons of Mosiah ends appropriately, with another citation of Isaiah 52:7, the very passage posed to Abinadi by the priests of Noah (Mosiah 27:37).

The book of Mosiah narrates the blessedness of those who publish peace, returning to the passage of Isaiah 52:7 three times in the story arc that spans from Abinadi’s trial through the commission of Alma. The book also strengthens the typological connection between those who declare the gospel while risking death and persecution to publish good tidings. It seems no coincidence that both the first and second parts of Isaiah have scenes of prophetic commission (Isa. 6; 40:1–11), and while a portion of the prophetic commission in Isaiah 52:7 is to declare good tidings, judgment upon Israel’s actions is part of those tidings, with the cry that all flesh is grass and that the grass withers and dies, but the word of God endures (Isa. 40:6–8).

In refuting the priests’ interpretations, Abinadi connects Isaiah 52 and 53 and quotes Isaiah 53 about the suffering servant; as with Christ, Abinadi, Alma, and the sons of Mosiah are called to suffer “much tribulation, being greatly persecuted” (Mosiah 27:32) in order to bring “many to the knowledge of the truth” (Mosiah 27:36). Christ is the prototype,

and these Book of Mormon emissaries are the narrative antitypes of the pattern. Abinadi challenges the priests' interpretation of Isaiah by pointing not to some fulfilled eschatology but to the work of Christ and his seed (Isa. 53:10). Abinadi declares the Lord's seed to be the prophets (Mosiah 15:10–18). By closely reading the book of Mosiah, we discover that Abinadi, Alma, and the sons of Mosiah are to be seen as the Lord's seed as they risk their lives to publish the good news of salvation through Christ.

Concerning the passages above, I will mention only a couple of possible oversights. As discussed, the conversion of Alma and the confrontation between Noah and Abinadi are part of a unity in the Book of Mormon that uses allusion and exegesis in order to signal emphasis and pattern. However, when discussing Alma's conversion story, Spencer never draws upon Mosiah 27 (taking all his analysis from Alma 36), where Alma's story is also related in detail. Although summarized in the third person by the book's editor, the Mosiah 27 narrative has a direct quotation from Alma (verses 24–31) in the first person. The story of Alma's commission in Mosiah 27 transitions to later discussion in the book of Alma and the missionary journeys recounted there. A major part of that transition is found in Mosiah 27:37, which is an allusion to Isaiah 52, an important passage that could have strengthened Spencer's reading of intertextual connections.

Reading Well the Book

I do not know if the Church is still under divine condemnation for neglecting the Book of Mormon. Clearly, we as a people have recently produced better readers of the scripture; but we also clearly need to move beyond superficial readings of the text. Our private readings, our congregational readings, our Sunday School readings, our Relief Society readings, our seminary readings, our readings for academic journals—all our readings need to improve because they do not yet live up to the text. We still have much work to do in bringing meaning to the Book of Mormon.

Spencer closes his book by asserting, correctly, that “this strange book—this *other* testament—still remains, for the most part, to be read” (175). *An Other Testament* shows how—like the Book of Mormon itself—plainness does not preclude complexity. By his intertextual reading, Spencer gives us a good head start, a first leg in a relay race that will be difficult to match in successive legs. As Adam Miller points out in the book's foreword, Spencer's book “is a primer on all we have failed to see

and the richness of his reading implicitly chastens us for having failed even to look.” But after Spencer, we are now more interested in looking.

Spencer points us to a covenantal reading, not merely likening the book to ourselves, but to a reading more like Nephi’s typological reading that binds us together not only within contemporary congregations but across generations. Spencer shows us how to liken the scriptures to ourselves so we can fulfill the eschatological promise of being a covenant people. “The eschatological fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant—in which the book itself plays a central part—is the unifying center of the Book of Mormon.” A Nephite reading, as opposed to an Abinadite reading, “would thus read and receive the Book of Mormon as a gift” (174–75).

We owe Spencer a debt of gratitude for giving us the gift of his Book of Mormon reading, for of all books, this scriptural text should change its readers. “The Book of Mormon, read this way, will typologically and salvifically rewrite not only the reader’s individual history, but the history of the whole world” (175). The book can do so if we become better readers, which Spencer models typologically for us. In an age of ubiquitous literacy, good discipleship of the Word demands such competent readership.

Alan Goff is Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences at DeVry University–Phoenix. He received an MA in English and one in political science from BYU and a doctorate in humanities from the University at Albany. His publications include “Scratching the Surface of Book of Mormon Narrative,” *FARMS Review of Books* 12, no. 2 (2000): 51–82, and “The Mormon *Positivismusstreit*: Modern vs. Postmodern Approaches to Telling the Story of Mormonism,” in *Telling the Story of Mormon History*, ed. William G. Hartley (Provo, Utah: Smith Institute, 2004), 49–64. His book on violence in the Book of Mormon narrative and the thought of René Girard will be published in 2014.

Marian Wardle, ed. *The Weir Family, 1820–1920: Expanding the Traditions of American Art*.
 Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Museum of Art,
 in association with Hanover: University Press of New England, 2011.

Reviewed by Herman du Toit

Marian Wardle, curator of American art at the Brigham Young University Museum of Art and part-time faculty member at BYU in art history, has assembled a remarkable group of writers from across the country for an anthology that focuses on the lives and artistic production of three of America's most notable artists: Robert Walter Weir (1803–1889) and his sons John Ferguson Weir (1841–1926) and Julian Alden Weir (1852–1919). The BYU Museum of Art became the beneficiary of a collection of the Weirs' artworks when one of Julian Weir's daughters, Dorothy, passed away in 1947, leaving much of her family's extensive collection to her husband, Mahonri Young, who was a grandson of Brigham Young and a respected New York artist and sculptor. The descendants of Mahonri Young were able to pass this vast collection of over eight thousand artworks to Brigham Young University in 1959, providing the impetus for the establishment of the BYU Museum of Art.

Wardle's volume is lavishly illustrated and uses letters, diaries, histories, and paintings to examine the contributions made by the Weir art dynasty in shaping American art during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wardle also curated the exhibition *The Weir Family, 1820–1920: Expanding the Traditions of American Art*, which prompted the publication of this volume. The exhibition showcases many of the paintings by the Weirs that are held in the collection of the BYU Museum of Art. The exhibition opened at the museum in November 2011 and subsequently traveled to the New Britain Museum of American Art in Connecticut, concluding its tour at the Mint Museum of Charlotte, North Carolina, in January 2013. This is the first traveling exhibition organized by the BYU Museum of Art since it first opened to the public twenty years ago.

In addition to Wardle's introductory essay, the substance of the three artists' lives and their artistic production also provides rich material for the

six essayists who contributed to this volume—namely, Hollis Clayson, the Bergen Evans Professor in the Humanities at Northwestern University; Betsy Fahlman, a professor of art history at Arizona State University; Lois Marie Fink, a research curator emerita of the Smithsonian American Art Museum; Heather Belnap Jensen, an assistant professor of art history at Brigham Young University; Leo G. Mazow, an associate professor in the art department at the University of Arkansas; and Robert W. Rydell, the Michael P. Malone Professor of History at Montana State University. Speaking of the Weir family, Wardle describes the scope of the present volume in her introductory essay: “This volume explores [the Weirs’] transatlantic encounters, examining a century of cross-cultural artistic exchanges through the lens of a single family of respected American artists. Their separate European sojourns, their art, their rootedness in America, and their familial ties all come under scrutiny in this study of their joint contributions to transatlantic cultural activity and the expansion of American art traditions” (1).

The Weirs repeatedly crossed the Atlantic to immerse themselves in the European art traditions that they saw as their heritage. However, they never abandoned their American roots and always returned to their homes in New York and New England, where they became leaders of the burgeoning American art movement and where they continued to assert their American uniqueness. In her essay, Wardle traces the European sojourns of Robert, John, and Julian Weir, carefully delineating the differing influences that prevailed upon them—from the lakes of northern Italy to their extended stays at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. When returning from his travels, John would always resume his position at West Point, where he taught art. Julian became a major American impressionist, and John founded the first academic art program at Yale—the first of its kind on an American college campus. Wardle makes the point that these transatlantic encounters were bidirectional, in that the influx of Americans had a profound influence on the production and exhibition of art in Paris, just as American art benefitted from an infusion of European techniques and traditions. These exchanges and assimilations of cultural differences were not without resistance on both sides of the Atlantic. The complex negotiations between a profound American nationalism and the veneration of a centuries-old European tradition were played out in the cafés, garrets, and salons of Paris and Rome. Wardle’s careful analysis of this phenomenon is always supported by examples of the Weirs’ artworks, and her thesis becomes even more poignant when we consider the fact that the artistic exploits and triumphs of the Weirs did not occur in isolation but also reflected the collective experience of their contemporaries. In the end, a remarkable synthesis was achieved, benefiting artists on both sides of the

Atlantic and providing the impetus for the axis of contemporary art to eventually move to New York during the 1960s and 1970s.

The other essayists in this volume focus on various aspects of this complex cross-cultural engagement. Leo Mazow draws our attention to Robert Weir's powerful "sense of place" through his patriotism and his deep attachment to the American landscape—particularly of the Hudson River Valley viewed from his beloved West Point. However, Robert Weir's American landscapes are imbued with a serenity and quietude that can only be attributed to his study of artistic conventions and compositional elements found in Europe. Hollis Clayson examines Julian Alden Weir's student days abroad during the 1870s. Julian benefited from four years of study at the famed *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and gained a predilection for impressionism and for the studio art system of instruction. Lois Fink, a seasoned scholar of American art, emphasizes the importance of the Paris salons to the American artists "for exhibition opportunities, exposure to current trends, and the making of artistic reputations" (24).

Robert Rydell's essay explores the importance of world's fairs from 1851 through the First World War on the increase of internationalism in a modernizing world. Betsy Fahlman looks at the interest that the Weirs had in science and industry through their artwork and concludes that this shift in subject matter "references many changes in the cultural and intellectual life of the nation" (24). Heather Jensen makes a solid contribution to this volume through her exploration of the central role that women and familial bonds played in the development of the Weirs' art production—the first study of its kind. The volume concludes with extensive genealogies of the Weir family compiled by Danielle Hurd and Julianne Gough.

By tackling the subject of the Weir art dynasty and analyzing the complex matrix of events and circumstances surrounding their uniquely American posture during a critical period in the formation of American art, Wardle has made a vital and necessary contribution to the scholarship of American art. This volume stands as a hallmark for future scholars in the field of cross-cultural studies and as a touchstone for all who would like to delve beneath the surface of mainstream art in this country.

Herman du Toit received postgraduate degrees in art history and sociology of education from the former University of Natal and a doctorate in educational leadership from Brigham Young University. Du Toit retired in 2011 as head of museum research at Brigham Young University's Museum of Art. He was also an editor for the BYU Studies publication *Art and Spirituality: The Visual Culture of Christian Faith* (2008).

Adam S. Miller. *Rube Goldberg Machines:
Essays in Mormon Theology.*

Draper, Utah: Greg Kofford Books, 2012.

Reviewed by Thomas F. Rogers

Philosopher Adam S. Miller, who teaches at Collin College in McKinney, Texas, and presently serves as director of the prestigious Mormon Theology Seminar, has written a small book that deserves big attention.

In his thoughtful preface, historian Richard L. Bushman asserts that “Adam Miller is the most original and provocative Latter-day Saint theologian practicing today” and that, like other philosophers and theologians, his writings reflect his possible doubt that his subject “can be reduced to a rational orderly system” (xi). But, for me, there is immense continuity to the book’s fourteen essays, each of which interfaces with the restored gospel in impressively universal terms—speaking not only in philosophical abstractions but also addressing everyday human concerns. It is clear that Miller got his initial scholarly training at Brigham Young University; he in fact credits particularly James E. Fauconer, Stephen E. Robinson, and Robert L. Millet. He also shares supportive utterances by a number of recent and present-day General Authorities—including President Ezra Taft Benson, President Boyd K. Packer, and Elder Bruce R. McConkie—that may further surprise you.

Rube Goldberg Machines is one of the best and most important commentaries on the gospel and on life itself that I have ever read. It can perhaps be best compared to *Ecclesiastes*, *The Annals of Confucius*, or the compact wisdom of the *Tao Te Ching*. Save for the electrifying thought of the French Jewess Simone Weil, one of Christ’s most astute modern-day disciples, whom, to my mind, Miller resembles, I can think of no one else who has so “universally extended” (Miller’s phrase) my understanding of the gospel’s essential concepts and their implications for an authentic and blessed spiritual life. The book’s seemingly facetious title is ironically self-effacing. Do not allow it to keep you from what it

contains, which is deadly serious and utterly orthodox in its devotion to the Mormonism we all know but do not fully enough fathom. That's why you need to read this book.

Toward the book's outset, Miller introduces the less familiar term "givenness,"¹ which he equates with Christ's universal bestowal of grace upon all humankind, whatever our circumstances (4). This concept reminds me of that grim "necessity" that Weil invokes in her renowned essay on *The Iliad* and to which we must properly resign ourselves but that enables our lives to be increasingly meaningful.² In repenting and coming to the Lord, we sacrifice our personal preferences and recognize our weaknesses, entitling us to his healing, sustaining grace. This prompts in me the realization that the countervailing "works" we most need to bring forth are neither more nor less than a broken heart and contrite spirit and all else they invariably lead to. For Miller, this links with Mormonism's "revolutionary" appreciation of eternal marriage and the perpetuation of family ties—"the task of unknotting the threads of fear and desire that have prevented me from unconditionally embracing my family and my family from unconditionally embracing me" (17).

Further, Miller helps me better understand than I ever did just *why* the Book of Mormon is such a distinctive scripture: besides its recurring testimony of the Savior, the travail and subjective witness of its various prophets—their confession of vulnerability and renewed commitment, with which all can identify—reaches deep into a reader's heart. Such witness is as potent as that of living peers. Miller further elucidates the underlying doctrinal thrust of the book of Revelation as well as Mormonism's subtle distinctions between spirit, body, and soul and the Lord's imperative to overcome all things: "If we do not choose to wear out our lives in the service of God and in the service of others, then our names will not be found [in the Lamb's book of life]" (45).

In the essay entitled "Recompense," which superficially resembles Emerson's "Compensation," but which, *transcendentally*, conveys even more, Miller's simple yet vivid metaphors come to the fore:

You will get lots of practice. The world will resist you. It will exceed your grasp. It will practice indifference toward you. Like a borrowed shirt, it

1. A term Miller takes from the work of the French phenomenologist, Jean-Luc Marion in *Being Given: Toward a Phenomenology of Givenness*, trans. Jeffrey L. Kosky (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

2. Simone Weil, "The Iliad, or the Poem of Force" (Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill, 1956).

will fit you imperfectly, it will be loose in the neck, short in the cuff, and the tag will itch. . . . Suffering the indignity of these rounds, you will, by default, be tempted to just flit from one offense to the next, simmering in frustration, stewing in quiet desperation. But to live, you will have to let these offenses go. You will have to learn how to make and accept recompense. You will have to forget the fiction of cash equivalences and barter with whatever is at hand. You didn't get what you wanted? Or even what you needed? Your life was repurposed by others for something other than what you had in mind? Join the party. I'm sympathetic, but in the end these objections are going nowhere. That bus, while always idling, never actually leaves the station. . . . Ask instead: what *were* you given? where were you taken? what was your recompense? Learn to like lemonade. (57)

In his arresting "A Manifesto for Mormon Theology," Miller contends that "human suffering, from blunt trauma to quiet desperation, is the perpetual crisis that precipitates theology. Charity is a name for the critical care that clears away the rubbish of self-regard, penetrates to the root of suffering, and dresses the wound." He then meekly adds, "Theology . . . is not an institutional practice. It has no force beyond the charity it demonstrates and it decides no questions beyond what the Brethren have settled" (59). In "Atonement and Testimony," he declares that "testimonies are essential because they reveal, in light of the Atonement, how things *can* be" (68). And, "In the strict sense, we do not have testimonies, testimonies have us" (70). Much later he again returns to the subject of testimony, reiterating that "in order for the gift of grace to be received, we must take up the truth as our own, as something spoken truthfully with our own mouths about our own selves"—once more suggesting what is so distinctive about prophetic utterances in the Book of Mormon (117).

I have myself asserted that Mormonism is the ultimate form of humanism. Miller backs me up in a later chapter entitled "Humanism, Mormonism," suggesting that "the humanities remain essential to any genuine education not because they directly address the question of the being of the world (this is the work of science), but because they are faithful to the question of what is other than 'what is.' Religion, art, fiction, music, film, theater, poetry, etc. are all essential because they protest the vanity of the world and aim to induce the birth of the new" (110). Thus, humanism and Mormonism have in common their quest for the yet unknown. In commenting on the Sermon on the Mount, Miller sagely observes that "Jesus concludes this series of reinscriptions [of the Mosaic law] by clearly formatting *the* principle on which novelty is

based: non-reciprocity” (111). He then cautions that “Mormonism intertwines with humanism in a complex way. . . . The new must be new *for us* without being reducible *to us*” (111–12).

Miller’s ecumenical reach is equally generous:

It is comforting to note the way that the primacy of the ‘Spirit of truth’ over the ‘word of truth’—the primacy of truthfulness over accuracy—makes possible transformative edification even if what one says may not be entirely correct. . . . It is just as possible for the new convert to speak in ways that are powerfully truthful even if what they say lacks the accuracy and orthodoxy that comes from a lifetime of study. . . . We might also detect in this difference a powerfully ecumenical spirit: edification and transformation are present wherever a transforming truthfulness is induced, regardless of whether it happens in a Catholic mass, a Buddhist temple, an Islamic mosque, or an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting. (115)

Toward the book’s end, one of Miller’s subheadings reads, “Speaking the truth truthfully, because it undercuts our perpetual pride, is hard” (118). Then, “as the prophets have themselves continually warned, we must beware the prophet who tells us what we want to hear (Hel. 13:26–27). Moreover, we must be especially careful of this danger when we are convinced that we belong to the true Church. It is easy enough . . . to treat even the true Messiah and a true prophet in a way that is not truthful” (120). Bedrock integrity recurs throughout Miller’s argument as an essential criterion. He then concludes with his own fervent, simply put testimony:

The substance of my conviction about Mormonism amounts to a running account of the ways in which, because of Mormonism, I have been and increasingly am awake. For my part, I can conceive of no other measure for religion. Does it or does it not conduce to life? Does it or does it not roughly shake me from the slumber of self-regard, from the hope of satisfaction, from the fantasy of control? Does it or does it not relentlessly lead my attention back to the difficulty of the real? Does it or does it not reveal the ways in which my heart, my mind, and my body have always already bled out into a world not of my own making, into the hearts and minds and bodies of my parents, my wife, my children? (126)

The “running account” that binds Miller to Mormonism includes “Joseph Smith, handcarts, extrabiblical scriptures, modern prophets, Jell-O molds, temples, missionary work, and all the rest” (126).

Before *Rube Goldberg Machines* came along, the Neal A. Maxwell Institute made observation concerning the rarity of engaging theologically with other Christian faiths, even among our finest thinkers. “B. H. Roberts and John A. Widtsoe may have had interesting insights in the early part of the twentieth century, but they had neither the temperament nor the training to give a rigorous defense of their views in dialogue with a wider stream of Christian theology. Sterling McMurrin and Truman Madsen had the capacity to engage Mormon theology at this level, but neither one did” (137).

Well, Adam S. Miller has done so. Brother Miller wakens us.

Thomas F. Rogers is Professor Emeritus of Russian at Brigham Young University. He received his MA in Slavic Languages and Literatures from Yale University and his PhD in Russian Language and Literature from Georgetown University. Rogers is a member of the BYU Studies Academy.

Andrei A. Orlov. *Dark Mirrors: Azazel and Satanael
in Early Jewish Demonology.*
New York: SUNY Press, 2011.

Reviewed by David J. Larsen

Andrei A. Orlov, professor of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity at Marquette University, is a highly prolific author and world-renowned scholar who specializes in Christian origins, Jewish apocalypticism and mysticism, and Old Testament pseudepigrapha, including texts such as *2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Among Orlov's many writings are the books *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ, 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism* (SJSJ, 114; Leiden: Brill, 2007), *Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (OJC, 2; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2009), and *Concealed Writings: Jewish Mysticism in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (Flaviana; Moscow: Gesharim, 2011).

The present book under review, *Dark Mirrors*, is an engaging examination of the two most infamous characters of Second Temple Jewish demonology, the fallen angels Satan and Azazel. Although the two are frequently conflated, Orlov traces the development of each figure and their origins back to the stories of Adam and Eve in Eden and the rebellious angels who descend to earth at the time of Enoch (in the writings of *1 Enoch*; see also Gen. 6). One of the major and most intriguing themes that Orlov focuses on in this writing is the paradoxical relationship, depicted by the authors of the ancient texts, that Satan and Azazel have with both deity and mankind. Orlov points out that in various texts, the antagonist is presented as having a "symmetrical correspondence" with the protagonist. In other words, the leader of the fallen angels is depicted as imitating the celestial order, positioning himself as a negative mirror image of the divine glory.

Dark Mirrors consists of, following an extensive introduction to the background of these topics, six distinct essays, with three analyzing the role of Azazel as the principal antagonist in the Jewish

pseudepigraphal text the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and another three examining the role of Satan in 2 *Enoch*, in the temptation narrative in the Gospel of Matthew, and in the extrabiblical texts 3 *Baruch* and the *Book of Giants*.

Readers should not skip over the introduction, as it contains essential information regarding the trends in Jewish and Christian literature that provide background for the complex and paradoxical manner in which Jews and Christians came to view these figures. Orlov explains that ancient authors often presented a highly symmetrical view of space and time. The events marking the end of the world were seen as parallel to those of the world's creation; the end times would feature a restoration of the earth as it was in its primeval state. Similarly, they viewed things on earth as imitating or replicating things that existed in the celestial realm. Likewise, the beings of the underworld were understood to also mirror the order of heaven.

One of the best examples of this concept comes in Orlov's first essay, entitled "'The Likeness of Heaven': *Kavod* of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish text written in the early centuries of the Christian era, the author seems to depict the fallen angel Azazel as having his own *kavod* ("glory"), a distinction usually reserved only for deity. The idea that Azazel enjoys his own glory seems to stem, in this text, from the notion that God has granted him authority to rule over the wicked of the world. Throughout the pseudepigraphal text, Orlov notes, the adversary is depicted in terms very similar to those used to describe God. One of the most intriguing details of this exposition is the account of Abraham standing by the throne of God in heaven and being shown a vision of the inhabitants of the Garden of Eden. What he sees is Adam and Eve under the tree of knowledge, "entwined with each other" (*Ap. Ab.* 23:9) with Azazel between them. Orlov argues that this imagery should be compared to depictions in other literature in which God's throne in Eden is set under the tree of life. God sits upon or between the cherubim, which are described as being "intertwined" in some rabbinic sources. These rabbinic traditions can be interpreted to suggest that the cherubic pair placed in the Holy of Holies were male and female and that they represented the *hieros gamos*, or heavenly marriage. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Orlov asserts, what may be depicted is the fallen angel's attempt to replicate the image of God on his cherubic throne by positioning himself between the human pair as he corrupts them with the forbidden fruit.

The second and third essays cover traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* that highlight, among other themes, the important role that heavenly vestments play in the narrative. Orlov notes that in the second part of the apocalypse, Abraham meets an angelic being called Yahoel who is wearing apparel that is distinctly high priestly in nature. Orlov argues that the significance of this attire is to suggest that Yahoel is not only to serve as Abraham's angelic guide on his heavenly journey, but that he, as a priestly figure, will also initiate the patriarch into the celestial priesthood. The angelic priest teaches Abraham what to do in order to serve in the heavenly temple. When Azazel appears, Yahoel instructs Abraham on how to cast him out. Orlov argues that this sequence should be seen as a reenactment of the Day of Atonement rituals in which the sins of Israel are transferred to the scapegoat, represented in the narrative by Azazel, which is then led out into the wilderness to perish. In this text, the sins of Abraham are transferred to the fallen angel, Azazel. This transference of guilt and expulsion of the evil figure allows Abraham to be considered clean and worthy to enter and serve in the heavenly realm.

Orlov's third essay focuses on the transferal of garments that occurs when Azazel is cast out of Abraham's presence. Yahoel declares to the fallen angel: "For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him (Abraham), and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you" (*Ap. Ab.* 13:7–14). Orlov suggests that this transferal of clothing signifies not merely a new addition to Abraham's wardrobe, but his transition into the form of a heavenly being—a citizen of the celestial city. Orlov also sees a parallel with the Adamic traditions that describe how Adam and Eve received garments of light and glory when they entered the Garden of Eden but lost them when they were expelled—and how they expected to regain them after death. The traditions preserved in texts such as *The Life of Adam and Eve* in its various versions indicate that Adam had a role in casting the adversary out of heaven and that Adam then inherited the exalted position and glory that Satan had previously enjoyed, including, apparently, the fallen angel's celestial robes. To reiterate, after Satan is cast out of heaven, his authority and priestly clothing are passed on to Adam—and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* depicts the same type of transferal for Abraham.

Another point of interest for *BYU Studies* readers comes in the fifth essay, which concerns the temptation narrative found in the Gospel of Matthew. In this section, Orlov illustrates how the story of Satan's tempting of Jesus bears a number of similarities to the accounts of

heavenly journeys in the visionary texts of biblical and extrabiblical literature. Although there are a number of parallels with well-known biblical visions such as that of Moses on Mount Sinai and that of Elijah, the parallels with writings such as 2 Enoch seem to be even more prevalent. However, the way in which the temptation narrative depicts Satan's role can be seen as an attempt to present the adversary as the negative mirror image of the celestial figures featured in those texts. The steps that the visionary is taken through on his heavenly journey are maleficiently imitated by Satan as he takes Jesus on a tour of his own blasphemous design. Just as Enoch is taken up to heaven by angelic guides, Satan serves a similar function as he transports Jesus to the top of the temple and then to a very high mountain. Just as in many of the visionary texts, the righteous seer encounters and worships God on the high mountain. Orlov points out that Satan takes Jesus up into the high mountain in order to entice Jesus to venerate him instead. As part of this attempt, the adversary shows Christ the kingdoms of the world and their glory to imitate, Orlov suggests, the grand visions that are shown to those who have the privilege of standing before the throne of God (compare Ether 3:25; Moses 1:1–8, 27–29; 7:21–24). Another intriguing idea that Orlov proposes is tied to the tradition in the celestial ascent literature that when the visionary approaches and bows down before the Lord, he is transformed from his mortal state into a heavenly being and often becomes unified with or identified with the Lord. In this final temptation of Jesus by Satan, Orlov argues, it appears that Satan desires Jesus to worship him and thus become identified with the evil one instead of with the Father in heaven. Orlov states, “One can encounter here an example of negative transformational mysticism: by forcing Jesus to bow down, the tempter wants the seer to become identified with Satan's form, in exact opposition to the visionaries of Jewish apocalyptic writings who through their prostration before the divine Face become identified with the divine *Kavod* (glory)” (112).

Andrei Orlov's insights on the Rebellious One in this book find parallels in LDS scripture and thought, including the notion that Satan can transform himself into an angel of light (2 Ne. 9:9; Alma 30:53; D&C 128:20; 129:8) and that he often imitates the heavenly order and powers. Perhaps the greatest affinity to the story of Satan tempting Jesus in LDS-specific scripture can be found in the Pearl of Great Price, in Moses 1:12–22. This account depicts Satan's attempt to entice Moses to worship him, including an even more direct effort to imitate deity. Moses 1:12 relates that just subsequent to Moses having experienced a powerful

theophany of the God of Glory, Satan appears to him: “Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship me.” Having just seen the magnificence of the glory of God and having had his own divine sonship confirmed, Moses can differentiate between God’s majesty and Satan’s inability to measure up. Moses says, “Who art thou? For behold, I am a son of God, in the similitude of his Only Begotten; and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee?” (1:13). Satan’s humiliation and envy of God’s glory and Moses’s divine potential climax in an infernal tantrum as he shouts and desperately claims that he is the Son of God, worthy of worship. He commands Moses, saying, “I am the Only Begotten, worship me” (1:19). After a few more moments of intense ranting and wailing on the part of the adversary, Moses is strengthened by God and is able to cast Satan out. He is then filled with the Spirit and is once again caught up in the vision of God’s glory. He is given his prophetic commission, is shown the grand vision of the earth and all its inhabitants, and is taught the secrets of creation. This story of Moses is similar in many ways to the various traditions that Orlov discusses in this book, including those contained in the temptation story in Matthew, the heavenly journey of Enoch in 2 *Enoch*, and also Abraham’s confrontation with Azazel and related experiences in the celestial realm.¹

Andrei Orlov’s book, *Dark Mirrors*, will be of interest to students of the scriptures and especially those interested in religious history, whether or not they have prior experience with the early Jewish and early Christian texts he utilizes. The many parallels with LDS understandings of the nature of Satan should be apparent and exciting for most. Orlov is one of the foremost scholars on this genre of extrabiblical texts and much can be gleaned from his adventurous and insightful approach.

David J. Larsen received his PhD from the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, and he currently serves as a BYU Studies research fellow. He received an MA from Marquette University, where his academic advisor was Andrei A. Orlov, and a BA in Near Eastern studies from BYU. His scholarly interests include temple studies, apocalyptic writings, and pseudepigrapha.

1. For more on the affinities between this segment of the Book of Moses and ascension texts such as the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Book of Moses* (West Valley City, Utah: Eborn Publishing, 2010), 23–50.

Mark Regnerus and Jeremy Uecker. *Premarital Sex in America: How Young Americans Meet, Mate, and Think about Marrying*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Donna Freitas. *Sex and the Soul: Juggling Sexuality, Spirituality, Romance, and Religion on America's College Campuses*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Brian J. Willoughby

Mark Regnerus (University of Texas) and Jeremy Uecker (Baylor University), both professors of sociology, have previously collaborated on a host of academic papers focused on the dating, marital, and sexual lives of young adults. Regnerus has previously published a book entitled *Forbidden Fruit* (Oxford University Press, 2007), which explores the sexual lives of American teenagers. In *Premarital Sex in America*, Regnerus and Uecker move forward in the life course by examining sexuality during young adulthood.

Premarital Sex in America purports to be a book about the varied aspects of how young adults think and act regarding sex. The subtitle is a bit of a misnomer, because the book is more focused on sex than marriage. To their credit, the authors claim early on that the book “explicates the sexual ideas, habits, and relationships of heterosexual emerging adults” (9). The lone chapter dealing with marriage directly (chapter 6) feels almost like an afterthought among so many discussions of sexual behavior, hooking up, and birth control.

The book also studies a fairly narrow age range (18–23 years), which limits the scope of its investigation. However, this age group has fascinated scholars and the public due to their ever-changing mindset and behaviors regarding sex. Thus, the book is geared toward those interested in understanding the complex topic of sexuality among those at the beginning of young adulthood. While many Mormon youth often abstain from premarital sexual activity, *Premarital Sex in America* offers an inside look into the larger culture that LDS youth will encounter. With this scope and complex topic in mind, the authors have certainly succeeded in providing a well-documented look at the sexual lives of young adults.

The book is intended for general audiences, though readers should be aware that the book contains very frank discussions of sex and sexual behavior, utilizing the common terminologies and phrases of actual young adults. As such, the language throughout the book includes both profanity and crude content that may not be suitable for younger readers. Also, the book's reliance on charts, tables, and statistics may make it better suited for counselors or college students studying the subject or for readers with at least some academic background.

One of the first things to note regarding the book is its focus on normative behavior. The authors seek within the chapters to help the reader understand how the *typical* American young adult thinks about and engages in premarital sexual behavior. However, this focus on what is normative leaves out several important, although smaller, sub-populations. For example, no discussion is undertaken regarding young adults who transition to marriage early, and little is said about those who abstain from sexual behavior.

When describing these normative trends, Regnerus and Uecker use very clear tables and successfully weave easy-to-read statistics with personal stories and anecdotes. Sexual histories are dissected across race, religion, and even political orientation. While trends related to Latter-day Saints are not explicitly discussed, the authors do explore how religion in general influences sexual choices. Regnerus and Uecker delve into the nuances of means and regression models, sometimes attempting to explain complicated statistical methods that underlie their analyses. The book's heavy reliance on raw numbers and empirical facts firmly establishes it as serious research, but for the same reason it may disinterest some of its intended audience. The book also has a tendency to rely on academic jargon. The authors are typically quick to define these terms, but even more effort could have been made to adapt these terms for a lay audience. The authors have attempted to supplement the reliance on numbers by interjecting quotes from interviews throughout the book, but in most chapters these stories take a backseat to the cold hard facts.

From chapter 3 onward, the authors rely on an economic perspective of sexuality. Although the authors are very upfront about this theoretical perspective, some readers may be put off by its very pragmatic analysis of who has sex and why sex occurs. Economic and rational choice theories can make human behavior appear robotic and predetermined, and at certain points the book leaves the impression that sexual decisions being made by today's young adults are more a matter of mathematical equations than agency or choice. Using this theory, the authors

maintain several common arguments about sexuality. Readers will learn that women are gatekeepers deciding when and if sex will occur and are more emotionally connected to sexual expression, while men are more focused on the physical aspects of sex and tend to seek out multiple partners.

Despite any reservations regarding this traditional view of gender and sexuality, Regnerus and Uecker convincingly show that men and women do indeed approach and react to sex in different ways. While the source of these differences may be debated endlessly, the point driven home several times is simply the extent of the differences between men and women when it comes to sexual intimacy. Bishops and other Church leaders who counsel with married couples and youth may find these discussions helpful as they strive to understand the complex gender differences related to sexuality.

Despite the above issues regarding the complexity of their language and theory, Regnerus and Uecker effectively highlight some fascinating aspects regarding the sex lives of today's young adults. Perhaps one of their most important themes is that young adults often assume that sexual activity and romantic relationships must go hand in hand. The authors also rightly document the deterioration of moral reasoning among young adults in America. The authors paint a picture of many young adults engaging in behavior because they "are supposed to" or because "everyone else is doing it," despite internal turmoil regarding the moral and emotional consequences of their behavior. If anything, the book is a wake-up call to young adults to buck the current cultural trends and realize that making healthy choices is more important than making popular choices. While this same social pressure may not resonate with many Mormon young adults, the book may help them understand that many non-LDS religious young adults are struggling with their sexual decision-making in ways that are in some respects comparable to the more religiously traditional.

If *Premarital Sex in America* suffers from being over analytical, then *Sex and the Soul* by Donna Freitas suffers from an overreliance on storytelling. Freitas is an associate professor of religion at Hofstra University and has regularly written articles and blogs on religion and young adulthood for several major news publications. While *Sex and the Soul* is clearly about sexual activity among young adults, the focus is more squarely on how religiosity influences sexual decision making. Freitas is interested in how religious institutions and universities are failing in their duty to help young adults negotiate the sexual landmines of the twenties. The book ties these themes into the larger scholarly field of

young adulthood, which consistently points to young adults' desire to search and explore. Issues related to soul mates, romance, and hooking up are discussed throughout the book, with many stories and quotes used liberally to illustrate the various themes.

While a discussion of Latter-day Saint youth is again omitted, Freitas's findings related to Evangelical young adults are often applicable. Freitas connects the exploring of young adults (both religiously and sexually) with their movement from "religiosity" to "spirituality." This trend can also be seen among Latter-day Saint youth who sometimes show a decrease in religious behavior after leaving home. She documents this shift by illustrating how many young adults forgo specific religious denominations, practices, and faiths for a more eclectic, unaffiliated, and humanistic version of religion.

Most of the data presented in the book are based on interviews conducted by Freitas at several universities across the country. While the reader will find a few sporadic tables and numbers, the vast majority of content is gleaned from the real stories of young adults. From a scholarly standpoint, this approach provides a potentially biased perspective on the topic material. Instead of providing sophisticated qualitative analyses, Freitas chooses which stories and quotes will best support her points. In that sense, the book has a predetermined quality to it, as though the author is projecting her worldview to the reader and rationalizing it with various passages demonstrating that actual young adults think this way.

Yet the stories do provide a rich and interesting peek into the minds of young adults as they struggle with sexual decision making, particularly those with a religious background who struggle to reconcile the reality of college life with their faith. Like the evidence found in *Premarital Sex in America*, the data presented here suggest that scripts, perceptions, and assumptions are more important to young adults than actual fact. As young adults start forming a rationale for what they consider "normative" sexual behavior, they often make decisions that conflict with their existing morals and religious beliefs.

Freitas feels that our religious institutions are not providing enough meaningful support to young adults, especially those young adults who desire to avoid the hook-up culture and premarital sex. Most chapters are filled with stories of young adults who have either given up faith traditions or rationalized away their faith's traditional religious values regarding sexuality. Freitas also ties this trend directly to religious institutions of higher education, pointing out their shortcomings and

offering practical advice for policy improvement. In particular, Freitas puts the Catholic Church in her cross hairs and spends large portions of the book documenting how Catholic young adults are often confused and ambivalent about their faith. When it comes to sex, Freitas makes a compelling argument that Catholic institutions are not having the impact on young adults that perhaps they would like.

Conversely, Freitas provides some enlightening discussion regarding Evangelicals and highlights the efforts of these denominations, which have led many young adults to make a stronger connection between sexual practices and religion. Readers may find it interesting to observe parallels between The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and these Evangelical traditions. Latter-day Saint young adults also tend to adhere to their faith's morals and boundaries regarding sexual behavior, and Freitas provides several insights into why and how such conservative Christian faiths cultivate faith and obedience.

Sex and the Soul is intended for general audiences, and most readers will have no problem absorbing its contents, due particularly to Freitas's conversational writing style. The structure of the whole book is likewise loose, and Freitas sometimes repeats herself and overlooks leaps in logic. The sections discussing sexual minorities feel out of place and do not do service to this complex issue. In general, the book provides a quality read for those interested in how religion intersects with the sexual decision-making of young adults. Freitas concludes her book by offering advice for both parents and young adults. Bishops and Church leaders may also find her insights helpful as they counsel young adults in navigating the sexual roadmap of young adulthood. The book may be of particular interest to those involved in higher-education policy making. Freitas provides several insights for how such institutions can improve their policies to provide better resources related to sexuality and religion for their students.

Brian J. Willoughby is Assistant Professor in the School of Family Life at Brigham Young University. He received his bachelor's degree at Brigham Young University and his MA and PhD at the University of Minnesota. His publications include *Associations between Sexual Behavior, Sexual Attitudes and Marital Horizons during Emerging Adulthood*; *The Emergence of Gender Neutral Housing on American University Campuses*; and *Correlates of Attitudes toward Cohabitation: Looking at the Associations with Demographics, Relational Attitudes and Dating Behavior*.

Ally Condie. *Matched. Crossed. Reached.*

The Matched Trilogy.

New York: Dutton Books, 2010–12.

Reviewed by William Morris

Ally Condie, a Latter-day Saint and graduate of Brigham Young University, is best known as the author of the Matched trilogy. These three books contain all the ingredients for a successful YA (young adult fiction) series: a plucky heroine, a love triangle, a dystopian setting. And a success it is: each volume has spent numerous weeks on various best-seller lists,¹ Disney has optioned the film rights to the trilogy, and numerous fan sites and social media groups are active online. If it were just those ingredients alone, the trilogy would not be worth noting amid the outpouring of YA novels (and YA novels by LDS authors) that has occurred in the past decade. What sets Condie's trilogy apart are its lyrical prose and the complex way it dramatizes the key YA themes of courtship, rebellion, and control, and, above all, the way it explores agency.

As *Matched* begins, a young woman named Cassia is on a train to City Hall to attend her Match Banquet, one of the few elaborate ceremonies allowed by the Society. Being matched in a couple is an honor, an entry into adulthood. The Match is decided by the Society, which "sorts" individuals based on their compatibility.

Formed in the wake of something known simply as the Warming, the Society decided that out-of-control technology and information overload led to the mistakes that caused the breakdown of the previous society, and so not only do they control spousal pairings, education and careers, and all the details of everyday life, they also have created a hypercorrelated, overly curated culture. As Cassia explains, "They

1. Christine Rappleye, "Utah Author Ally Condie's 'Reached' on USA Today's Best-sellers List," *Deseret News*, November 29, 2012, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865567783/Utah-author-Ally-Condie's-Reached-on-USA-Todays-best-sellers-list.html?pg=all>.

created commissions to choose the hundred best of everything: Hundred Songs, Hundred Paintings, Hundred Stories, Hundred Poems. The rest were eliminated. Gone forever. *For the best*, the Society said, and everyone believed because it made sense. *How can we appreciate anything fully when overwhelmed with too much?*" (*Matched*, 29, emphasis in original).

Something rare happens the night of the Match Banquet. Cassia's Match turns out to be Xander, one of her best friends while growing up. She receives his "microcard," an electronic dossier that is prepared by the Society so that matched couples can get to know each other before they meet in person. Cassia waits to view it (because, after all, she already knows Xander so well). When she does, something strange happens: an image of Xander pops up, and he is confirmed as her Match, but then the process reboots, and her Match is re-presented to her. This time it is Ky, another local boy, but this one an orphan who was brought in from the Outer Provinces to live with his aunt and uncle. An official from the Society quickly arrives on the scene to correct the error and reassure Cassia that she is still matched with Xander. The official also reveals that Ky will never be matched because he is an "Aberration," a nondangerous anomaly in the system.

It is an elegant, obvious way to set up a prototypical YA love triangle, of course—the stiff, accessible, known Society boy and the passionate, forbidden, mysterious rebel. But more than that, the error cracks open the shell formed around Cassia (one that is brilliantly represented on the covers of the three novels) to reveal the unthinkable yet alluring notion that the Society may be wrong. Perhaps there is not a match, but a choice. If there is a choice about with whom one pairs, perhaps other choices should be available as well.

Cracks form throughout the first book and then on into *Crossed* and *Reached* as an attempted revolution comes to the world of the Society and, in its wake, an even greater danger that threatens revolutionaries and reactionaries alike. Cassia, Ky, and Xander are caught up in these events, and Condie weaves both the unfolding of their love triangle and their roles in the larger action with skill—each impacts the other. What is more, all of the themes and plot threads converge on, and, in the end, are embodied by Cassia, Ky, and Xander.

Whether it is the preexistent promised couples in *Added Upon* and *Saturday's Warrior* or *Twilight's* pheromonally fated Edward and Bella, Mormon drama and literature have often portrayed the inevitable couple. By contrast, as the *Matched* trilogy progresses, it becomes clear that both

Xander and Ky are worthy potential mates who genuinely love Cassia. Cassia's choice, then, is a true exercise of agency. It distills from her personality, feelings, desired future, and personal history rather than from the Society. And in order to make that choice, she needs to be attuned to art, nature, family, friends, and society (without the definite article).

In particular, attunement to art is a key element in the trilogy. Cassia inherits from her grandfather a noncorrelated poem: "Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night" by Dylan Thomas. At first, simply the thrill of a forbidden work of art infects her life, but the poem takes on more and more meaning as the story progresses, and Cassia learns how to use the power of poetry and expression to change herself and the world around her.

The importance of poetry is reinforced by Condie's writing style. At one point some of the characters are navigating through a red rock slot canyon. One of the characters describes the sensation: "It's as though suddenly you are down close looking at the workings of your own body, watching your own blood run and listening to the sound of your heart beating it through" (*Crossed*, 119). The same could be said of the prose that, although simple in its sentence structure, flows more gracefully and beats more steadily than YA fiction often does and deploys more and richer imagery. The lyrical prose is sometimes in tension with the demands of descriptive world building that science fiction and fantasy readers have come to expect—Condie's attempt at technical detail ends up too abstract. However, the poetics is generally strong enough that the metaphor (and all science fiction and fantasy is ultimately metaphor) holds.

The Matched trilogy does not break major ground in its basic plot arcs and setting. It meets the expectations of its target audience. On the other hand, unlike other works in the genre, the dystopian setting has the aura of sociopolitical believability, even with the lack of pyrotechnic world building that likely hurts it with a portion of its readership. However, even if the basic framework may ring familiar, the strong characterization, lyrical prose, and sophisticated layering of theme and imagery combine to make this one of the stronger examples of its kind.

The success of the trilogy also highlights the fact that the sci-fi/fantasy genre is still an effective avenue for Mormon writers in interfacing with the world at large. The existential and philosophical underpinnings of Mormonism and those found in science fiction often mesh—constraint versus freedom, order versus agency, isolation versus community, family versus society. Such themes find a robust representation in Condie's series. While these motifs are not peculiar to Mormons alone,

Mormon perspectives on them often are, and this trilogy effectively clothes a distinctive Mormon worldview in an extended metaphor that can be universally understood.

That said, the delights of Condie's trilogy are, perhaps, even greater for the LDS reader in terms of theme and setting—which feel familiar throughout but also build to the conclusion of the third book, in which there is a moment that resonates not only back through the story but also deep into Mormon cultural memory.

William Morris is the founder of the Mormon literature and culture blog *A Motley Vision* (www.motleyvision.org) and the co-editor of the anthology *Monsters & Mormons*. His creative work has appeared in *Irreantum* and *Dialogue*.

Michael G. Reed. *Banishing the Cross:
The Emergence of a Mormon Taboo.*
Independence, Mo.: John Whitmer Books, 2012.

Reviewed by Alonzo L. Gaskill

This first book by Michael G. Reed is a revamp of his 2009 master's thesis, "The Development of the LDS Church's Attitude toward the Cross" (California State University, Sacramento). In this current work, Reed beefs up his text with some additional sources and graphics, and he adds a chapter on the cross as a symbol in the Strangite and Community of Christ (RLDS) traditions.

The book's aim is to delineate the place of the cross as a symbol in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and in the two aforementioned Restoration churches, though the book largely focuses on the Utah Church's position. The text does offer a brief history of the cross in the ancient Christian Church, though it does so largely to compare ancient Christians' attitudes toward that symbol with the attitudes found in branches of the restored gospel.

What Reed shows, rather convincingly, is that Mormonism has not always been uncomfortable utilizing the cross as one of its symbols (67–85). He establishes that Latter-day Saints (prior to the mid-twentieth century) employed that most common of Christian symbols in architecture, as jewelry, on headstones and in funeral floral arrangements, as the Church's registered branding iron for cattle, and even on the spine of certain editions of the Doctrine and Covenants (for example, the 1852 European edition). Reed points out that in 1916, the Church approached the Salt Lake City council for permission to erect a very large concrete and steel cross on Ensign Peak—a monument so large that it would be visible from anywhere in the valley. Only one year later, the Church placed a cross-shaped monument in Emigration Canyon to mark the spot where Brigham Young said, "This is the right place" (86–101). Citing a series of examples and excerpts from the historical record, Reed

establishes that the prevalent contemporary LDS attitude toward the cross as taboo largely grew out of hostilities between Utah Catholics and Latter-day Saints and did not become institutionalized in the Church until the administration of President David O. McKay (102–22). It might be noted here that Latter-day Saints are not expressly forbidden from employing the cross in personal devotions or in religious art or jewelry. Thus, Reed's use of the words "banished" and "taboo" may be a little too strong. That being said, I suspect the terms were utilized in order to make a provocative title, not because of their historical propriety.

As with any book, this one has its weaknesses. Beyond a handful of typos sprinkled throughout the text, there are a number of redundancies. For example, several times Reed offers the exact same list as to why ancient Christians avoided the cross (see 1, 150, 157). He also repeats a quote by Apostle Moses Thatcher twice in ten pages, though one of them appears in a footnote (see 93, 103). These and other similar problems are merely cosmetic, though they appear frequently enough that they bear mentioning.

Perhaps the most problematic part of *Banishing the Cross* is the book's third chapter, "Mormon Magic, Freemasonry, and the Cross" (37–60). In this section, Reed argues that Joseph and the early Saints were comfortable with using the cross as a symbol *because* they were heavily into folk magic and Freemasonry. The chapter is essentially a reiteration of other works on this same theme, including D. Michael Quinn's *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*. However, the problem is not so much that Reed largely rehearses the research of others. Rather, the difficulty is that the chapter is heavily conjectural. In approximately seventeen pages of printed text, Reed offers at least that many conjectural conclusions (for example, "almost certainly," "perhaps," "one wonders whether," "it is reasonable to assume," it is "possible" or "likely" that, it "could be posited" that, and so forth). The chapter presents evidence that crosses were used in nineteenth century Masonry and by some practitioners of folk magic during that same era. But it does not present evidence for its claim that Joseph introduced the cross as a symbol into Mormonism *because* of these influences. Reed fails to provide substantiation that Joseph introduced the symbolic cross into the restored Church. The chapter is not only speculative in its conclusions, but it also overlooks the point that Joseph never used the cross as a symbol in his public discourse or liturgical rites. In the one discourse we have in which Joseph refers to the cross as a symbol, the Prophet seems to speak

somewhat condescendingly of it.¹ Thus, whether Reed is right or wrong in his conjecture, he does not make a convincing argument for his claim that the early LDS comfort with the symbol of the cross was primarily due to Joseph's comfort with folk magic or Masonry.

That being said, the majority of the book is well reasoned and well supported. Though a fairly light read, the book is interesting and engaging—and it is, in many ways, a significant contribution to the historical record. Reed sets straight several misconceptions about the place of the cross as a symbol in the restored gospel, while inviting the reader on a pictorial journey through a transitional period in LDS Church history.

Alonzo L. Gaskill is Associate Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University. He received his master's degree in theology and his PhD in biblical studies and is the author of *Sacred Symbols: Finding Meaning in Rites, Rituals, and Ordinances* (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2011).

1. See Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1991), 239.

Jenifer Nii. *Suffrage*. Directed by Cheryl Ann Cluff.

Salt Lake City, Plan-B Theatre Company,
Rose Wagner Performing Arts Center, April 2013.

Reviewed by Melissa Leilani Larson

Jenifer Nii's new and original play *Suffrage*, set in 1880s territorial Utah, is the story of Frances (played by April Fossen) and Ruth (played by Sarah Young), two plural wives in a household under siege by the federal government. Their husband, Benjamin, is in prison awaiting trial, and his five wives and numerous children must find ways to make ends meet. Frances is stalwart and traditional, loving her sister wives' children as she does her own and thinking constantly of her dear husband and his welfare. Considerably younger, Ruth is a firecracker of high ideals and modern thought, getting deeply involved in Utah's suffrage movement.

In Frances and Ruth is found a bastion of belief, despite their contrasting personalities. Theirs is a bare, solid faith that makes an unfamiliar family structure comprehensible to modern audiences. There is nothing odd or off-putting in Nii's depiction of these women and their way of life. The play does not condemn or commend polygamy; it simply portrays it. Frances and Ruth work to feed themselves and their family; they struggle to raise and discipline their children; they defend and practice their faith.

Frances and Ruth are the only visible characters in the play. They are an unlikely pair, and Nii skillfully writes subtle tensions into their interactions, such as having them refer to each other more by the title "sister" than by name. Despite their differences, they are incredibly devoted to each other. More than anything, that is what the play is about: a family unit surviving as best its members know how, despite looming opposition.

The production of the play I attended was successful on a number of levels. One was the effective choice to position Frances as a potential mother figure for Ruth, allowing the audience to be educated alongside her. Another was Nii's elegant dialogue, lean and lovely and carefully

constructed. Her words, well chosen and never wasted, instantly transported the audience to the Utah of 1887. Part of that sense of transportation was due to Phil Lowe's fine costumes. He designed them to be neat and cared for, though on the verge of fraying—just as the clothing would have been in those austere times. Randy Rasmussen's sparse scenic design spanned the bridge between pioneer and modern Utah. A dramatically frozen swirl of silver mesh far upstage gave the play a contemporary current and also a strong sense of movement, particularly when struck by Jesse Portillo's simple and warm lighting.

The performances of the two actresses were fine and fascinating. Sarah Young as Ruth was appropriately brash and naive, frustrating yet admirable in her passions. Sarah Fossen's performance was a *tour de force*; she captured the essence of Frances, who is a mother figure and, to an extent, a martyr figure. Fossen came across as subtle and strong, converging seamlessly with the subtlety and strength written into her character.

Director and sound designer Cheryl Ann Cluff did a wonderful job bringing all the pieces of the production together into a cohesive and moving whole. Thankfully, there was no overblown concept to get in the way of the affecting story. Cluff's direction was as simple and clear as the play itself, highlighting the absorbing characters rather than any agenda, and aptly applying Fossen and Young to the task of bringing these women to life. In less skilled hands, the play could have easily been an exercise in bashing or preaching.

This premier of *Suffrage* was about people rather than politics, and that was why it succeeded. The play is an important piece of Utah theatre, one of the best to ever touch on the difficult topic of polygamy. It deserves to be embraced and studied by Mormons who need a better understanding—a human understanding—of this enigmatic principle.

Melissa Leilani Larson holds a BA in English emphasizing creative writing from Brigham Young University and an MFA from the Iowa Playwrights Workshop. She is an award-winning playwright and screenwriter, who has been commissioned to adapt *Pride and Prejudice* for the stage; her adaptation will premiere on Brigham Young University's Pardoe stage in March 2014.

The Viper on the Hearth, updated edition by Terryl L. Givens (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Terryl Givens's classic study on Mormon literature entitled *The Viper on the Hearth* is known as one of the most in-depth literary studies of anti-Mormon texts. Givens himself calls this a look at "the long and tumultuous relationship between Mormonism and American society" (5). This updated edition brings the study up to the present by adding consideration of the public media and cultural shifts of the last sixteen years.

The first part of this book, "Mormonism, Politics, and History," gives a basic history of Mormonism and puts it in context of the culture and religions of the United States. In doing this, Givens answers many complex questions about the Church's place in society, bringing those questions and answers up to recent events. Part two, "Mormonism and Fiction," shows how Mormons have been represented—generally negatively—in literature and popular culture since the founding of the religion. This part contains most of the updates in this new edition, the most significant changes being found in the final chapter.

Those looking for Givens's signature sharp and insightful analysis, particularly of recent media events, should not be disappointed, although the book does not give an in-depth treatment of the recent "Mormon Moment," since the wave of media attention surrounding HBO's *Big Love*, John Krakauer's book *Under the Banner of Heaven*, the Broadway musical *The Book of Mormon*, and Mitt Romney's two presidential bids cannot be covered fully in a volume of this breadth. Still, this book comes highly recommended. Its updated information will be valuable, if not essential, for all students of Mormon literature and arts.

—Mickell Summerhays

Shifting Borders and a Tattered Passport: Intellectual Journeys of a Mormon Academic, by Armand L. Mauss (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2012).

"When the intellectual history of late-twentieth-century Mormonism is written," begins Richard Bushman in the foreword to this memoir, "Armand Mauss will occupy a preeminent position" (ix). For this reason alone, Mauss's reminiscences should be of interest to any serious student of Mormonism.

Mauss takes his title from the following quote by Neal A. Maxwell: "The LDS scholar has his citizenship in the Kingdom, but carries his passport into the professional world—not the other way around." But Mauss's observation that the borders have shifted over time and his passport is tattered reminds us that travel between the Church and the world is rarely a pleasure trip, especially for those who make the commute frequently. "Not only has the intellectual establishment in Athens sometimes seemed wary of accepting my passport when I have entered as a scholar in religious (especially Mormon) studies," Mauss observes, "but I have often found suspicion about the authenticity of my passport even when I have tried to negotiate it in Jerusalem itself—in the Mormon ecclesiastical kingdom" (1).

Mauss's memoir is a fascinating view of a consequential career, but it is much more. It is also a perceptive and personal accounting of how devotion to a discipline and commitment to a religious tradition can intersect in ways that produce benefits for both the academy and the faith community. His work in sociology enabled him to see how the LDS Church adjusted its degree of tension with the surrounding society in order to both survive and yet remain distinctive. His insight was new to his discipline and has shaped the way sociologists now

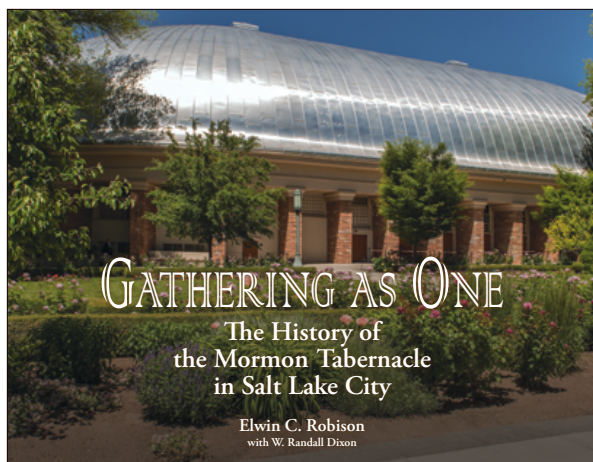
view religious movements. It also led to Mauss's influential *The Angel and the Beehive*, which offered a new lens through which Mormons could view their own history, particularly twentieth-century Mormonism, a period most Latter-day Saints had inhabited without really examining in any depth.

The first chapter is titled "Not a Boring Life," and details of that life include growing up in the depression and war years; a mission to New England that included seven-month stretches of proselytizing with "no purse or scrip," referred to by mission president S. Dilworth Young as "country tracting"; a postmission stint in Japan, where his father was mission president, where Armand studied at a Jesuit university and worked at an army intelligence agency, and where he met Ruth Hathaway, who became his wife and the mother of their eight children; his perseverance in pursuing graduate studies over many years while teaching at a high school and a community college; and the opportunities that led to a long and productive career in academia.

The bulk of the book, however, is devoted to the challenges of his chosen discipline (including the challenges

some sociological theories posed for his faith) and to his involvement in Mormon studies, which was put on the back burner until he had earned tenure and a full professorship. Once free to study the sociology of religion, he found himself near the epicenter of many important developments in Mormonism. Mauss's interest in the race issue, his theory of how religions walk the tightrope between retrenchment and assimilation, his long involvement with *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, his association with BYU Studies as both an Academy member and a book reviewer, his participation in Claremont Graduate University's foray into Mormon studies, and his view of Mormonism from an academic post outside of Utah all provide a framework that has enabled him to study LDS history and culture in the latter half of the twentieth century from a unique vantage point. This memoir, if anything, is a personal and professional view of the LDS Church during a time of great growth and transition. As such, it should be a valuable addition to the library of anyone interested in Mormon studies.

—Roger Terry



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Discover the history of the beloved Salt Lake Tabernacle in this new book from BYU Press. Like no other book before it, this beautiful volume tells the story of this striking building through hundreds of photographs. Learn how the Kirtland and Nauvoo Temples were predecessors for the Tabernacle and that, in Utah, Brigham Young wanted to separate the functions of the temple and the meeting hall.

The unique design was the inspiration of Brigham Young and realized by Henry Grow and Truman Angell. At the Tabernacle's completion in 1867, it held the North American record for the widest unsupported interior space. It is a wonder that the pioneers could build such an avant-garde building with volunteer labor and with only local materials and tools they carted across the plains.

Gathering as One includes the history of the organ and alterations and upgrades to the building. Learn about the building's hidden treasures, including a tiny stairway that led to a hatch on the roof that gave people a good view over the growing city. As the place of LDS general conference from 1867 to 1999 and home of the world-famous choir, the Tabernacle has become an icon for the Mormon people.

The author, Elwin C. Robison, is an architectural historian and author of *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (BYU Press, 1997).