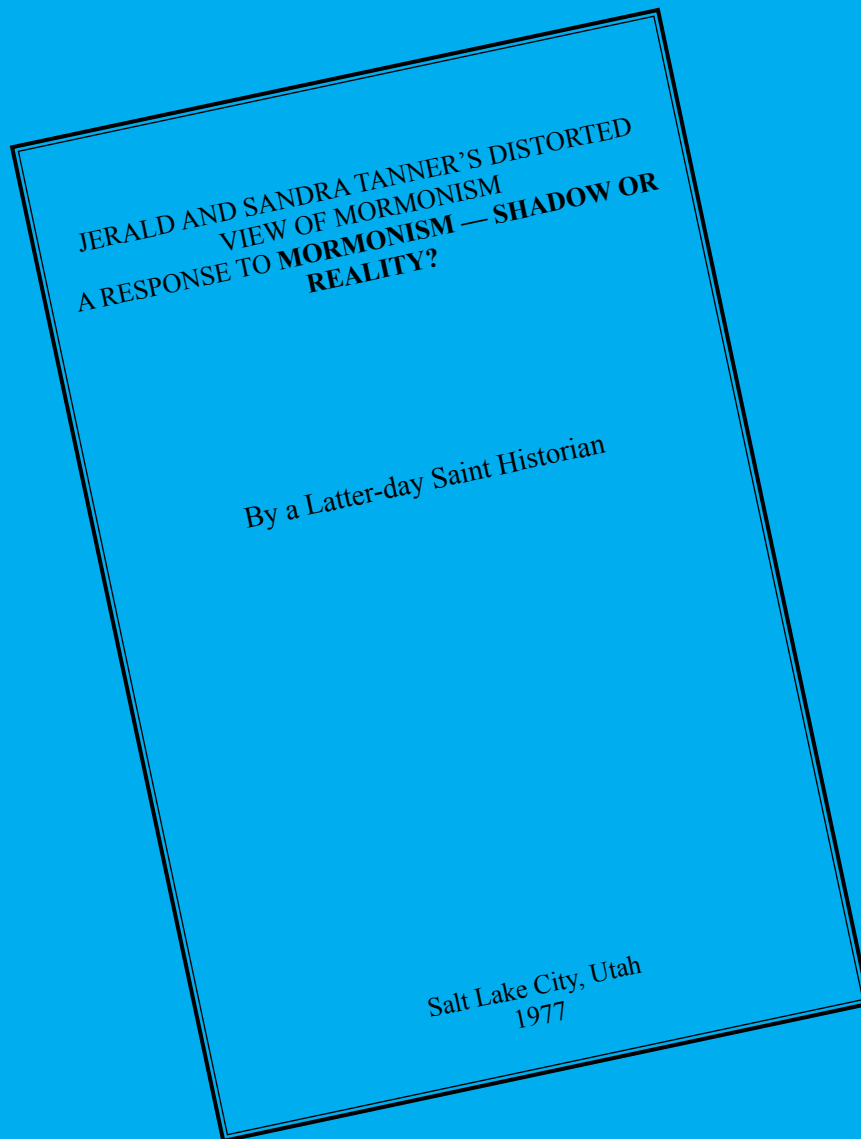


ANSWERING DR. CLANDESTINE

**A Response to the Anonymous
LDS Historian**



Enlarged
Edition

By Jerald and Sandra Tanner

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February 1978

Enlarged in November 1978

Includes an Article by Wesley P. Walters

**Utah Lighthouse Ministry
www.utlm.org**



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Answering Dr. Clandestine: A Response to the Anonymous LDS Historian

The following is written in reply to the pamphlet, *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* by a Latter-day Saint Historian.

The first thing that we notice concerning this rebuttal to *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* is that it is written anonymously. Now in view of the serious charges which the writer makes we feel that he should come forth and identify himself. He should not only reveal who he is, but he should be willing to meet us in a public debate. After all, in a revelation given by Joseph Smith the Mormon people are exhorted to “confound your enemies; call upon them to meet you both in public and in private; and inasmuch as ye are faithful their shame shall be made manifest” (*Doctrine and Covenants*, 71:7).

“FROM AMBUSH”

We feel that there are probably times when a person is justified in remaining anonymous. In the present situation, however, we can see no excuse for the author to keep his identity hidden from the public. We do not believe that most Mormons would approve of such a cowardly method of attack. In 1903, the noted Mormon historian B. H. Roberts publicly condemned an adversary for remaining anonymous:

Editor *Salt Lake Tribune*: — . . . when the challenge was accepted, the courtesy of debate would certainly require that the acceptance of the challenge should be *otherwise than from ambush*. I mean that I am entitled to know the name of my opponent, that I may judge somewhat of his character and standing. And why should the gentleman remain in cog? Is he ashamed to be known as engaging in such a discussion? Or is it a precaution he takes so that if his argument does not rise to the expectation of his friends, he may remain unknown behind the mystery of a single initial. If the first supposition be true, it is a difficulty he could easily have avoided; if the second suggestion be the true reason for his remaining unknown he is to be commended for his cunning. I need say nothing of his courage. (*Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, Salt Lake City, 1907, vol. 1, page 328)

Like B. H. Roberts, we feel that any challenge to our work “should be otherwise than from ambush.” Is the author of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* “ashamed to be known as engaging in such a discussion? Or is it a precaution he takes so that if his argument does not rise to the expectation of his friends, he may remain unknown . . .”

A COVER-UP

If the reader will look carefully at the front of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, he will find that more than the name of the author is missing. A careful examination shows that no publisher is given. This is certainly a very strange pamphlet! It is supposed to be a reproduction of a letter, yet if the reader will look at page one he will find that the name of the person who received the letter has been deleted. Moreover, the name of the writer has likewise been deleted on page 63. Further examination of the Introduction reveals that the booklet “has not been copyrighted, so that it can be reproduced and distributed freely by others, if they feel that the contents have value.” While this outwardly seems like a generous offer, the question arises as to whether this is another attempt to cover-up the identity of the author. A name would have to be given to obtain a copyright.

Although these details are interesting, when we try to trace the source of the pamphlet we find a cover-up that reminds us of the Watergate episode. (The reader will remember that a great deal of literature was printed anonymously by some of Nixon's supporters. In one case a bogus letter was published which destroyed the candidacy of Senator Edmund Muskie. In the Senate investigation of Watergate and the subsequent investigation of the CIA, the public became aware of the methods used by undercover agents. We learned of clandestine meetings where material or money changed hands, of agents working under assumed names and of post office boxes being rented to carry on ultra-secret operations. Some of those involved in this work talked of “deniability”—i.e., the idea that the “enemy” must not be able to trace back the true source of an operation directed against him.)

When we tried to trace the source of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, we found that the whole matter had all the earmarks of an intelligence operation mounted by the CIA or the KGB. “Deniability” seemed to be the name of the game.

It was obvious that Zion Bookstore was the distributor of the booklet. The name of the store might suggest that it is owned by the Church, but it is actually owned by Sam Weller. Although Mr. Weller has sold copies of our books for years, he has always been careful to keep them in such a secluded place that very few people find them. Wallace Turner made this observation in 1966:

There is no formal index of books which Mormons should not read. But there are books which every Mormon knows he should stay away from.

One of these is a fascinating biography of Joseph Smith called *No Man Knows My History*. . . . A copy was requested at the non-Mormon Zion's Bookstore in Salt Lake City. It was brought out from under the counter and put in a bag. The action was nearly surreptitious, but not so close as to permit certainty. (*The Mormon Establishment*, Boston, 1966, page 10)

However this may be, when we asked Mr. Weller where he was getting copies of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, he replied that he did not know! He said that it was all a very secret operation. He claimed that he had received a letter giving details of how he could handle the pamphlet, but that the writer was not identified. When we asked Mr. Weller to show us the letter, he replied that he would not because it was his own "personal property."

It seemed logical to us that he must pay someone for the pamphlets, but when we asked him about the matter he replied that he had received them absolutely FREE and that he could use any money he made to make a reprint. (Later he told us that he was committed to make a reprint.) Mr. Weller indicated that he had received 1,800 free copies of the pamphlet. We reasoned that this must represent a large amount of money, and since it is very unlikely that the CIA would have an interest in discrediting our work we felt that the pamphlets must have been donated by an organization or individual who had a great deal of money to spend.

So far we have been unable to trace exactly how Zion Bookstore received the pamphlets. According to one report, the books were first mailed anonymously to a post office box. From there they were transported to a publishing company near Redwood Road and were subsequently picked up by an employee from Zion Bookstore. We talked with Wilfrid Clark, who works for Sam Weller. Mr. Clark maintained that he did not know anything about a publishing company picking up the books from a post office box. He said that all he knew about the matter was that Zion Bookstore received an anonymous letter containing a key to a room in a self-storage company on Redwood Road. He claimed that he personally went to the company and picked up the booklets.

THE CHURCH'S FINGERPRINTS

Jesus once said: "For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known" (Luke 12:2). This statement becomes very significant in the light of developments with regard to this cover-up.

As we followed the tracks of this conspiracy to destroy our work, we found that they led right into the Mormon Church Office Building in Salt Lake City. Actually, it was more than a year ago when we first heard that something was afoot. We had a visit with a young Mormon singer who had some questions regarding Church history. He told us he had an appointment with a woman at the Church Office Building who claimed she had been part of a committee which was organized to evaluate our research. The committee worked on our material until they received an order from the Prophet—i.e., the President of the Church—that they were to desist from the project. We were unable to learn anything more about this purported committee, but one of the top Mormon historians did tell us in a telephone conversation in December 1976 that a manuscript had been prepared to refute the allegations contained in our work. He was not sure if the Church would actually publish it, but the writing had been done.

One of the major clues which led to the discovery of the source of the pamphlet *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* was an unpublished thesis by Richard Stephen Marshall. Mr. Marshall had interviewed us for the paper, "The New Mormon History," but we were not aware he had completed it until a friend obtained a copy. We were absolutely amazed at its contents. Three of the top historians in the Mormon Church are cited as making very candid statements concerning our work and other matters relating to the history of the Church. These three men are all assigned to write volumes in the Church's new "sixteen-volume sesquicentennial history of the Latter-day Saints." Two of them subsequently found themselves in trouble with the Church and were called in to answer for the statements attributed to them. At any rate, one of these historians really "spilled the beans" when he told that the Mormon Church Historical Department had assigned a scholar to answer our work and that his manuscript would probably have to be published anonymously. We cite the following from Mr. Marshall's paper:

Recent years have seen the emergence of a new kind of anti-Mormon literature which uses Mormon historical records (history has long been used to attack the Church) to try to show that the Church was more human than divine. This new kind of literature is best typified by Jerald and Sandra Tanner and their Modern Microfilm Publishing Company located in Salt Lake City. They have been prolific since 1961 and have, at present, a world-wide reputation. This writer encountered materials published by them while living in Australia several years ago. Max Parkin, of the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah, calls them "publishers extraordinary," and notes that one of their most recent volumes, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* is the finest, most comprehensive and hard-hitting anti-Mormon book in history.

A recent leaflet printed by the Tanners entitled *20,000 Books Met With Silence* notes the lack of official response from the Church to *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* . . .

Many prominent Mormons have expressed a high regard for the work the Tanners have done. . . . T. Edgar Lyon, a Mormon historian and long-time teacher at the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah, told this writer he thought the Church should subsidize the Tanners, although he said it tongue-in cheek.

Reed Durham using virtually the same words as Lyon said that he thought the Church should subsidize the Tanners because of all the historical research they do for it. He teaches a class at the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah on the problems of Mormon history called "Special Studies in Mormon History." He uses the Tanner's book, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* as the text for the class. Formerly he would purchase copies of the book in quantity from Modern Microfilm through the Institute. Because it did not look very good for the Institute to be purchasing quantities of an anti-Mormon work he now encourages his students to go down to Modern Microfilm (1350 South West Temple, Salt Lake City,) and buy the book on their own.

Durham said he would like to write a book answering the accusations of the Tanners point by point. To do so, however, would require *certain admissions that Mormon history is not exactly as the Church has taught it was*, that there were things taught and practiced in the nineteenth century of which the general Church membership is unaware. He said that *the Church is not ready to admit that yet*. He also said that due to the large number of letters the Church Historian's Office is receiving asking for answers to the things the Tanners have published, a certain scholar (name deliberately withheld) was *appointed to write a general answer to the Tanners* including advice on how

to read anti-Mormon literature. This unnamed person solicited the help of Reed Durham on the project. The work is finished but *its publication is delayed, according to what Leonard Arrington told Durham*, because they cannot decide how or where to publish it. Because the article is an open and honest approach to the problem, although it by no means answers all of the questions raised by the Tanners, it will *probably be published anonymously*, to avoid any difficulties which could result were such an article connected with an official Church agency. (“The New Mormon History,” by Richard Stephen Marshall, A Senior Honors Project Summary, University of Utah, May 1, 1977, pages 57, 61 and 62)

The fact that an anonymous rebuttal should appear just seven months from the time Mr. Marshall wrote his paper seems like more than just a coincidence.

TRACKING THE MYSTERIOUS POST HOC ERGO PROPTER HOC

Unfortunately, Mr. Marshall’s paper does not give the name of the author, referring to him only as “a certain scholar (name deliberately withheld) . . .” We did, however, remember our telephone conversation with the Mormon scholar (see above) and thought that he might have told us that D. Michael Quinn was the historian assigned to write the rebuttal. We began to do research in Dr. Quinn’s writings, but did not run into anything of any real significance until we examined his M.A. thesis, “Organizational Development and Social Origin’s of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: A Prosopographical Study,” Department of History, University of Utah, 1973. On page 162 of Dr. Quinn’s thesis we found these words: “. . . the extent of preexisting family relationships . . . should not be construed into a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy of logic.” The words *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, seemed strangely familiar, and when we turn back to page 20 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, we discovered this statement: “. . . if one insists on the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* analysis . . .” Later we found the words *post hoc ergo propter hoc* in Quinn’s dissertation written at Yale University.

According to the dictionary the Latin words *post ero propter hoc* mean “after this, therefore because of it (a formula designating an error of logic: taking for a cause something merely earlier in time).” Now, while these Latin words may have their place in a thesis or dissertation, we feel that their only use in an ordinary publication would be to impress the reader with the author’s knowledge. Since most people do not understand their meaning, they are certainly out of place in *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*. In any case, the use of these words in all three documents aroused our interest to do more study. We found that Dr. Quinn often uses foreign words in his writings. For instance, he uses the words *sine qua non* in an article published in *BYU Studies*, Winter 1976, page 191. These same words are found in his dissertation for Yale University (page 197). Now, on page 32 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of, Mormonism*, we read of “the earliest *sine qua non* of Mormonism.”

We found a number of things in Dr. Quinn’s thesis which led us to believe that he was the author of the rebuttal. We thought that in light of the evidence he would surely confess his involvement. To our great surprise, however, he emphatically denied any connection with it. We were somewhat taken back by his firm and unyielding denial, and therefore decided to do further research. We spent some time examining Quinn’s

dissertation written at Yale University, a copy of which is found at the University of Utah Library. The evidence against Quinn seemed to increase. For instance, in his dissertation we find this statement: “An early defector from Mormonism, Ezra Booth, wrote in 1831 . . .” (“The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Dennis Michael Quinn, Yale University, May 1976, page 58)

In the rebuttal (page 16) we read: “In 1831 a Mormon defector Ezra Booth wrote . . .” This might not be too significant by itself, but when we turn to the footnote for this information (page 17) we read:

¹²Letter to Ezra Booth in *OhioStar*, 8 December 1831, and letter of William W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 12 August 1861, Church Archives.

Now, if we turn back to the dissertation we find these same documents listed in footnotes 38 and 39 on page 58:

³⁸Letter of Ezra Booth in *Ohio Star*, December 8, 1831.

³⁹Letter of William W. Phelps to Brigham Young, August 10, 1861, Church Archives.

The reader will note that the wording is almost identical. It is true that in the rebuttal the author gives the day before the month—e.g., “8 December 1831”—whereas it is given in the dissertation as “December 8, 1831.” This presents no real problem, however, because in Quinn’s article in the *BYU Studies*, Winter 1976, he consistently gives the day before the month.

One thing that really tended to convince us that Michael Quinn wrote *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism* was the use of an extremely rare document from Yale University on page 14 of the pamphlet:

. . . the Tanners . . . could have read the versified, anti-Mormon manuscript by Olney, dated July 2, 1842:

As a company is now a forming / In to the wilderness to go / As far west as the Rocky mountains. . . . If this was not the secret whispering / Amongst certain ones of the Church of L. D. S. / And could be easily proven if man could speak.

The source for this quotation is noted as: “Oliver H. Olney Papers, Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.”

If we examine the footnotes in the rebuttal we find that this is the only unpublished manuscript cited which is located outside of Utah. Is it just a coincidence that Michael Quinn went to the same University where this very unusual document is located? When we read Dr. Quinn’s dissertation from Yale University we found that he actually cited Olney’s manuscript on page 88:

. . . Oliver Olney, wrote a description in doggeral verse . . . on April 16, 1842:

I look at the poor / I se them oprest / I look at the widows / I se them rejected / I look at the orfan / I se him neglected / I look at the actual saints / That is adoin the will of God / I se them neglected . . .

In spite of Michael Quinn’s emphatic denials, much circumstantial evidence points to him as the author of the rebuttal. From what we can learn, Dr. Quinn seems to be a

very secretive man, and since the whole operation was carried out in such a clandestine manner, we were not surprised to learn that Quinn has served as a “Special Agent, U.S. Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C. and Munich, Germany, 1968–1971” (“Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy . . .,” page 311). It is interesting to note that on page 6 of the rebuttal we find a defense of “*secrecy* in Mormonism.”

STONEWALLING

After examining Dr. Quinn’s writings, we were rather certain that he wrote the rebuttal. Still, we did not want to be too hasty in rushing into print. His vigorous denials were still ringing in our ears, and we felt that it was unfair to accuse a man of such an act unless we had very good evidence. Michael Marquardt, who was also very interested in the whole affair, helped us by making many phone calls and inquiries. We talked with quite a number of Mormon historians and they all denied any knowledge of the authorship of the rebuttal.

The reader will remember that Richard Steven Marshall’s paper gave information that indicated Leonard Arrington, Mormon Church Historian, was involved in the project even before May 1, 1977. We had a number of phone conversations with Dr. Arrington, and in every conversation he emphatically declared he did not know who the author of the rebuttal was and had absolutely no foreknowledge of the matter.

Everywhere we turned we met with the same response—an absolute stonewall. We knew that we had circumstantial evidence that Quinn was the author and that the project came through the Mormon Church Historical Department, but since everyone contacted denied the accusation our confidence was somewhat shaken. Then an unbelievable thing happened: while searching through a drawer for some samples of typewritten material we came upon a handwritten note we had made a year ago concerning the phone conversation we had with the Mormon scholar. Our note, written on or before December 12, 1976, confirmed that the author was “Michael Quin[n],” and that the work was written “For Historians Office.” The note also indicated it was a “50 page paper” and that the Church “May not publish it.” The reader will notice that the printed rebuttal has 63 pages of typewritten material reduced down, but some of these pages must have been added after December 1976, because a footnote on page 58 refers to the *BYU Studies* for Spring 1977.

COVER-UP BREAKS DOWN

The handwritten note also contained what proved to be a very significant item—i.e., a statement that a man by the name of “David Mayfield” said the paper “had been done.” We decided to call Mr. Mayfield and ask him concerning the matter. After all the “stonewalling” we had encountered we really expected to learn very little from Mr. Mayfield. To our great surprise, however, he turned out to be very honest about the matter.

Our first question to Mr. Mayfield was whether he worked for the Mormon Historical Department. He replied that he had worked there but was not working there at the present time. Then we asked him if he had seen Michael Quinn’s paper in the typed form before it was published as *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*. After hesitating slightly, he replied: “Yes.” Then we asked if he was sure that it was the typed copy he had seen. The reply: “Yes.” The third question we asked was whether it was about a year

ago when he saw it. Mr. Mayfield also replied “yes” to that question. Then he began to get uneasy and asked to whom he was speaking. (He apparently thought he was talking to a Mormon who had been initiated into the secret.) Needless to say, he was not too happy when he learned who it was, although he was still very polite. He went on to say that he was told not to reveal the identity of the author because it was supposed to be an anonymous publication. We reminded him, however, that in his answer to an earlier question, he had already revealed the identity of the author. He had replied “yes” to the question of whether he had seen the typed copy of Michael Quinn’s paper before it was published.

As soon as we had terminated the conversation with Mr. Mayfield, we called Dr. Arrington, Church Historian, and asked him if he was still going to stand by his story in the light of David Mayfield’s admission. He emphatically replied that he knew absolutely nothing about the project and that the charges were completely untrue. Later that day Dr. Arrington called us and said he had checked with Mayfield, and that Mayfield told him he had made a mistake; it was another document that he had seen. We, of course, could hardly believe that Mr. Mayfield could have made such a serious mistake. In light of the handwritten note and the telephone conversation confirming the note, we could only believe that the Historical Department was behind the whole project. Nevertheless, Dr. Arrington continued to deny the whole matter. Later we called David Mayfield and asked him if he had told Dr. Arrington that he had made a mistake about the document. Mr. Mayfield did not support Dr. Arrington; he simply replied that he was “not going to comment” about the matter.

With this new evidence in hand, we called Michael Quinn. The reader will remember that Dr. Quinn had strongly denied the accusation when we first called him. This conversation was entirely different from the first. When we asked him if he was the author of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, he replied that he would “neither affirm nor deny” the allegation. He explained that only a small number of Mormon historians were capable of writing the rebuttal. To affirm or deny the allegation would help us to limit the field, and since the author wished to remain anonymous he would not help us in any way. This, of course, was a long step from his original position. He had moved from an absolute *no* to the compromised position that he would “neither affirm nor deny” authorship. Now, if he had taken the position of refusing to affirm or deny at the first, he would have been in far better shape. As it is, Dr. Quinn has put himself in a very embarrassing position.

When we asked him what he thought of the rebuttal, he replied that he thought it was “well done.” We told Dr. Quinn that we felt this was a very serious matter and that we should meet together and thoroughly discuss it. He declined to meet with us and claimed that he felt like the movie star who said she didn’t care what reporters said about her as long as they spelled her name right. On January 23, 1978, we had another telephone conversation with Dr. Quinn. We asked him if he would meet us in public debate over the issue. He replied that he would “not meet in public debate,” and said that he had “no desire” to discuss the matter anymore.

One question arises concerning the author of the rebuttal—i.e., is he a paid employee of the Church or is he only an historian who is interested in his religion? A man who is paid by the Church might find it harder to be objective. The author only says that he is “a professionally trained historian who has studied Mormon history and theology at some length.” When we look at Michael Quinn’s record we find that before he was

a “Special Agent, U. S. Military Intelligence, he served on a mission for the Church. The *Utah Historical Quarterly*, for Winter 1973, page 70, informs us that Dr. Quinn has served as “a historical assistant with the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” The *Ensign* for August 1977, page 37, says that D. Michael Quinn is “an assistant professor of history at Brigham Young University.” Brigham Young University is, of course, owned by the Church. At the present time Dr. Quinn is on a special assignment to do some writing for Brigham Young University. While Dr. Quinn’s employment by the Church might not have a serious effect on his work, we feel that this fact should at least be made known.

Although Dr. Quinn has almost nothing good to say about us, we will not repay in kind. We feel that he is probably one of the best historians in the Mormon Church. His dissertation written for Yale University is a masterpiece. He has written excellent articles in *BYU Studies*, the *Journal of Mormon History* and the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. It is hard, however, to equate these works with the booklet *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*.

On page 5 of his thesis written for the University of Utah, he stated: “This study is intended as a secular approach to the Mormon hierarchy, rather than a faith-promoting apologia or an iconoclastic polemic. Nevertheless, the inevitably religious environment of this group makes the question of my bias relevant. Although I consider myself to be a believing and loyal member of the LDS Church, I have sought in the present study to submerge personal biases and to be guided strictly by the weight of evidence in the presentation of data and interpretation.” We feel that Dr. Quinn has succeeded in submerging his “personal biases” in the writings to which he has attached his name and that he has made many important discoveries. Perhaps, however, Dr. Quinn has “submerged” his “biases” for too long and when he finally wrote the anonymous rebuttal they all had to come to the surface. In any case, we feel that some of the statements and information contained in Quinn’s earlier writings can be used to refute the pamphlet *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*.

In proposing D. Michael Quinn as the author of the rebuttal, we must give him credit for providing “deniability” for both himself and the Historical Department. His experience as a “Special Agent in U.S. Military Intelligence” probably helped him a great deal in this work. At any rate, in the seventy footnotes included in the pamphlet, Dr. Quinn never mentions any of his previous writings. This is certainly not Quinn’s normal pattern. For instance, in an article published in *BYU Studies*, Winter 1976, Quinn’s third footnote refers to an article which he previously wrote. In the second footnote found in an article appearing in *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 1, 1974, Quinn refers to another piece which he authored.

The attempt to cover-up the involvement of the Historical Department becomes very obvious when one examines the footnotes. A great many books are cited, but we find only seven references to unpublished manuscripts. Six of these manuscripts are found in university libraries. This leaves only one reference which refers to the Historical Department: “. . . letter of William W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 12 August 1861, Church Archives.” By giving only one reference to the “Church Archives” it is obvious that the author is trying to make tracks away from the Historical Department. Now, since Dr. Quinn has served as “a historical assistant with the Historical Department, and since in all of Quinn’s other writings he refers to many documents in the “Church Archives,” we can only infer that the lack of reference to documents in the

Historical Department is a means of providing “deniability” for the rebuttal.

It is also interesting to note that so far there has been no attempt to distribute the rebuttal through normal Church channels—i.e., the Church’s Deseret Bookstore. This also helps to provide “deniability” for the Church. In a letter written a year ago (January 19, 1977) a spokesman for Deseret Bookstore wrote: “We do not plan a specific written response to the Tanner book. *Perhaps it does not deserve the dignity of a response.*”

Another thing that is rather interesting about the rebuttal is that although the Mormon Historian Leonard Arrington denies any foreknowledge of the rebuttal, he seems to feel that it will be a useful tool in combating our work. A student from BYU, who takes a class which Leonard Arrington teaches there, told us that Dr. Arrington said he had been receiving inquiries about *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* and that one phone call came at 3 o’clock in the morning. Mr. Marshall’s paper (page 62) says that the Historical Department was receiving a “large number of letters” about our book. At any rate, the day that the booklet first appeared for sale at Zion Bookstore, Dr. Arrington was observed giving out copies at BYU, and he is quoted as saying that the Historical Department would now have something to give those who make inquiries about *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* According to the BYU student, Dr. Arrington said he knew the author’s name but would not reveal it.

As far as we can determine the booklets were first distributed at Zion Bookstore on December 20, 1977. Before the month had ended, however, a mission president in Minnesota was distributing the rebuttal. On January 7, 1978, we received a letter which contained this information: “I got my answer a little over a week ago. The Mormon mission president of Bloomington, Minnesota gave me a 63-page booklet entitled *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to Shadow or Reality.*”

When we asked Earl Olson, of the Church Historical Department, if he knew if the rebuttal was being officially distributed by the Church, he replied that he did not know, but he felt that it should be. He claimed not to know who the author was nor to have any foreknowledge of the publication. He also stated that he did not know if it was printed on Church equipment.

A FICTITIOUS LETTER?

Since it is claimed that a committee was set up to examine our work, we think it is possible that there was more than one author involved in the writing of the rebuttal. Although we are convinced that Michael Quinn played the major role, others could have contributed. In our phone conversation with Dr. Quinn, he spoke of the “author or authors” who might have been involved. It is reported that on another occasion Quinn referred to the “men or women” who may have authored the rebuttal. It is interesting to note that a woman was supposed to be on the above mentioned committee.

One Mormon scholar told us he was informed that an answer to anti-Mormon criticism was being prepared by the Church. He was taken into a room where “they picked my brain” for answers to the problems. He admitted that Dr. Quinn was involved in the project but did not identify the others.

The reader may ask: what does it matter whether it was a committee or just one individual who produced the rebuttal? We feel that it makes a great deal of difference. The pamphlet gives the impression that it is just a letter produced by one individual and indicates that much more criticism could easily

be found if the author took the time. This would certainly be a misrepresentation if it was actually a committee of the Church's leading scholars working together to produce the best answer they could come up with. Inasmuch as we are being attacked from ambush we would like to know if we are up against one individual or a team of well-trained marksmen. Since we do not think it fair to give Michael Quinn all the blame for this pamphlet, we have decided to christen the "author or authors" as "DR. CLANDESTINE."

The more we examine this purported letter the more convinced we are that it is a fictitious production—i.e., not a real letter at all. We have already shown that both the name of the author and the name of the person who received the letter are missing. The letter is also undated. It is not impossible, of course, that a person would write a 63-page letter, but it seems quite unlikely, especially since it contains such detailed footnotes. It has more the appearance of a manuscript written for publication.

One thing that makes it very difficult to believe that it is actually a letter is that according to the handwritten note spoken of above, it had been completed by December 12, 1976. David Mayfield verified that he had seen the manuscript about a year ago. Another Mormon historian has now revealed to us that he was allowed the privilege of reading a copy of the manuscript about 13 or 14 months ago. He denied that it was Dr. Arrington who let him read the copy, but he agreed that it was almost inconceivable that Arrington could be unaware of it since he is Church Historian. In any case, he said that it was in the form of a letter, except that the names had been deleted as in the printed version. He thought it was about 57 pages long, about 8 pages being footnotes at the end of the letter. He said that "they" would not tell him whether it was an actual letter or who the author was. Furthermore, he was told that he could not show it to anyone or make a copy. The fact that the manuscript of the rebuttal was seen a year before it appeared in print creates a real dilemma for those who want to believe that it is a real letter. The author mentions "the work of Hugh Nibley, Michael Rhodes, and Eric Olson" on page 58. The footnote refers to an article by Michael Dennis Rhodes which was published in *BYU Studies* 17 (Spring 1977). Unfortunately for the reputation of Dr. Clandestine, that issue of *BYU Studies* was delayed; according to Michael Marquardt, he did not receive his copy until October 19, 1977. In another footnote on page 61, we are referred to an article which was not published in the *Ensign* until "September 1977." The problem, then, is this: if the letter was mailed to the friend before the Historical Department received a copy, and we know that this was prior to December 12, 1976, some of the material which appears in the printed book had to be interpolated. This would not seem to fit with the claim that Dr. Clandestine is a "professionally trained historian" who has "tried to present all evidence and analysis as truthfully and honestly as I can" (pages 62-63).

If, on the other hand, it was not mailed until toward the end of October 1977, when *BYU Studies* came out, this would make about a year's gap between the time the inquiry was made and the letter answered. The first part of the letter talks about a "delay in answering," but since the end of the letter speaks of the "urgency of your own request" we would not expect such a long delay in answering. Then, too, if at least 50 pages had been completed by December 12, 1976, why did it take almost a year to finish the remaining portion?

The most reasonable explanation to all this is that it is not really a letter at all but a manuscript prepared to look like a letter. This interpretation would seem to fit the facts and would free the author(s) from the charge of making interpolations into a letter which had already been mailed. (An author, of course, has a right to make interpolations in his own manuscript.) To accept this theory, however, opens up an entirely different criticism of the work. It purports to be a letter to "a recent convert to Mormonism" who has become "seriously disturbed" after "reading Jerald and Sandra Tanner's work *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?*" The Introduction to the pamphlet seems to imply that the friend was so convinced by the letter that he recommended publication:

As an historian, I have been concerned that a number of faithful Latter-day Saints seem to have been troubled by reading Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* After preparing the following letter for a friend, upon his recommendation I have decided to publish the letter in this form.

Now, if we accept the idea that it is really a manuscript rather than a letter, it puts the whole production into a fictitious setting. The idea that a recent convert was saved from apostasy by this particular letter and that he recommended its publication, then, is not a true representation and gives the reader a "distorted view" of the origin of the rebuttal. The reader will remember that according to Mr. Marshall's paper, a Mormon historian "said that due to the large number of letters the Church Historian's Office is receiving asking for answers to the things the Tanners have published, a certain scholar (name deliberately withheld) was appointed to write a general answer to the Tanners . . ." ("The New Mormon History," page 62). We think that this is probably the true origin of the rebuttal. It is undoubtedly a fictitious letter designed to save new converts from *Mormonism—Shadow, or Reality?* and since a good portion of those who read this book are converts, the pamphlet is written so that they can personally identify with its contents. This seems evident from the following comments which appear on pages 1 and 2:

You seemed almost embarrassed to admit reading a book you regard as anti-Mormon, and you seemed to feel that my first reaction to your letter would be a criticism of your paying any attention to such writings. . . . I cannot be sure whether you have looked at several of the Tanners' publications, or whether the revised 1972 edition of *Shadow-Reality* is the only one you have read. . . . You admit that you have been "seriously disturbed" by what you have read, and you mention some general areas you want me to respond to. You are a recent convert to Mormonism, and I sense that although your experience with anti-Mormon literature of this type has jolted you, that you sincerely want to know how the information in the Tanners' publication(s) fits within the whole framework of Mormonism.

We remember that after the release of certain tapes in the Watergate scandal, President Nixon's press secretary had to get up and admit that previous statements made about the situation had become "inoperative." In the light of the material which we have presented, we feel that the Historical Department of the Church should come forth and proclaim that this rebuttal is now "inoperative." Unless someone comes forth and produces the original signed letter with a date on the top, we cannot help but feel it should be exposed as a fictitious production.

HONEST WORKS ANONYMOUS?

The question as to why the Mormon Church put the rebuttal out anonymously is an intriguing one to say the least. A number of theories could be proposed. For instance, it might be argued that Dr. Clandestine is very humble, that he has a bad reputation or that he is afraid his views will not meet the test of criticism. We feel, however, it is more likely that the Historical Department wanted the writer to remain anonymous for one of two reasons:

One, the Mormon leaders approved of a rebuttal being issued but only if it could be put out in such a way that it could not be traced back to the Church. They did not want to engage in a debate which could lead to any unfavorable publicity for the Church. Also, they did not want to give any respectability to our work by officially endorsing a rebuttal.

Two, the liberals in the Church published the pamphlet, and the elaborate cover-up operations are designed to hide the matter from conservatives like Ezra Taft Benson, who is next in line to be President of the Church. This theory presupposes a serious split between the Historical Department and at least some of the general authorities of the Church. It is supported by a number of interesting facts. For instance, we have previously quoted Mr. Marshall as saying that one Mormon historian “would like to write a book answering the accusations of the Tanners point by point. To do so, however, would require certain admissions that Mormon history is not exactly as the Church has taught it was, that there were things taught and practiced in the nineteenth century of which the general Church membership is unaware. He said the Church is not ready to admit that yet” (“The New Mormon History,” pages 61-62).

Ezra Taft Benson, President of the Twelve Apostles, and many other Church leaders do not believe that the truth about certain historical matters should be brought to light (see “The New Mormon History,” page 36). Because of this attitude, Mormon scholars have to be very careful what they write about. We certainly do not believe that Apostle Benson would approve of this rebuttal. It makes far too many admissions concerning historical problems in the Church. For instance, we do not think Benson would be pleased with Dr. Clandestine’s admission that the *History of the Church*, which was supposed to have been written by Joseph Smith himself, was really “written in large part after his death” and that there have been “thousands of deletions and additions” which have not been noted. We quote the following from pages 41-42 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*:

... I would like to respond to the Tanners’ criticism (pages 126-42) of the manner in which the official history of the LDS Church was written. They criticize the fact that *deletions and additions* were introduced into the original texts *without acknowledgments* in the printed history, that Joseph Smith’s autobiographical “History” was written *in large part after his death* by clerks and “historians” *who transformed third-person accounts by others than Joseph Smith into first-person autobiography of Joseph Smith*, and that between the first serialized publication of the history (1840s-1860s) and the seven-volume edition of the *History of the Church* in the twentieth century, there have been *thousands of deletions and additions* not noted in the text or footnotes. *This is certainly all true*, and as an historian I regret the confusion that such editorial practices have caused. Nevertheless, until quite

recently official LDS history was written by men (often of limited education) who were not trained in methods of editing and history.

The statement that “until quite recently official LDS history was written by men . . . not trained in methods of editing and history” hardly makes up for the devastating admissions which Dr. Clandestine has made concerning Joseph Smith’s *History*—a history which purports to be “one of the most authentic histories ever written” (*History of the Church*, vol. 1, Preface vi).

The story of Joseph Smith’s First Vision is treated in a similar manner. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we demonstrated that Joseph Smith wrote an account of the First Vision in 1832 which differs drastically from the official published account. This account was suppressed by the Mormon leaders until we published it in 1965. The most significant portion of this account reads as follows:

... the Lord heard my cry in the wilderness and while in the attitude of calling upon the Lord *in the 16th year* of my age a pillar of light above the brightness of the sun at noon day come down from above and rested upon me and I was filled with the spirit of god and the Lord opened the heavens upon me and *I saw the Lord* and he spake unto me saying Joseph my son thy sins are forgiven thee. go thy way walk in my statutes and keep my commandments behold I am the Lord of glory I was crucified for the world . . . (*Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 146)

This account is written in Joseph Smith’s own handwriting. A photograph of it was finally published in *BYU Studies*, Spring 1969, page 281.

The reader will notice that it differs in many features from the official version published in the *Pearl of Great Price*. The most significant difference being that this early account mentions only one personage as appearing in the First Vision, whereas the official account says that there were two personages—God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ. Also it should be noted that the date the vision occurred is different and the message that is delivered is not the same. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we have also reproduced other conflicting accounts of the First Vision (one from Joseph Smith’s own diary) and part of Wesley P. Walters’ study which shows that there was no revival in Palmyra in 1820 as Joseph Smith claimed in the official version.

Dr. Clandestine apparently realizes the serious nature of the discrepancies in Joseph Smith’s accounts of the First Vision. Unlike Mormon apologists Dr. Hugh Nibley and Apostle John A. Widtsoe, Dr. Clandestine seems willing to concede that there are “varying accounts by Joseph Smith of that experience” (page 29), and instead of giving any convincing defense for the claim that Joseph Smith saw both God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ in 1820, he tries to minimize the importance of the vision:

A crucial question that is the starting point for interpreting the First Vision is: What significance did this experience (as related in any and all descriptions of it by Joseph Smith) have for Mormonism as a movement and the claim of the LDS Church to be a prophet-led restoration of the ancient Church of Christ? . . . *The First Vision* experience of Joseph Smith, Jr. *had no significance for his later claims*,

necessary even in the history of him who created them
 and when I awoke upon them things my heart awoke
 and well hath the wise man said the fool hath in
 his heart there is no god my heart exclaimed all all
 these bears testimony and they heard an omnipotent
 and omnipresent power a being who made all things and
 doeth all things in them beings who
 filled the eternity who was and is and will be from all
 eternity and when he considered all these things
 and that being such that such to worship him as was
 his will in spirit and in truth therefore I said and
 the Lord for many for them my name is to whom I could go and
 to obtain mercy and the Lord heard my cry in the wilderness
 and when in the attitude of calling upon the Lord a pillar of
 fire light above the brightness of the sun at noon day
 came down from above and rested upon me and I was filled
 with the spirit of god and the Lord opened the heavens upon
 me and I saw the Lord and he spake unto me saying
 Joseph thy sins are forgiven thee go thy way in my
 statutes and keep my commandments behold I am the
 Lord of glory I was crucified for the world that all
 who believe on my name may have eternal life the world
 lieth in sin and at this time and none doeth good no
 not one they have turned aside from the gospel and
 keep not my commandments they draw near to me with their
 lips while their hearts are far from me and mine anger
 is kindling against the inhabitants of the earth to visit
 them according to their ungodliness and to bring to pass
 that which hath been spoken by the mouths of the prophets
 and apostles behold and lo I come quickly as it was
 written of me in the cloud, in the glory of my Father
 and my soul was filled with love and for every day I
 could rejoice with great joy and the Lord was with me
 but could find none that would believe the heavenly
 vision nevertheless I pondered these things in my heart
 and that afternoon

THE STRANGE ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST VISION

"... the Lord heard my cry in the wilderness and while
 in the attitude of calling upon the Lord in the 16th year of
 my age a pillar of light above the brightness of the sun at
 noon day come down from above and rested upon me and I
 was filled with the spirit of god and the Lord opened the
 heavens upon me and I saw the Lord and he spake unto me
 saying Joseph my son thy sins are forgiven thee. go thy way
 walk in my statutes and keep my commandments behold I
 am the Lord of glory I was crucified for the world that all
 those who believe on my name may have Eternal life be-
 hold the world lieth in sin at this time and none doeth good
 no not one they have turned asside from the gospel and
 keep not my commandments they draw near to me with
 their lips while their hearts are far from me and mine
 anger is kindling against the inhabitants of the earth to visit
 them according to their ungodliness and to bring to pass
 that which hath been spoken by the mouths of the prophets
 and Apostles behold and lo I come quickly as it was
 written of me in the cloud clothed in the glory of my Fa-
 ther..."

Above is a photograph of Joseph Smith's Strange Account of the First Vision. It is taken from *Brigham Young University Studies*, Spring 1969, page 281. This account was suppressed by the Mormon Church for over 130 years until it was finally published by Modern Microfilm Company in 1965. The reason for its suppression is very plain: it differs drastically from that published by the Mormon Church in the *Pearl of Great Price*.

about the Book of Mormon, his prophetic calling, or the concept of a divinely restored priesthood and church. . . . it is a personal experience to be connected with Mormonism only because it had occurred to the translator of the Book of Mormon . . .

The accounts of the First Vision consistently describe an experience that was intensely personal for Joseph Smith, *rather than a revelation of significance for his followers*. . . . Mormon historians have made the whole issue vulnerable to attack by putting too much emphasis on the spring of 1820 as the date of the First Vision. The obvious uncertainty of the adult Joseph Smith's memory and the ambiguity of his descriptions of age provide a possible time-frame for the First Vision that extends from the spring of 1818 prior to his fourteenth birthday ("I was about 14 years old") to the spring of 1822 ("In the 16th year of my age"). . . .

I acknowledge freely *the sketchy character* of Joseph Smith's accounts of his early religious experiences and that some Mormon writers have been wrong or inadequate in their use of the sources of history. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 29-31, 34, 39)

Dr. Clandestine's whole treatment of the First Vision appears to be a desperate attempt to salvage at least something out of a mass of contradictory material. His attempt to play down the importance of the vision will probably not set well with orthodox Mormons. While a recent convert may fall for Dr. Clandestine's reasoning, those who have been in the Church for any length of time know that the First Vision has been proclaimed as the very foundation of the Church. Apostle Widtsoe said that "The First Vision of 1820 is of *first importance* in the history of Joseph Smith. *Upon its reality rest the truth and value of his subsequent work*" (*Joseph Smith—Seeker After Truth*, page 19). David O. McKay, the ninth President of the Mormon Church, plainly stated:

The appearing of the Father and the Son to Joseph Smith is *the foundation of this church*. (*Gospel Ideals*, page 85)

That Dr. Clandestine would attempt to minimize the importance of the First Vision is almost beyond belief. We feel that this amounts to a vindication of our work on this vision (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 143-162).

While we applaud Dr. Clandestine's attempt to be more factual on several matters, some of the Mormon leaders will have a very hard time accepting his presentation. They certainly would not want a publication like this to have any official connection with the Church, and it is doubtful that they would be happy about any of their scholars publishing it privately. They do not want their people to have the real facts about Mormon history, and therefore they do not want any reply to be made to *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* They believe it would be like opening Pandora's box.

With this information in mind, we can make better sense out of Mr. Marshall's statement of May 1, 1977, that the rebuttal "is finished but its publication is delayed, according to what Leonard Arrington told Durham, because they can not decide how or where to publish it. *Because the article is an open and honest approach to the problem*, although it by no means answers all of the questions raised by the Tanners, *it will probably be published anonymously*, to avoid any difficulties which could result were such an article connected with an official Church agency" ("The New Mormon History," page 62).

The statement that "*Because the article is an open and honest approach to the problem, . . . it will probably be published anonymously*" is certainly very interesting, for it seems to imply that dishonest material can bear the Church's stamp of approval, whereas "open and honest" work must be published anonymously. We would not want to press this matter too far, but there certainly seems to be some strange reasoning here.

At any rate, it is undoubtedly true that some of the Apostles will feel that Dr. Clandestine has been far too candid in his rebuttal. The idea that the elaborate cover-up is an attempt to hide from some of the Church leaders might receive some support from the claim that the President of the Church called a halt to further study by a committee set up to examine our work. This might very well imply that he thought our work was too hot to handle and that further research or discussion would only tend to verify our allegations. According to this theory, then, the Historical Department of the Church went ahead with a rebuttal and took great precautionary measures to cover up its connection so that the conservative leaders could not trace its origin. If this should prove correct, it would mean there is a very serious split in the Church.

Just as we were preparing this part of our response, *Utah Holiday Magazine* came out with an article entitled, "Doctrinal Cloak and Dagger." This article seems to give some support to the theory mentioned above:

Zion's Bookstore owner Sam Weller must have felt like a protagonist in one of the spy novels that dot his shelves when he opened a letter that contained a key and a cryptic message. The letter instructed him to proceed to an abandoned building on Redwood Road and use the key to get inside, where he would find 1,500 privately printed copies of a pamphlet claiming to refute the anti-Mormon charges in Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality*. . . . The official attitude of the Mormon hierarchy toward the Tanners has been one of silence and apparent unconcern. They have, however, actively discouraged LDS scholars and intellectuals from jousting with the Tanners or any of the other professional critics of the church. . . .

Several Mormon historians familiar with the pamphlet were questioned by *Utah Holiday Magazine* as to possible authorship and the rationale the author may have used for remaining anonymous. Most speculated that such a retort would be viewed by some LDS General Authorities as giving notice to a work that would otherwise die of its own weight. None of the historians would specify an author. Several signs, however, pointed to Michael Quinn, on a research sabbatical from Brigham Young University, as someone who might know most about the manuscript.

Quinn . . . would neither confirm nor deny involvement or knowledge of the manuscript's origins.

"There are a limited number of LDS historians, so I don't feel right in giving you a yes or no," he said. "A process of elimination would soon tell you who had done it; I wish to respect his or her privacy.

"I will say this, however, I think it's a shame no serious scholar has dealt with the Tanner's approach to Mormon history and religious history in a professional academic journal. Their work has gained enough notoriety to merit that kind of treatment. . . ."

Says another historian, "The criticisms in *Response of the Tanners' methods* are certainly valid. I am only sorry that whoever did it went about it in such a cloak and dagger way. It only feeds the Tanners' suspicions." (*Utah Holiday Magazine*, February, 1978, page 7)

Some of those who are involved in the Historical Department claim that they are not concerned with how the pamphlet *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* was produced. They are only concerned with its contents, which they seem to like very much. We agree that the contents of the pamphlet are important and should be closely examined. We plan to deal with some of the issues at this time and to make a more extensive reply sometime in the near future. Nevertheless, we feel that the authorship of the pamphlet and the manner of its production are so important that we have devoted a great deal of space to this matter.

After all, Dr. Clandestine accuses us of hypocrisy, dishonesty and of deliberately distorting Mormon history. Therefore, we feel that we should take a serious look at his methods. If the letter printed in the pamphlet is fictitious, and there is every reason to believe it is, then a serious shadow of doubt hangs over the whole publication. Also, the Watergate-like cover-up surrounding its production certainly does little to inspire confidence in the work. The men involved in bringing forth this work which charges us with dishonesty, are the very men who denied any connection with it. Now, we ask the reader, just who is being dishonest? If these men give a "distorted" and untruthful view of the present, how can we rely on their statements concerning the past? Having made these comments, we will now show that *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* contains some very serious historical errors.

1831 POLYGAMY REVELATION

As we examine the pamphlet, *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, it becomes very obvious that the author has not carefully read *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* or else he is deliberately misrepresenting its contents. It is perhaps more charitable to believe that he has only skimmed through the book. On page 3 of the pamphlet he says he felt like he was "enduring a Chinese water torture when I read the book; and on page 28 he says that our "extensive" use of emphasis "discourages reading each word or even every sentence and paragraph." At any rate, the author makes a very serious mistake when he accuses us of suppressing information concerning the 1831 revelation on polygamy. On pages 16 and 17 of his pamphlet, he makes this serious charge against us:

Moreover, the attention of Lorenzo Snow's interrogators was upon the 1843 published revelation on polygamy, but there were earlier unpublished revelations concerning polygamy as far back as 1831. In 1831 a Mormon defector wrote that Joseph Smith had given a revelation concerning polygamy and in 1861 an early Mormon wrote a letter to Brigham Young in which he gave the text of that revelation. The Tanners could not have been unaware of this when they published the revised *Shadow-Reality* in 1972, because such a revelation was referred to in the 1834 *Mormonism Unveiled* (which the Tanners quote from on page 58), in Helen Mar Whitney's 1882 *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph*, in the 1887 *Historical Record* (which they quote from on page 203), in the 1922 *Essentials in Church History* (which they quote from on page 31) in a 1970 article on the "Manifesto" (which they quote from on page 231), and in the *Journal of Discourses*, (virtually every volume of which is quoted by the Tanners). . . . Although the most conscientious and honest researcher can overlook pertinent

sources of information, the repeated omissions of evidence by the Tanners suggest an intentional avoidance of sources that modify or refute their caustic interpretations of Mormon history.

If the author of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* had taken the time to thoroughly read our book, he would never have made the serious error of accusing us of suppressing information on the 1831 revelation. On page 203 of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we give this information about the revelation:

Just when and how the practice of plural marriage started in the Mormon Church has caused much controversy. There is evidence, however, to show that it was secretly practiced when the Church was in Kirtland, Ohio. In the Introduction to vol. 5 of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*, the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts stated that the "date in the heading of the Revelation on the Eternity of the Marriage Covenant, including the Plurality of Wives, notes the time at which the revelation was committed to writing, not the time at which the principles set forth in the revelation were first made known to the Prophet." Fawn Brodie states that Joseph Fielding Smith told her "that a revelation foreshadowing polygamy had been written in 1831, but that it had never been published. In conformity with the church policy, however, he would not permit the manuscript, which he acknowledged to be in possession of the church library, to be examined" (*No Man Knows My History*, page 184, footnote). (*Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 203)

Actually, the author of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* could not possibly have picked a worse area to criticize. The claim that we suppressed knowledge concerning the 1831 revelation is about as far from the truth as it is possible to be. In fact, we have probably done more than anyone else to bring this revelation to light. We made a brief mention of the 1831 revelation in our book, *Joseph Smith and Polygamy*, which was published in 1967. We referred to it again in 1969 when we published *The Mormon Kingdom*, vol. 1, and, as we have already shown, we mentioned it in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* published in 1972. During all these years the Mormon leaders kept this revelation suppressed from their own people.

Sometime after we published *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* Michael Marquardt, a young scholar who was very disturbed with the Church's policy of suppressing important records, became interested in doing research with regard to the 1831 revelation. He found that some Mormon scholars had copies of the revelation, but they had had to promise not to make any copies. Finally, Mr. Marquardt learned what appears to be the reason why the revelation was suppressed—i.e., that the revelation commanded the Mormons to marry the Indians to make them a "white" and "delightful" people.

Those who are familiar with the Book of Mormon know that it teaches that the Indians were cursed by God with a dark skin. In Alma 3:6 we read that "*the skins of the Lamanites were dark, according to the mark which was set upon their fathers, which was a curse upon them because of their transgression . . .*" The Book of Mormon, however, promises that in the last days the Lamanites—i.e., the Indians—will repent and become "a white and delightful people" (2 Nephi 30:6). Spencer W. Kimball, President of the Mormon Church, feels that the Indians are actually becoming a "white and delightful people":

I saw a striking contrast in the progress of the Indian people today as against that of only fifteen years ago. . . . they are fast becoming *a white* and delightful people. . . . they are now becoming white and delightful, as they were promised. . . . The children in the home placement program in Utah are often *lighter* than their brothers and sisters in the hogans on the reservation. . . . These young members of the Church are changing to *whiteness* and to delightfulness. . . .

The day of the Lamanites has come. . . . today the dark clouds are dissipating. (*Improvement Era*, December 1960, pages 922-923)

President Kimball feels that the Indians are being made “white and delightful” through the power of God, and he certainly would never recommend intermarriage with the Indians to make them white because he does not believe that the races should mix in marriage. The *Salt Lake Tribune* for September 8, 1976, quotes President Kimball as saying:

“We recommend that people marry those who are of *the same racial background*, in somewhat the same economic and social and education background, and above all, the same religious background,” President Kimball said.

Because of the Mormon leaders’ feelings on intermarriage with darker races they have suppressed Joseph Smith’s 1831 revelation on polygamy. It was only after a great deal of research that Michael Marquardt was able to obtain a typed copy of the revelation. Unlike the Mormon leaders, we felt that this revelation should be brought to light; therefore, we published it in full in the book *Mormonism Like Watergate?* in 1974. The most important verse of this revelation reads as follows:

4 Verily, I say unto you, that the wisdom of man, in his fallen state, knoweth not the purposes and the privileges of my holy priesthood, but ye shall know when ye receive a fulness by reason of the anointing: For it is my will, that in time, *ye should take unto you wives of the Lamanites and Nephites, that their posterity may become white, delightful and just, for even now their females are more virtuous than the gentiles.*

Even after our publication of the revelation in 1974, the Mormon leaders continued to suppress the revelation. Robert N. Hullinger made these comments in an unpublished manuscript:

Jerald and Sandra Tanner, . . . printed W. W. Phelps’ version of a little-known 1831 revelation . . . Dr. Leonard Arrington, Church Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, confirmed the existence of the Phelps copy. In a telephone conversation on June 13, 1975, he stated that the revelation may be released for scholarly study sometime in the future, but not yet. (“In Defense of God,” typed copy, page 334, footnote 23)

Three years after our publication of the revelation, the Mormon scholar Donna Hill, finally published the important part about the Indians: “. . . For it is my will that, in time, ye should take unto you *wives of the Lamanites and Nephites, that their posterity may become white, delightful and just*” (*Joseph Smith—The First Mormon*, New York, 1977, page 340).

For more documentation and verification of the 1831 revelation on polygamy see our book, *Mormonism Like Watergate?* pages 6-14)

Now, in the light of this information, how can Dr. Clandestine honestly accuse us of suppressing anything concerning the 1831 revelation? Was it not his own church that kept the revelation hidden from its members? It is also extremely interesting to note that although Clandestine refers to the 1831 revelation on pages 16 and 17 of his rebuttal, he does not tell us about the revelation commanding the Mormons to marry Indians to make them become “white, delightful and just.” Why does he suppress this information? He does give a reference to the letter of “Ezra Booth in *Ohio Star* 8 December 1831” in footnote 12, but he does not tell us what Booth says and is probably well-aware of the fact that most people will never see this newspaper. This is only one example of Dr. Clandestine’s “repeated omissions of evidence.” Fortunately, the reader does not need to remain in the dark concerning this matter because we have reprinted Booth’s statement in *Mormonism Like Watergate?* The important portion of it reads as follows:

. . . it has been made known *by revelation* that it will be pleasing to the Lord, should they form a matrimonial alliance *with the Natives*; . . . It has been made known to one, who has left his wife in the state of N.Y. that he is entirely free from his wife, and he is at liberty to take him a wife from among the Lamanites. (*Ohio Star*, December 8, 1831)

Dr. Clandestine’s work on the 1831 revelation seems to show that he is the one who does not want the full truth about the 1831 revelation to come out.

JOSEPH SMITH’S 1826 TRIAL

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 32-49, we show that Joseph Smith was involved in the practice of money-digging for buried treasure and that he used a stone which he placed in a hat to divine where the treasure was located. In 1826 he was brought to trial for this practice and was found guilty. Mormon scholars had always denied these accusations until August, 1971, when Wesley P. Walters found the original of Justice Albert Neely’s bill which referred to the trial of “Joseph Smith The Glass Looker.” Dr. Clandestine accepts the reality of this document but refuses to face the serious implications of the discovery:

In drawing conclusions from the evidence they do present, the Tanners are often guilty of the *non sequitur*: in other words, the conclusions arrived at are not supported by the evidence. For example, they state (on page 33) that the recently discovered bill of charges from the 1826 trial of Joseph Smith “proves that the published court record is authentic.” The published “court record” appeared in *contradictory versions* in 1831, 1873, 1877, and 1883, several of which allegedly quote detailed testimony from this trial. The Tanners’ statement would lead the reader to believe that the bill of charges substantiates the entire published versions of the trial (including all alleged testimony—page 34), whereas these recent discoveries verify quite limited facts: *there was a trial in 1826 in which Joseph Smith was described as “The Glass looker” and charged with a misdemeanor*, twelve witnesses were subpoenaed, a mittimus was issued, and the total court costs were \$2.68. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 18)

Dr. Clandestine has certainly not done his homework regarding this matter, and therefore he has reached an erroneous conclusion. He states that “The published ‘court record’

Cherokee County to Albert Neely

People vs. ³ Assault & Battery
 vs. ³ Trial at G. & L. looking
 vs. ³ Westing
 vs. ³ James Manufacturing
 vs. ³ In Bank Trial
 vs. ³ Albert Neely
 To my fees in trial
 of above cause 3 3.68

People vs. ³ Assault & Battery
 Samuel May
 March 22 1826 3 To my fees in the case \$1.99

John
 Joseph Smith
 The Glass Looker
 March 20 1826 3 Misdemeanor
 To my fees in examination
 of the above cause 3 2.68

John
 vs. ³ Champerty
 March 2 1826 3 To my fees in above case 2.15

vs. ³ Assault & Battery
 vs. ³ To my fees in above case - 1.46

vs. ³ Petit Larceny
 Robert Samuels
 Oct 3 1826 3 To my fees in above case - 1.85

1637
 1826 vs. ³ Assault and Battery
 vs. ³ To my fees in above case - 2.58
 Nov 9 1826 3
 Albert Neely, Secy of Peace. \$16.37



same
 vs
 Joseph Smith
 The Glass looker
 March 20, 1826

Misdemeanor
 To my fees in examination
 of the above cause 2.68

Above is a photograph of Justice Albert Neely's bill showing the costs involved in several trials in 1826. The fifth item from the top mentions the trial of "Joseph Smith The Glass Looker." When the letter "s" was repeated in documents of Joseph Smith's time, as in the word "Glass," the two letters appeared as a "p" (see the word "Assault" in items 1, 4, 7, and 9). To the left we have typed out the portion of the bill which mentions Joseph Smith. This bill proves that the published court record is authentic.

appeared in *contradictory versions* in 1831, 1873, 1877, and 1883, several of which allegedly quote detailed testimony from this trial.” Dr. Clandestine could never have made this statement if he had even briefly examined the original publications to which he refers. To begin with, the 1831 account which he speaks of is not a printing of the “court record” at all; it is merely a statement by A. W. Benton of Bainbridge, N.Y. Mr. Benton said that Joseph Smith “was about the country in the character of a *glass-looker*: pretending, by means of a certain stone, or glass, which he *put in a hat*, to be able to discover lost goods, hidden treasures, mines of gold and silver, &c. . . . At length the public, . . . had him arrested as a disorderly person, tried and *condemned* before a court of Justice” (*Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, April 9, 1831, page 120).

Dr. Clandestine is again in error when he refers to the publication of the “court record” in 1877. This is a newspaper account of the trial which appeared in the *Chenango Union* under the date of May 3, 1877. It is not a printing of the “court record” as Dr. Clandestine would have the reader believe, but only the reminiscences of Dr. W. P. Purple who was present at the trial. It is a valuable piece of historical writing, but it does not purport to be a reproduction of any part of the written “court record.” (For a complete reprint and study of Dr. Purple’s account see our book *Joseph Smith and Money Digging*, pages 23-29.)

While Dr. Clandestine has struck out twice with regard to the documents, he is right in referring to the 1873 version as a printing of the “court record.” It appeared in *Fraser’s Magazine*, February 1873. The 1883 printing is also a copy of the “court record” and is found in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1883, vol. 2. Now, while Dr. Clandestine mistakenly claims that the accounts of the trial printed in 1831 and 1877 are reproductions of the “court record” he overlooks the fact that the “court record” was also printed in the *Utah Christian Advocate*, in January 1886.

When we compare the three printings of the “court record” we find that they are essentially the same. One short paragraph (40 words) appears to have been accidentally omitted in *Fraser’s Magazine*, but it certainly does not make any substantial difference in the trial and is found in both of the other printings. All three of the printings were copied from the original pages of the document. We feel that the Mormon Church would give almost anything to have the three accounts of the First Vision by Joseph Smith in such harmony.

Since Dr. Clandestine has declared that the printings of the “court record” are contradictory, we will compare the first part of the 1873 printing with that published in 1883. The first part is the most important because it contains Joseph Smith’s testimony. In the 1873 printing we read:

State of New York v. Joseph Smith.

Warrant issued upon written complaint upon oath of Peter G. Bridgeman, who informed that one Joseph Smith of Bainbridge was a disorderly person and an impostor.

Prisoner brought before Court March 20, 1826. Prisoner examined: says that he came from the town of Palmyra, and had been at the house of Josiah Stowel in Bainbridge most of time since; had small part of time been employed in looking for mines, but the major part had been employed by said Stowel on his farm, and going to school. That he

had a certain stone which he had occasionally looked at to determine where hidden treasures in the bowels of the earth were; that he professed to tell in this manner where gold mines were a distance under ground, and had looked for Mr. Stowel several times, and had informed him where he could find these treasures, and Mr. Stowel had been engaged in digging for them. That at Palmyra he pretended to tell by looking at this stone where coined money was buried in Pennsylvania, and while at Palmyra had frequently ascertained in that way where lost property was of various kinds; that he had occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for three years, but of late had pretty much given it up on account of its injuring his health, especially his eyes, making them sore; that he did not solicit business of this kind, and had always rather declined having anything to do with this business. (*Fraser’s Magazine*, February 1873, page 229)

The 1883 printing of the “court record” reads essentially the same:

People of State of New York vs. Joseph Smith. Warrant issued upon oath of Peter G. Bridgeman, who informed that one Joseph Smith of Bainbridge was a disorderly person and an impostor. Prisoner brought into court March 20 (1826). Prisoner examined. Says that he came from town of Palmyra, and had been at the house of Josiah Stowell in Bainbridge most of time since; had small part of time been employed in looking for mines, but the major part had been employed by said Stowel on his farm, and going to school; that he had a certain stone, which he had occasionally looked at to determine where hidden treasures in the bowels of the earth were; that he professed to tell in this manner where gold-mines were a distance under ground, and had looked for Mr. Stowel several times, and informed him where he could find those treasures, and Mr. Stowel had been engaged in digging for them: that at Palmyra he pretended to tell, by looking at this stone, where coined money was buried in Pennsylvania, and while at Palmyra he had frequently ascertained in that way where lost property was, of various kinds; that he had occasionally been in the habit of looking through this stone to find lost property for three years, but of late had pretty much given it up on account its injuring his health, especially his eyes—made them sore; that he did not solicit business of this kind, and had always rather declined having any thing to do with this business. (*New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 2, page 1576)

We would like to ask Dr. Clandestine this question: where do you find any important difference between these two printings of the “court record”? We feel that it is a misrepresentation to say that they are contradictory. A number of Mormon writers have made this claim, and Dr. Clandestine, who has apparently never taken the time to examine the documents, has followed them into a serious error.

Dr. Clandestine accuses us of using too much repetition, but when we see how he skips over things we are even more convinced that some repetition is necessary. If Dr. Clandestine will reexamine *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* he will see his idea that he can accept the authenticity of Justice Albert Neely’s bill and yet reject the printed “court record” is untenable. On page 34 we offer this information:

The fact that the document says that Joseph Smith was a “GLASS LOOKER” fits very well with the published version of the trial. In fact, this statement alone seems to show that the published account of the trial is authentic. Besides this,

however, Neely's bill provides additional evidence. It states that the trial took place on "March 20, 1826," and this is precisely the date found in the public account of the trial: "Prisoner brought before Court March 20, 1826" (*Fraser's Magazine*, February 1873, page 229). In Albert Neely's bill the fee for his trial is listed as "2.68," and this is the exact figure found in the printed record: "Costs: . . . \$2.68."

The reason the 1826 trial is so devastating to the claims of Mormonism is that it links Joseph Smith to the occult. According to Joseph Smith's own father-in-law, Isaac Hale, Joseph translated the Book of Mormon by the same means that he used to search for buried treasures:

I first became acquainted with Joseph Smith, Jr. in November, 1825. He was at that time in the employ of a set of men who were called "money-diggers;" and his occupation was that of seeing, or pretending to see by means of a stone placed in his hat, and his hat closed over his face. . . . The manner in which he pretended to read and interpret, was the same as when he looked for the money-diggers, with the stone in his hat, and his hat over his face, while the Book of Plates were at the same time hid the woods! (*The Susquehanna Register*, May 1, 1834)

David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, frankly admitted that Joseph Smith placed the "seer stone" into a hat to translate the Book of Mormon:

I will now give you a description of the manner in which the Book of Mormon was translated. Joseph would put the seer stone into a hat, and put his face in the hat, drawing it closely around his face to exclude the light; and in the darkness the spiritual light would shine. A piece of something resembling parchment would appear, and on that appeared the writing. . . . Thus the Book of Mormon was translated by the gift and power of God, and not by any power of man. (*An Address To All Believers In Christ*, by David Whitmer, Richmond, Missouri, 1887, page 12)

For additional material concerning this matter see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 41-46.

PROPHECY ABOUT BRIGHAM YOUNG

On pages 22-23 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* we read the following:

Another tool of polemics that the Tanners frequently use is the "Straw Man" approach. Briefly, this method sets up an easily refutable and non-representative argument that is supposed to represent the position of one's opponents, and once the opponent has been set up in this manner, the polemicist proceeds to devastate the "Straw Man," leaving the audience with the impression that the real opponent has been defeated.

While Dr. Clandestine accuses us of setting up a "Straw Man," he seems oblivious to the fact that he uses this very technique. Take, for example, his criticism on page 15 of the rebuttal:

In another section of the Tanners' tirade about the *History of the Church*, they discuss a statement in the "Manuscript History of the Church" in which Joseph Smith is reported to have stated in 1832 that Brigham Young would become president of the Church. Regarding the entry as a falsification,

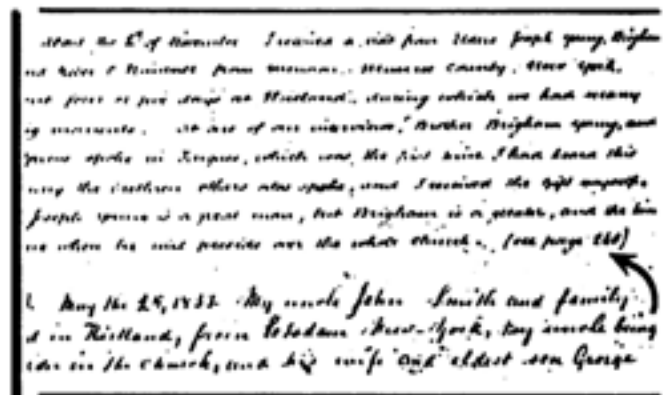
the Tanners state "Although the Mormon Historians added the part about Brigham Young speaking in tongues, they have never dared to add the prophecy that Brigham Young was to become leader of the Church" (page 138). In fact, the prophecy was published by "Mormon historians" in 1858, 1863, 1876, 1886, 1893, 1901, 1936, and 1968.

Now, in order to understand how Dr. Clandestine has set up a "Straw Man" and completely misrepresented our position, the reader must carefully read what we printed in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 137-138:

In the *History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 295-297, 74 words are added which were not in the *Times and Seasons* [a Mormon publication which printed Joseph Smith's *History in Nauvoo, Illinois*] (see vol. 5, page 673). This interpolation reads as follows:

"About the 8th of November I received a visit from Elders Joseph Young, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball of Mendon, Monroe county, New York. They spent four or five days at Kirtland, during which we had many interesting moments. At one of our interviews Brother Brigham Young and John P. Greene spoke in tongues, which was the first time I had heard this gift among the brethren; others also spoke, and I received the gift myself."

This interpolation was certainly made after Joseph Smith's death and is an obvious attempt to glorify Brigham Young. The interpolation was too large to be inserted into the handwritten manuscript at its proper place ("Manuscript History," Book A-1, page 240), and therefore it is written in the "Addenda" which follows page 553. (The Addenda contains a great deal of material which was to be inserted into Joseph Smith's *History* and was obviously written after his death.) Below is a photograph from the "Addenda" showing the words concerning Brigham Young which were to be added to the *History of the Church*.



The reader will notice that although the Mormon leaders added most of this interpolation into Joseph Smith's *History*, they omitted two lines (see arrow). These lines contain some very important information:

"Brother Joseph Young is a great man, but Brigham is a greater and the time will come when he will preside over the whole church."

Although the Mormon Historians added the part about Brigham Young speaking in tongues, they have never dared to add the prophecy that Brigham Young was to become leader of the Church. We must remember that many people questioned the leadership of Brigham Young. In fact, the Apostle William Smith—Joseph Smith's brother—left the

Church and stated that he once heard Joseph say that if Brigham Young ever led the Church “he would certainly lead it to destruction” (*Warsaw Signal*, October 29, 1845). However this may be, the Mormon historians never dared to add in the “prophecy” found in the “Addenda.” They probably realized that the dissenters would question such a statement in Joseph Smith’s *History* and ask for proof. An examination of the original manuscript, however, would soon reveal that the prophecy is a forgery made after Brigham Young had become the leader of the Church. (*Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 137-138)

Now, returning to Dr. Clandestine’s rebuttal, we find him putting up a “Straw Man” by claiming: “In fact, the prophecy was published by ‘Mormon historians’ in 1858, 1863, 1876, 1886, 1893, 1901, 1936, and 1968.” In footnote 9, page 15, Dr. Clandestine then proceeds to cite eight publications to demonstrate that the prophecy has been published at various times. At first glance it appears that he is about to bury our thesis with a mountain of evidence. A more careful examination, however, shows that he has no evidence whatsoever relating to the *History* of Joseph Smith. He has merely switched the argument. This is evident from an examination of his sources. The reader will note that none of the sources listed refer to Joseph Smith’s *History*; they are references referring to Brigham Young. The first source is “‘History of Brigham Young,’ *Deseret News*, 10 February 1858, page 358.” This turns out to be a statement by Brigham Young that Joseph Smith said he would preside over the Church, and it is clear that it is only a second hand report because Brigham Young admitted it was said “in my absence”:

We immediately repaired to the woods, where we found the Prophet, . . .

In the evening a few of the brethren came in, and we conversed together upon the things of the kingdom. He called upon me to pray; in my prayer I spoke in tongues. As soon as we arose from our knees, the brethren flocked around him, and asked his opinion concerning the gift of tongues that was upon me; he told them it was the pure Adamic language. Some said to him they expected he would condemn the gift bro. Brigham had, but he said, “No, it is of God, and the time will come when bro. Brigham Young will preside over this church.” *The latter part of this conversation was in my absence.*

A careful examination of our argument in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* shows that we did NOT say that Brigham Young never claimed that Joseph Smith predicted he would become President of the Church—Brigham Young did make this claim. What we were contending is that an interpolation was prepared to be inserted in Joseph Smith’s *History* after his death. Most of the interpolation was added, but the Mormon historians “never dared” to add the part about Brigham Young becoming leader of the Church. There is all the difference in the world between Brigham Young claiming that someone heard Joseph Smith say he would be leader of the Church and actually preparing an interpolation to be inserted in the *History of the Church* as if it was written by Joseph Smith himself!

The controversy over Howard Hughes’ will might provide some insight into this matter. A man, whom we shall call Frank Smith, might claim that Hughes once told him that he was going to leave 5 million dollars to him when he died. Although we might feel that Frank Smith is not telling the truth, he can not be prosecuted by the law. If, however, he were to forge a will which said, “I Howard R. Hughes being of sound and

disposing mind . . . leave 5 million dollars to Frank Smith,” it would be a serious offense which could send him to prison.

Religious forgeries seem to usually escape prosecution, but we feel that they can be even more serious than those involving worldly matters. For Brigham Young to insert any material to build up himself in Joseph Smith’s *History*, as if Smith had written it, amounts to forgery. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we demonstrated that Brigham Young systematically “feathered his nest” by adding material to Joseph Smith’s *History* which Smith did not write. On the other hand, Young deleted the favorable statements Joseph Smith made about his brother William in an attempt to destroy his reputation and influence.

It might help those who defend this action by Brigham Young to turn the situation around. Suppose that William Smith had fallen heir to the manuscript of Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church*. Now, we ask, would it be fair for him to insert into Joseph Smith’s *History* a spurious entry like the following:

Monday, 22, 1844.—My brother William arrived from New Jersey. I told some of the brethren that the time will come when William will preside over the whole Church. I also warned that if Brigham Young ever becomes leader of this Church, he will certainly lead it to destruction.

The Mormons would undoubtedly have risen up in righteous indignation if such a falsification had been made in Joseph Smith’s *History*. They would have plainly stated that William Smith was a wicked deceiver who was guilty of forgery. We do not think that under these circumstances Dr. Clandestine would have tried to excuse the forgery by saying that William Smith was “not trained in methods of editing and history.” We find it hard to understand how Dr. Clandestine can be so one-sided in his presentation. He accuses us of dishonesty for the smallest infraction, yet when his own church leaders put forth a falsified version of Joseph Smith’s *History*, he can only say that “as an historian I regret the confusion that such editorial practices have caused” (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 42). Where is his sense of fairness?

We feel that Dr. Clandestine has been especially unfair to us in his discussion of the prophecy concerning Brigham Young. He has not only raised up a “Straw Man” to confuse the issue, but he has omitted some very important information relating to the “History of Brigham Young.” If Dr. Michael Quinn was involved in the writing of the rebuttal, then the omission could hardly have been an accident. Dr. Quinn himself has previously pointed out in an article published in *BYU Studies* that the first handwritten version of the “History of Brigham Young,” makes no mention of the prophecy:

Brigham Young’s role in presiding over the LDS Church has traditionally been regarded as a fulfillment of a prophecy given by Joseph Smith in 1832, when the two men first met. The first published account (1858) of that meeting noted that Brigham Young spoke in tongues on that occasion, and that Joseph Smith stated beyond the hearing of Brigham Young: “. . . the time will come when bro. Brigham Young will preside over this church.” See “History of Brigham Young,” *Deseret News* (weekly), 10 February 1858, p. 358. However, the first handwritten version of the “History of Brigham Young” makes no reference to the prophecy, although it gives a detailed account of the speaking in tongues incident. In the second and third handwritten versions of this event,

the details of the speaking in tongues incident were reduced, and *reference to the prophecy was added*. See handwritten drafts of “Manuscript History of Brigham Young,” September 1832, Church Archives. The Church Historian and clerks who prepared the first version of Brigham Young’s history seem *not to have known about the prophecy*. Considering the additional evidence that *none of the tracts written before 1858 defending the position of the Quorum of the Twelve as the presiding body of the Church mentioned that 1832 prophecy*, we must conclude it had no bearing on anyone’s deciding to follow the leadership of Brigham Young. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1976, page 216, footnote 76)

On January 13, 1978, Sandra Tanner, one of the writers of this response, went to the Church Historical Department to see the documents referred to by Dr. Quinn. She was directed to Earl Olson, who informed her he would not show her anything because she was trying to discredit the Church. Mr. Olson also said that Wesley P. Walters and anyone else who wants to discredit the Church will not be allowed to see material in the Church Archives.

At any rate, we feel that Dr. Quinn’s article “The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844,” published in *BYU Studies*, completely undermines the idea that Joseph Smith prophesied that Brigham Young would become leader of the Church. It is an excellent article which we highly recommend to those who are interested in this subject. Besides showing the weakness of the manuscript evidence on the prophecy, Quinn’s article makes it plain that Joseph Smith ignored Brigham Young when he ordained others to succeed him: “The Prophet himself had ordained *David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery*, both removed from patrilineal succession, *to be his successors*” (*BYU Studies*, Winter 1976, page 231). It was just two years after Joseph Smith was supposed to have given the purported prophecy about Brigham Young that he ordained David Whitmer as his successor. Dr. Quinn cites the following from the Far West Record, typescript, 15 March 1838, Church Archives:

President Joseph Smith, Jr. *gave a history of the ordination of David Whitmer*, which took place in July 1834, to be a leader or a prophet to this church, which [ordination] was on condition that he [J. Smith, Jr.] did not live to God himself. (*BYU Studies*, Winter 1976, page 194)

It appears that the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts may have had a problem with the idea that Joseph Smith gave the prophecy about Brigham Young. In his *Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 289, he does cite the prophecy from the “History of Brigham Young”: “Some said to him they expected he would condemn the gift Brother Brigham had, but he said, ‘No, it is of God, and the time will come when Brigham Young will preside over this church.’ *The latter part of this conversation was in my absence* (*Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, page 439).” When B. H. Roberts edited Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church*, however, he included a footnote which should have included the same material. Instead, Roberts deleted the last 23 words of the quotation which contained the purported prophecy: “Some said to him they expected he would condemn the gift Brother Brigham had, but he said, ‘No, it is of God.’—*Millennial Star*, vol. xxv, page 439” (*History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 297, footnote).

While it might be argued that Roberts deleted these words by accident, we think that it is likely that his examination of the original manuscripts may have led him to question the authenticity of the prophecy.

ATHEISM AND THE BIBLE

Towards the end of his pamphlet, Dr. Clandestine makes this accusation: “The Tanners’ attack on Mormonism is really a manifestation of *their rejection of institutionalized religion*: ‘God was not concerned with peoples’ church affiliations, but with a personal relationship. Christ taught a way of Love, not a religious system’ (page 569)” (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 62). Dr. Clandestine has misunderstood our view on “institutionalized religion.” We are certainly not opposed to it. In fact, we have attended a church in Salt Lake City for nine years and even hold offices in it. This could hardly be construed as a “rejection of institutionalized religion.” We believe, however, that a person’s relationship with Christ is the most important thing. In other words, a church cannot change a person’s heart; only the Spirit of God can do that. For those who are interested in our views on Christianity we recommend our book, *A Look At Christianity*.

One thing that bothers us very much about Dr. Clandestine’s pamphlet is that it seems to be a disguised attack on the Bible. We have read many attacks on the Bible by atheists and agnostics, and while we may disagree with their conclusions, at least we must admit they are consistent in their purpose—i.e., to destroy credibility in the Bible. Dr. Clandestine, however, professes faith in the Bible, and then proceeds to detail a large number of Biblical problems. We might almost suppose that Thomas Paine or Bertrand Russell had authored part of the booklet. Now, we do not fault Dr. Clandestine for studying the “writings by noted skeptics and atheists” (page 1), because we have done the same thing ourselves and have even tried to deal with some of these problems in *A Look At Christianity*. Nevertheless, we feel that he should not make a disguised attack on the Bible in an attempt to save Mormonism. We have known many Mormon scholars who have used this approach. When they see that their arguments for Mormonism will not stand up, they turn around and try to show that there are worse problems in the Bible. We do not understand how they can feel they are saving Mormonism by attacking the Bible. It would seem to us that if they could succeed in destroying the Bible this would pull down the Book of Mormon, and the entire Mormon Church with it. We think, however, that Mormon scholars like Dr. Clandestine use this approach to keep their fellow Mormons from taking a serious look at their Church. They seem to be warning them that to reject Mormonism means that they must reject religion altogether. Instilling this type of fear in them makes them shy away from all serious research about Mormonism.

Although the Mormon Church does not accept many of the teachings of the Bible, it must maintain some faith in its historicity or else its own claims will be undermined. Some of the more liberal Biblical scholarship, therefore, cannot be accepted without endangering the very foundation of the Church. Dr. Clandestine seems to be completely oblivious to this fact. For instance, in trying to explain the serious changes made in Joseph Smith’s revelations he states:

Therefore it is to be expected that as the prophet-receptor of revelation seeks to record that experience, he may experiment not only with phrasing but also with content. And as the prophet (or his successors) has further experiences of revelation that expand understanding of previous communications, *those insights may simply be incorporated retroactively into the earlier texts*. This later addition of new revelation into the texts of former revelation

not only was done with some of Joseph Smith's revelations, but *modern scholars also suggest that this happened in the Book of Isaiah. (Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism, pages 46-47)*

In his footnote, Dr. Clandestine gives this reference: "See John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, Anchor Bible Series (Garden City, 1968), xv-xxiii." For Dr. Clandestine to suggest the idea of material being added to the book of Isaiah and to quote an article on the "Second Isaiah," shows that he has not seriously considered the consequences of accepting liberal Biblical scholarship for Mormonism. While many Bible scholars may hold to the theory of a second Isaiah writing part of the book of Isaiah, a Mormon cannot possibly subscribe to this view without invalidating the claims of the Book of Mormon. The reason for this is simple: according to the Book of Mormon, the Nephites brought the writings of Isaiah with them when they came to the New World. This was in 600 B.C. Whole chapters of the book of Isaiah are included in the Book of Mormon. Now, according to the theory of a "Second Isaiah," many chapters of the book of Isaiah were not written until AFTER the Nephites left the Old World. If this were the case it would be impossible to explain the presence of this material in the Book of Mormon.

The theory that part of the book of Isaiah was written at a later date has apparently been discussed since the 12th century A.D. Thomas Paine, who felt the Bible was a "stupid" book which "teacheth man nothing," made these comments in 1794:

... the latter part of the 44th chapter and the beginning of the 45th, so far from having been written by Isaiah, could only have been written by some person who lived at least a hundred and fifty years after Isaiah was dead. . . .

What audacity of church and priestly ignorance it is to impose this book upon the world as the writing of Isaiah, when Isaiah, according to their own chronology, died soon after the death of Hezekiah, which was 693 years before Christ, and the decree of Cyrus, in favor of the Jews returning to Jerusalem, was according to the same chronology, 536 years before Christ, which is a distance of time between the two of 162 years. (*The Age of Reason*, reprinted by the Thomas Paine Foundation, New York, page 123)

While liberal Bible scholars have accepted the theory of a "Second Isaiah" there is still a great deal of opposition from conservatives. We find the following in the *Wycliffe Bible Commentary*, pages 605-607:

Critical Theories of Authorship, Largely on the assumption that genuine predictive prophecy is impossible, rationalist higher critics have contested the genuineness of Isaiah 40-66 . . . The author of these chapters seemed to know of the fall of Jerusalem (a good century later than Isaiah's death), and also of the restoration to Palestine of the Jewish captives after the fall of Babylon to the Persians in 539 B.C. Therefore, this section of "Isaiah" must have been written by an unknown author—the "Deutero-Isaiah"—who lived at least 130 years after the death of the eighth-century prophet. . . . There is not a shred of internal evidence to support the theory of a Second Isaiah, apart from a philosophical prejudice against the possibility of predictive prophecy. At every checkpoint the only place of origin that satisfies the data of the text is Palestine; the only time of composition that squares with the internal evidence is a date prior to the Exile, and more specifically, the reign of Manasseh.

The unity of the authorship of all sixty-six chapters is attested by the prevalence of the characteristic Isaianic title for God—"the Holy One of Israel." This occurs only five times in the rest of the OT, but it appears twelve times in the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah and fourteen in the last twenty-seven.

Although we know that the acceptance of the theory of a "Second Isaiah" would deliver a very serious blow to the Book of Mormon, we have very serious reservations about accepting it. To begin with, it is not based upon manuscript evidence—i.e., there are no manuscripts of the book of Isaiah that date back to the period in question. (In the case of Joseph Smith's revelations we have manuscripts and printed copies which clearly show that many extremely important changes have been made.) Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls we do have a manuscript of Isaiah which dates from about 100 B.C. This manuscript gives no evidence for a "Second Isaiah" but it is too far from the time Isaiah actually wrote to provide any concrete evidence about the matter.

The Dead Sea Scrolls, however, have served to make scholars more cautious about jumping to conclusions where there is no manuscript evidence. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, some scholars felt the book of Ecclesiastes was written as late as the first century B.C. According to Frank Moore Cross, Jr., the Dead Sea Scrolls have annihilated this theory:

Ecclesiastes, sometimes dated in the second, or even in the first century B.C., by older scholars, appears in one exemplar from Cave IV . . . which dates ca. 175-150 B.C. Since the text of the manuscript reveals textual development, it is demonstrably not the autograph, and hence the date of composition must be pushed back into the third century. (*The Ancient Library of Qumran*, New York, 1958, pages 121-122)

The noted archaeologist William F. Albright made some statements about Ecclesiastes which tend to show that where there is no actual manuscript evidence the dating of ancient writings becomes somewhat speculative:

... nor is there the slightest evidence for any Greek philosophical influence either on Job or on Ecclesiastes—though *I formerly believed*, with many other scholars, that the latter was composed in the *third century B.C.* under eclectic influence from popular Stoicism and Epicureanism. . . .

After many years in which I insisted on a third-century date for Ecclesiastes I accepted Mitchell Dahood's *late fourth century date*. More recently *I have changed my mind* again, going back successively to the *early fourth century and then to the fifth century B.C.*—preferably to the second half, . . . (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, New York, 1968, pages 260-261)

Many Bible scholars used to maintain that the Gospel of John was not written "until the second century was far advanced." Patrick Campbell even maintained that it was "composed some three centuries" after the other three Gospels (*The Mythical Jesus*, pages 25-26). These ideas were destroyed when a fragment of papyrus was discovered in Egypt. It turned out to be a small portion of the Gospel of John which was "dated about 125-130 A.D." (*The Biblical Archaeologist*, September 1957, page 61). William F. Albright made this comment concerning the matter:

Meanwhile the sensational publication of a fragment of the Gospel from the early second century (C. H. Roberts, 1935) and of a roughly contemporary fragment of an apocryphal gospel dependent on John (H. I. Bell, 1935) has dealt the *coup de grace* to all radically late dating of John and has proved that the Gospel cannot be later than the first century A.D. (*From the Stone Age to Christianity*, New York, 1957, page 388)

Besides the fact that there are no manuscripts old enough to help solve the question of a "Second Isaiah" we are cautious about the matter because many scholars feel the style of the book of Isaiah is consistent. It has been suggested by some scholars that there was an "Isaianic school" and that because of training in the writings of the original Isaiah a later writer was able to imitate his style. We think that this is very speculative, however, and would prefer to stick with the traditional theory concerning the book of Isaiah unless more concrete evidence is produced.

At any rate, Dr. Clandestine should realize that as far as the Mormons are concerned there can be no acceptance of "Second Isaiah" without repudiating the Book of Mormon. Dr. Sidney B. Sperry, who was one of the Church's best Biblical scholars, outlined this problem clearly in one of his books:

The Book of Mormon quotes twenty-one complete chapters of Isaiah and parts of others. In the light of modern Biblical criticism these quotations raise problems that have a serious bearing on the integrity of the Nephite record as a whole. . . .

As Professor A. B. Davidson pointed out many years ago, for nearly twenty-five centuries no one dreamed of doubting that Isaiah, the son of Amoz, who lived in the eighth century B.C., was the author of the whole book that goes under his name. . . . The Greek translator of Isaiah whose work is part of the Greek Bible (Septuagint) probably made this translation about 200 B.C., but betrays no sign that the sixty-six chapters of the book are not all Isaiah's work. Nor do the copyists of the texts of Isaiah among the recently found Dead Sea Scrolls seem to know any author of them other than Isaiah, son of Amoz.

Jesus Ben-Sirach . . . who wrote about 180 B.C., . . . quoted enough from the prophecy to indicate that by the beginning of the second century B.C. it had reached the form in which we now know it.

Among the first to doubt the unity of Isaiah was Ibn Ezra, who lived in the twelfth century A.D. . . . by the middle of the nineteenth century some thirty-seven or thirty-eight chapters of Isaiah were rejected as being no part of that great prophet's actual writings. . . . Fifty years ago chapters 40-66 were admitted to be a unity . . . though not from Isaiah. They were designated as "Deutero-Isaiah" or better, "Second Isaiah," the unique product of some wise but anonymous sage who lived in Babylonia.

But in the hands of the critics the unity of "Second Isaiah" was also doomed to vanish. Deutero-Isaiah was limited to chapters 40-55, and a new division, "Trito-Isaiah," comprising chapters 56-66, was invented. . . .

According to the radicals it would be impossible for Isaiah, living about 700 B.C., to speak to Cyrus, who lived about 540 B.C. Consequently those sections of Isaiah connected in any way with Cyrus (44:28 45:1) are dated late, i.e., during or after the Persian King's lifetime. And in general, since chapters 40-66 appear to the critics to have the exile as their center of interest, with a change of place, time, and situation, they cannot possibly have come from the pen of Isaiah. Therefore "The Great Unknown" is invented to take his place. . . .

Now how do the "critical" views of the authorship of the book of Isaiah create a problem in connection with the Book of Mormon? This we shall briefly point out.

The Book of Mormon quotes from the following chapters of Isaiah: 2-14 (2 Nephi 12-24); 29 (2 Nephi 27); 48, 49 (1 Nephi 20, 21); 50, 51 (2 Nephi 7, 8); 52 (3 Nephi 20); 53 (Mosiah 14); 54 (3 Nephi 22); 55 (2 Nephi 26:25).

If the reader will take the trouble to compare this list with the tables given above, which indicate the portions of the book of Isaiah not generally accepted by the critics as being the genuine work of the great eighth century prophet, he will at once discover a sharp conflict. The Book of Mormon not only quotes extensively from those chapters (40-55) called "Deutero-Isaiah," but also from portions of "First" Isaiah which are regarded by the critics as late and not the genuine product of the son of Amoz. The Nephite record accepts all of its Isaiah chapters as the authentic words of that great prophet. . . . If the critics are right, the Book of Mormon quotes extensive portions of the sayings of unknown prophets who lived sixty years or more after the Nephites were supposed to have left Jerusalem, and mistakenly attributes them to Isaiah. This is the intellectual jam in which students of the Book of Mormon are supposed to find themselves and constitutes the main problem concerning Isaiah in that record. (*The Problems of the Book of Mormon*, by Sidney B. Sperry, Salt Lake City, 1964, pages 73-75, 78, 80-81)

Dr. Clandestine might do well to take a serious look at his own church's position before making any more comments about the book of Isaiah.

While we seem to have taken a position favorable to the Mormons on this question, we do feel that the copy of the book of Isaiah found in the Dead Sea Scrolls poses a very serious problem for the claim that the Book of Mormon is divinely inspired (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 377-378).

Another thing that disturbs us about the rebuttal is Dr. Clandestine's attempt to bring the Bible down to the level of the pagan Book of Breathing. The Book of Breathing is the ancient Egyptian funerary document which Joseph Smith mistranslated as the Book of Abraham—the Book of Abraham is included in the *Pearl of Great Price*, one of the four standard works of the Mormon Church. Dr. Clandestine seems to rely heavily upon Dr. Hugh Nibley's writings concerning the relationship of the Book of Abraham to the Book of Breathing. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we show that at first Dr. Nibley connected the recently rediscovered Book of Breathing papyrus to Joseph Smith's Book of Abraham. He admitted that the Book of Abraham was not a literal translation of the papyrus, but he suggested that the papyrus might hold a second meaning unknown to Egyptologists. When Dr. Nibley saw that this theory would not hold up, he then tried to relate the Book of Breathing to the secret temple ritual of the Mormon Church. Dr. Clandestine blindly follows Hugh Nibley into this serious error. Realizing that he must some way save Joseph Smith's Book of Breathing, Dr. Clandestine tries to bring the Bible down to its level by showing a pagan influence in its pages:

. . . there are nearly 700 passages (representing every book of the Old Testament) that are quotations, paraphrases, or allusions to earlier texts of Egyptian, Sumerian, Hittite, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Assyrian, and other Near Eastern-Mesopotamian literatures (much of it quite "pagan" in a

religious sense). . . . passages in Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, and Habakkuk use names of the Ugaritic pagan gods for names of objects represented by these gods. . . .

Right now I have neither the time nor the energy to dwell upon the specific issues of the literal translation of the hypocephali and papyrus texts, but I would like to mention two things that the Tanners return to repeatedly in their repudiation of the Book of Abraham: First, that there was no cryptic, hidden, second meaning to the papyri beyond the literal contents (pages 319-20), and second that the papyri are spiritually and scripturally worthless and pagan because they contain symbols of magic, names of Egyptian gods, and sexual imagery (pages 321, 341-43, 345-46). I have already referred to the fact that many Old Testament books, including the richly prophetic Isaiah, contain the names of Ugaritic gods, and by referring to Albright's work one can find reference also to magic symbols and names that are also incorporated in the Old Testament, but that are used in a religious context different from the pagan religions from which they were taken.

More to the point is the Song of Solomon in the Old Testament which has no reference whatever to any explicitly religious subject and which is filled with sexual imagery, yet which has been traditionally interpreted by the Jews as an allegory of the relationship of Yahweh and Israel, and by Christian interpreters as an allegory of Christ and the Christian church (or individual), or as an allegory of God and the Virgin Mary. I do not know the Tanners' attitude toward the Song of Songs and I am not confident myself that the Song of Solomon is a religious allegory, but I am unable to deny that devout, intelligent Jews and Christians have read the exclusively sexual outward content of the Song of Songs and have found a profound religious message. I find it more plausible to believe that an ostensible Book of Breathings (that deals with life, death, resurrection, sexuality, and the gods) could have been the vehicle for cryptically expressing the ancient patterns of what the Gospel of Philip termed the "mystery," and Mormons call "the endowment." (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 51, 52, 58-60)

Now, while it is true that both the Bible and the Book of Breathings contain the names of pagan gods, there is a world of difference. The Bible does not ascribe worship to these gods, but the Book of Breathings would have us do homage to them! The Bible says: "Thou shalt have *no other gods* before me" (Exodus 20:3). The Book of Breathings, however, advocates the worship of a host of pagan gods and goddesses. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 322-327, we include a translation of the Book of Breathings which shows the pagan nature of the document. The Book of Breathings would have us ascribe worship to the sun-god Re, the moon-god Khons and the goddess of truth, Maat. In fact, at least fifteen Egyptian gods or goddesses are mentioned.

Dr. Clandestine knows that he cannot actually find the worship of pagan gods advocated by the writers of the Bible, so he merely says that they used "names of the Ugaritic pagan gods for names of objects represented by these gods." While Dr. Clandestine accuses us of not putting things into perspective, we feel that he has neglected to do this very thing in this instance. He does include a footnote on page 52 to "Albright, *Yaweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 185-93," but this is hardly enough to give the reader an understanding of what he means. If a person will take the time to examine Dr. Albright's book, he will get a much better "perspective" on this matter. We cite the following from his book:

It may confidently be stated that there is no true mythology anywhere in the Hebrew Bible. What we have consists of vestiges—what may be called the debris of a past religious culture.

There are, however, a great many minor vestiges from Canaanite religion among the Hebrews. The names of many pagan gods and goddesses continued to be used in Hebrew for religious or nonreligious purposes, just as in English. For instance, *when we speak of eating breakfast cereal we certainly do not mean to imply worship of the goddess Ceres*. The word has simply been borrowed and applied to products previously believed to be under the special protection of the goddess of that name. Similarly *we celebrate Easter, which bears the name of the Anglo-Saxon goddess Eostre*, without intending to venerate her at all. If anyone insists that these etymologies prove the mythological character of our beliefs, we should have every right to laugh him out of court, and yet such reasoning is still common among historians of religion. In the Bible the goddess Ashtaroth appears in the term *asterot (has—)son*, meaning "sheep-breeding" (several times in Deut.). Since Astarte was best known as the patroness of sexual reproduction, this is a very natural development, quite acceptable in Israel, as the Israelites had little feeling for the religious connotations of the expression. The three words *dagan, tiros*, and *yishar*, referring to grain, wine, and oil, respectively, often appear together. *Dagan*, "grain," comes from the name of the god Dagan. . . . Similarly, it is now virtually certain that *tiros*, "wine," . . . is derived from the Canaanite divine name *Tirsu*, . . . In view of these parallels, *yishar* which takes the place of the ordinary word for oil, *semen*, is almost certainly the name of an old god of olive oil, . . . As emphasized above in Chapter 1, Ps. 68 is an anthology of opening lines and strophes of ancient poems, and it would not be at all surprising to find such echoes of pagan material in it. Note that in none of these cases is there any reason to suppose that the Hebrew writers were deliberately employing pagan expressions. *Some of the names of pagan divinities have simply become secular Hebrew words with no pagan meaning; mythological expressions are used as poetic symbolism without indicating the slightest reverence for the original pagan deities*, just as in many Christian poets of the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries A. D. (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, pages 185, 186, 188)

Dr. Clandestine makes quite an issue over the Song of Solomon, but makes no mention of the fact that when Joseph Smith prepared his Inspired Version of the Bible he completely deleted it from the Bible (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 392). Smith claimed, in fact, that "The Songs of Solomon are not inspired writings" ("A History of Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible," Ph.D. dissertation by Reed C. Durham, Jr., Brigham Young University, 1965, pages 64-65). It is interesting to note, however, that even though Joseph Smith said the Song of Solomon was not inspired, it is quoted in some of his revelations in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. For more information on this matter see our book *Mormon Scriptures and the Bible*, pages 43-44.

While the Song of Solomon does seem to deal with sexual matters, it can hardly be used as an excuse to avoid facing the truth about the Book of Abraham. One of the scenes shown in Facsimile No. 2 of the Book of Abraham is actually a pornographic representation of an ithyphallic god (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 341-343). Joseph Smith claimed that the scene "Represents God sitting upon his throne, . . ." While it is easy to believe a pagan deity

might be represented in such a way, it would be hard to believe that Abraham would draw an obscene picture of God. On page 58 of the rebuttal, Dr. Clandestine recommends the work of Michael Dennis Rhodes on Facsimile No. 2. The reader will notice, however, that Mr. Rhodes agrees with us that Facsimile No. 2 shows an ithyphallic god:

7. A seated *ithyphallic* god with a hawk's tail, holding aloft the divine flail. . . .

The seated god is *clearly a form of Min, the god of the regenerative, procreative forces of nature, perhaps combined with Horus as the hawk's tail would seem to indicate. . . .* The procreative forces, receiving unusual accentuation throughout the representation, may stand for many divine generative powers, not least of which might be cojoined with the blessings of the priesthood in one's posterity eternally. (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Spring 1977, page 273)

We feel that Michael Dennis Rhodes has done an excellent piece of work on Facsimile No. 2. His translation confirms the work of Dee Jay Nelson which we published in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* While Joseph Smith would have the Mormons believe that it is “a facsimile from the Book of Abraham,” Michael Dennis Rhodes admits that it is an Egyptian “hypocephalus”:

Taken as a whole, the figures and illustrations of the hypocephalus all seem to point toward the Egyptians' hope in a resurrection and life after death. Although this message seems to be conveyed by a strange assortment of gods, animals, and mixtures of both, it is well to remember that to the Egyptians these were all aspects of the One God who manifested himself in many forms. . . . The text of the hypocephalus itself seems to be *an address to Osiris, the god of the Dead, on behalf of the deceased, Sheshonk.* (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Spring 1977, pages 273-274).

We understand that one scholar from the BYU who has examined the rebuttal has commented that the author has tried to defeat the Tanners with their own club—i.e., the Bible. In so doing, however, for many he may end up destroying faith in both Joseph Smith and the Bible. We feel that Dr. Clandestine should seriously consider what he is trying to do. If he wants to make an attack on the Bible, he should do it openly and not use the pretext that he is defending Mormonism. Such an approach just does not make good sense.

HATED FOR TELLING TRUTH?

Dr. Clandestine makes these observations on pages 4-5 of the rebuttal:

. . . it is *perspective*—being able to see an issue in its totality and presenting its component parts in their relationships to each other and to the whole—that is the purpose and goal of writing history. A non-Mormon historian who has spent many years studying Mormonism recently commented that the Tanners choose only the most negative evidence to portray the “reality” of Mormonism and its history, while ignoring evidence or entire issues that do not support their interpretations. It is fair to say also that some Mormon defenders have also done equal disservice to the LDS Church by adopting the same method in reverse: . . . If Mormon defenders have on occasion been guilty of some of the polemical techniques used by the Tanners, that still does not justify or sanctify distortion. . . . the selective use of

evidence to provide a distorted view of the historical subject is a deception, even if inadvertent or well-intentioned.

We feel that Dr. Clandestine has given some excellent rules for writing about historical issues. Unfortunately, however, he has failed to follow his own advice in the rebuttal. He has been almost completely one-sided in his presentation. He chooses only the “most negative evidence” and fails to note many of the contributions we have made to the study of Mormon history. We do not claim, of course, that we are free from bias; we feel that all men are afflicted to some extent with this problem. Nevertheless, we have tried to be honest and fair in our treatment of Mormonism. For example, when we discovered that an anti-Mormon pamphlet which was attributed to one of the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon was a forgery, we published this fact to the world. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 55, we referred to this pamphlet as a “spurious work; and we even went so far as to write a booklet pointing out the evidence that led us to that conclusion (see *A Critical Look—A Study of the Overstreet “Confession” and the Cowdery “Defence”*). Dr. Clandestine could hardly accuse us of being one-sided against the Church in this matter. As a matter of fact, we have had a number of anti-Mormons who have strongly disagreed with us on this matter. They seem to feel that we have been one-sided towards the Mormon Church. In any case, Dr. Clandestine never even mentions this matter.

When three California researchers claimed that some of the pages of the Book of Mormon manuscript were actually in the handwriting of Solomon Spalding, we could not agree with their conclusion and publicly dissented. We could have kept silent, but we chose to make a public stand on the matter. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* for July 8, 1977, reported:

SALT LAKE CITY (AP)—One of Mormonism's longstanding critics has joined the church in discounting conclusions of California researchers that the Book of Mormon was pirated from the writings of a 19th Century novelist.

In an article published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1977, page 60, Lester E. Bush, Jr., stated:

Meanwhile, William Kaye, second of the handwriting experts, arrived in Salt Lake City on July 7 to study a page of the original Book of Mormon manuscript. . . . Accompanying Kaye was Jerald Tanner, perhaps the best known present-day publisher of “anti-Mormon” literature. Tanner . . . felt the hand-writing allegations to be a “poor case.” While disclaiming handwriting expertise, he said there were “too many dissimilarities” evident, which “just an ordinary layman could spot.”

We not only made statements on radio stations and in the newspapers concerning the Spalding matter, but we also wrote a book on the subject, *Did Spalding Write the Book of Mormon?* At the very time Dr. Clandestine's rebuttal came out we were working on more material on this subject. This project now has to be set aside so that we can deal with the accusations which he made against us.

Although our stand on the Spalding matter has probably cost us a great deal of support from anti-Mormons, we feel that it was the right thing to do. The reader will notice that in his attempt to present us as entirely one-sided, Dr. Clandestine does not even mention this matter.

Unlike Dr. Clandestine, we do not profess to be “professionally trained” historians, and have never claimed to be writing an actual history of the Mormon Church. To try to view *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* as a detailed history of Mormonism is a mistake. On page 4 of this book we plainly stated: “After making a long and careful study of the Book of Mormon and the history of the Mormon Church, we have come to the conclusion that the claims made by the Mormon Church leaders are false. In this book we will try to present some of the evidence which has led to this conclusion.” We try to present our case in much the same way as a lawyer would present a case in court. We have always encouraged people to read both sides of the question. Unlike Dr. Nibley and many other Mormon apologists, we tell where the reader can find articles and books which are opposed to our point of view. Then we leave the reader to judge the matter and decide who has the strongest case. Although we have tried to be honest about the matters we deal with, we have not attempted to present all the good things which the Church has done. We feel that a person can read about these things in the Church’s many publications. After all, the Church spends millions of dollars to polish its own image in the eyes of the world. It has a newspaper, a large publishing company and many radio and television stations.

The following comparison might help the reader to understand our position: we feel like we were once part of a large family (the Mormon Church) which lived in a beautiful wooden building. One day, however, we went down into the basement and saw a termite coming out of the wood. Our curiosity was aroused and so we decided to do some more checking. We found that the beam the termite came out of was just filled with termites. We ran upstairs to tell our brothers and sisters what we had found. We were certain that they would want to know about this. Instead, however, they laughed at us and said the termite inspectors (Hugh Nibley, John A. Widtsoe and Joseph Fielding Smith) were down there not too long ago. They had thoroughly inspected the foundation and had found it to be sound. Therefore, we must be mistaken about the matter.

We thought this over and then decided to go back down into the basement to do some more checking. We went back to the beam (the First Vision) and found that it was so full of termites that it was about to break. We decided to check another beam (Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church*) and found exactly the same problem. We went from beam to beam (the *Doctrine and Covenants*, the Book of Mormon, the Book of Abraham and etc.) and found that they were all filled with termites and that the whole foundation of the building was so eaten up by the termites that the whole structure looked like it was about to come down. We ran back upstairs to try and warn our brothers and sisters. This time they became angry with us. They would not even come down into the basement to check the matter out; instead, they said we were having delusions and that the problem was all in our own head. After all, they reasoned, wasn’t this a beautiful building we lived in? The paint was in good shape; in fact, everything upstairs was in excellent condition. Even the furniture and the garden witnessed to the good care that had been given to the premises. How could a beautiful building like this possibly have a foundation filled with termites? Our brothers and sisters severely reprimanded us for going back down into the basement and wanted to know why we would want to embarrass the family in this way. We should spend our time making good comments about the building and not be so one-sided.

The Apostle Paul once remarked: “Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth” (Galatians 4:16)? We wonder whether the hostility which Dr. Clandestine and other Mormon scholars show towards us is not really a manifestation of the anger they feel but cannot express towards their own Church leaders for allowing the documents to be in such a deplorable state. After all, we did not change Joseph Smith’s revelations nor did we falsify the *History of the Church*. The early Mormon leaders were the ones responsible for these serious problems. We merely reported the facts, and it makes no more sense to attack us than for a man to attack his doctor because he tells him he has cancer.

Many of the liberal Church scholars like Dr. Clandestine feel that there are problems in the Church but that they must be straightened out gradually. They believe that we are moving far too fast. We, of course, do not agree with this thinking and feel that it would take forever to get these things straightened out at the rate most of them are moving.

A CHALLENGE TO DEBATE

From the evidence which we have presented it is clear that the Mormon Church Historian conspired with others in a plan to destroy our reputation and the influence of our work. The plot was hatched under the greatest of secrecy. We do not know how much money was spent in carrying out this plan, but if we include the research, writing, editing, printing and the clandestine method of distribution it could have amounted to thousands of dollars. We know that over a year elapsed before this scheme was put into effect. The conspirators came upon us like a band of assassins in the night, firing “from ambush.” Fortunately, however, the ammunition which they used was defective, and our work stands unscathed from the attack. We were able to trace the tracks back into the Historical Department of the Church, and now the perpetrators of this deed stand unmasked before the world.

We now call upon those who might know more about this attempt to destroy our work to come forth and tell us the details. Also, we challenge Leonard Arrington, D. Michael Quinn and everyone else who was involved in this surreptitious plot to come forth and meet us in a public debate. We will even pay to rent the hall. We are not angry with the people involved in this scheme and certainly would treat them with courtesy if they would agree to meet in public debate. Actually, we have always wanted to see these issues openly discussed, and those who have put forth this rebuttal have really done us a great favor in drawing public attention to our book. One man who read the rebuttal has written us a letter in which he stated: “If that pamphlet is the best the church has been able to come up with in the 6 years since *Shadow or Reality* was published, the church must be really desperate.”

It is true that there are some members of the Mormon Church who would blindly accept anything the Church put out as an adequate answer to our book, but those who think for themselves and examine both sides of the question will find this rebuttal to be unsatisfactory. The Mormon historians apparently believed they were going to deal us a serious blow with this rebuttal, but we are sure that time will reveal that they have made an incredible blunder. In fact, if they were to have sat down and planned a method to promote our work they could have hardly come up with a better idea. It is also interesting to note that the response has come at a perfect time for us. Sales on *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* have

jumped to over 24,000 copies, and now a representative of a major publishing company has written us a letter in which he said his firm is “vitaly interested in being the publisher of your materials.” If an arrangement is worked out, we should have a distribution which is almost beyond our imagination.

In any case, the pamphlet, *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism* really provides a very

“distorted view” of our work. Those who have not already read *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* should be open minded enough to carefully read and examine its contents. We feel that they will find the rebuttal does not even begin to deal with the serious issues which we have raised. In this response to Dr. Clandestine we have pointed out a number of serious errors. We hope to deal with others at a later time.



PART 2

Added November 1, 1978

A number of things have happened since we first published *Answering Dr. Clandestine: A Response to the Anonymous LDS Historian*. To begin with, we have now signed a contract with Moody Press to bring out a condensed version of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* This should give a distribution to the book that we could never expect to obtain printing it ourselves. As we predicted, the anonymous historian's response has turned out to be an incredible blunder. The pamphlet has only tended to increase our sales of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* We have now sold over 28,000 copies!

Neither Michael Quinn nor Leonard Arrington have made any response to our call for a public discussion of the issues surrounding the production of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*. Many members of the Church are ashamed that the Church Historical Department would attack us anonymously. Chad Flake, a longstanding critic of our publications, had to admit that the credibility of the rebuttal was marred by the method it was produced:

"Here's a man who's writing to evaluate the Tanners, yet he doesn't have enough gumption to put his name on it. The credibility of the pamphlet, as far as I'm concerned, is nill," remarks Clad Flake, associate professor of library science and Director of Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU. ("Jerald and Sandra Tanner," unpublished paper by Gary James Bergera, pages 6-7)

Although all the evidence seems to link D. Michael Quinn to the rebuttal, he refuses to confess his role in the matter. Gary Bergera interviewed Dr. Quinn and reported the following:

While neither affirming nor denying the charge that he wrote the attack, Quinn adds, "if they want to attribute [attribute] me as the author, they're free to, just as long as they spell my name right." (*Ibid.*, page 7)

ARRINGTON CAUGHT RED-HANDED

The reader will remember that in Part 1, pages 2-4, of this pamphlet, we presented evidence showing that Dr. Leonard Arrington, Church Historian, was involved in the production of the anonymous rebuttal. In spite of the evidence, on three different occasions Dr. Arrington denied to us that he had any connection with the pamphlet and said that he did not know who the author was. He maintained, in fact, that he knew nothing about the rebuttal until it actually appeared in print.

Dr. Arrington's entire defense was shattered when we received a letter dated August 3, 1978. In this letter we found this startling information:

I have a *typewritten copy* of "Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?" by a Latter-day Saint Historian. It was sent to me with a cover letter from Leonard Arrington dated Sept. 6, 1977. If this means anything to you I would appreciate my name not being used. . . . Leonard showed an interest in keeping me in the Church. I must say the arguments he and other historians used actually pushed me out faster. I was amazed that such scholars as these men would resort to the illogical arguments and untenable positions they presented to me. . . . I could not maintain membership in an organization assuming the position the Church is in now. I . . . wrote a letter asking to have my membership removed.

Since the rebuttal was not published until December, 1977, we knew that if Dr. Arrington sent a typed copy of the article together with a "cover letter" on September 6, 1977, he would have had to have been implicated in the project. We asked the person who made this accusation to furnish us with photographs of the documents. We received a copy of both the typewritten manuscript and Arrington's cover letter. The reader will find a photograph of Dr. Arrington's letter on the next page of this pamphlet—only the recipient's name has been covered over. In this letter Arrington stated:

A historian friend of mine the other day brought me this copy of a letter he had sent to one of his friends who had been reading some of the Tanner materials. I thought you might be interested in reading this as well, and I asked him for permission to xerox a copy for you. He kindly consented. I thought this would be particularly appropriate for you to read because it helps to put some perspective on the principal publication of the Tanners.

This letter proves beyond all doubt that Leonard Arrington was deeply involved in the whole matter and tends to confirm the statement in Richard Steven Marshall's paper:

Durham . . . said that due to the large number of letters the Church Historian's Office is receiving asking for answers to the things the Tanners have published, a certain scholar (name deliberately withheld) was appointed to write a general answer to the Tanners . . . The work is finished but its publication is delayed, according to what Leonard Arrington told Durham, because they cannot decide how or where to publish it. Because the article is an open and honest approach to the problem, although it by no means answers all of the questions raised by the Tanners, it will probably be published anonymously, to avoid any difficulties which could result were such an article connected with an official Church agency. ("The New Mormon History," pages 61-62)

CHURCH
 HISTORICAL
 DEPARTMENT
 SALT LAKE CITY

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
 East Wing
 50 East North Temple Street
 Salt Lake City, Utah 84150
 Phone (801) 531-7745

September 6, 1977

A historian friend of mine the other day brought me this copy of a letter which he had sent to one of his friends who had been reading some of the Tanner materials. I thought you might be interested in reading this as well, and I asked him for permission to xerox a copy for you. He kindly consented. I thought this would be particularly appropriate for you to read because it helps to put some perspective on the principal publication of the Tanners.

I wish you well in all of your research and striving for the truth.

Sincerely,


 Leonard J. Arrington
 Church Historian

LJA/ny

Enc.

Photograph of a letter written by Church Historian Leonard Arrington. This letter proves he was implicated in the production of the anonymous rebuttal.

REBUTTAL ALTERED

The typed copy of the rebuttal tends to verify the accusations which we made in Part 1, page 6, of this pamphlet. The reader may remember that *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* purports to be a copy of a letter written by an anonymous Mormon historian to a friend. We pointed out, however, that since the printed version contains information which was not published until September or October of 1977, it could not be identical to a copy seen by a Mormon scholar in the latter part of 1976. We pointed out, for instance, that a footnote on page 61 of the rebuttal which refers to the September 1977 issue of *The Ensign* would have to be an interpolation. The typed copy reveals that we were correct in this assumption. Not only was the footnote added, but nineteen words were inserted into the text of the purported letter just before the footnote number appears.

On page 6 of this pamphlet we also noted that in footnote 67 (page 58 of the published rebuttal) *BYU Studies*, Spring 1977, is cited. We pointed out, however, that the distribution of this issue was delayed until October 1977. The typed copy again confirms our allegation. It does not refer to *BYU Studies* but only to "a paper" by Michael Rhodes which was "delivered at the Welch Lecture Series." The footnote goes on to state that "hopefully . . . Rhodes' work will become available in print."

A very interesting change in the text of the letter appears just above the footnote number. In the earlier typed copy, it is claimed that Dr. Hugh Nibley (probably the most well-known Church apologist) has only "limited experience" in the Egyptian language, whereas Michael Rhodes and Eric Olson have "extensive experience":

. . . the work of Hugh Nibley (who has limited experience in the Egyptian language), Michael Rhodes, and Eric Olsen (both of whom have had extensive experience with the Egyptian language) on the Joseph Smith papyri have indicated some valuable insights . . .

In the published version, page 58, nineteen words have been deleted so that Dr. Nibley seems to achieve equal status:

. . . the work of Hugh Nibley, Michael Rhodes, and Eric Olson on the Joseph Smith papyri have indicated some valuable insights . . .

In comparing the typed copy of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* with the printed version we find many changes have been made. We estimate that at least 400 words were deleted and over 600 added. These changes were made in spite of the fact that Dr. Clandestine claims to be a "professionally trained historian." On page 42 of his booklet, Clandestine charges that "James Madison made extensive changes in his own notes of the Constitutional Convention twenty years after they were originally written, and his 'contemporary' *Notes* were published as he had changed them rather than as he had originally written them; . . ." He goes on, however, to tell of the "present standards concerning plagiarizing, footnoting, and editorial adherence to the original manuscript . . ." If Dr. Clandestine is really a "professionally trained historian" and is familiar with the "present standards" in professional historical writing, why did

he fail to follow them in this piece of work? He purports to give us a copy of a letter which apparently saved a Mormon convert from apostasy, yet extensive changes have been made in the text of the "letter" without any indication.

While most of the changes are not very important, some of them are significant. A change concerning Joseph Smith's "strange" account of the First Vision is an interesting example. In the typed version of the rebuttal, Clandestine maintained that "The manuscript version of this experience was in the handwriting of Frederick G. Williams (a counselor in the First Presidency in 1834), and was undoubtedly known . . ." In the printed version, however, this has been changed to read: "The 1832 manuscript version of the vision was in the handwriting of Joseph Smith (even though a scribe wrote the rest of it), and was undoubtedly known . . ." The printed version is correct in stating that the "strange" account of the First Vision is in Joseph Smith's own handwriting. That Dr. Clandestine would make the mistake of saying that it was in the handwriting of Frederick G. Williams is not too surprising because it was originally identified as his handwriting. Nevertheless, if Clandestine had carefully read *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* he would not have made this blunder. On page 146 we stated:

Upon more careful examination of this document, Dean C. Jessee has discovered that part of it is in the handwriting of Joseph Smith himself: "This six-page account is the only history containing the *actual handwriting of Joseph Smith*, a fact that was not detected when this account was previously analyzed. The pages contain his account of the First Vision . . ." (*BYU Studies*, Summer 1971, page 462, note 78).

A comparison of an original letter by Joseph Smith—printed in *BYU Studies*, Summer 1971, pages 517-23—with the portion of this six-page account which mentions the First Vision seems to show that this part is in the handwriting of Joseph Smith himself!

If Dr. Clandestine accidentally overlooked this material, he should have caught the following on pages 579-580:

On page 146 of this book, we stated that the account of the First Vision which mentions only *one personage* . . . is probably in Joseph Smith's own handwriting. . . . Dean C. Jessee now definitely maintains that this account of the First Vision is in Joseph Smith's own handwriting: "A closer look at the original document has shown that while Williams wrote the beginning and end of the narrative, *Joseph Smith wrote the remainder, including the portion containing the details of his First Vision*. This is the *only* known account of the Vision in *his own hand*. Most of his writings were dictated, which is not to say that other accounts are less authentic" (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Spring 1971, page 86).

It is certainly interesting to note that the only account of the First Vision in Joseph Smith's own handwriting is the account which mentions only *one personage*.

It appears, then, that Dr. Clandestine had not carefully read *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* when he originally wrote his rebuttal. Since the manuscript was apparently read by a number of people before publication, it seems likely that someone pointed out this error. While speaking of errors, we should probably acknowledge one of our own: Dean C. Jessee's article which identified the handwriting as Smith's appeared in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* rather

BYU Studies. The date and page number are the same—i.e., “Spring 1971, page 86.

At one point in the typewritten manuscript (page 22), Dr. Clandestine charged that incessant repetition leads a person “to suspend rational thought in favor of total acceptance. *This characteristic of Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s publications is more akin to Madison Avenue advertising techniques, hypnotism, Nazi approach to propaganda, and other mind-control efforts.*” In the published version (page 27) this has been changed to read: “. . . to suspend rational thought in favor of total acceptance. *The negative consequences of such a technique are obvious.*”

In the typed copy (page 10), Clandestine said that “glorifying our leaders” makes the Church “vulnerable to the muckraking, naive, and hypocritical *ad hominem* attacks of people like Jerald and Sandra Tanner.” In a published version (page 11) this was softened to read: “. . . vulnerable to shallow, muckraking *ad hominum* attacks on their leaders.”

On page 6 of the typed copy, Dr. Clandestine tries to deal with our quotation from a Mormon writer that a number of people had a visionary experience in which “a steamboat past over Kirtland in the air” (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 62)! This portion has been completely deleted in the printed version of the rebuttal.

In the typed copy (page 6), Clandestine says that “The Tanners proclaim that they are evangelical Christians, and firm believers in the Bible, and therefore I suspect that they would try to explain why Jesus required secrecy, . . .” In the printed version (page 6) this has been shortened to read: “I suspect that the Tanners would try to explain why Jesus required secrecy, . . .”

The detection of one minor difference between the manuscript and the printed version—probably a typographical error—tends to strengthen our case that Michael Quinn was involved in writing the rebuttal. The reader may remember that in Part 1, page 3, of this pamphlet we demonstrated that two footnotes which appeared in Dr. Quinn’s dissertation have been incorporated into the rebuttal and that the wording is almost identical. There was a difference in the first footnote which puzzled us a little. In the dissertation it read: “Letter of Ezra Booth in *Ohio Star*, December 8, 1831.” In the rebuttal the word “of” was changed to read “to”: “Letter *to* Ezra Booth in *Ohio Star*, 8 December 1831, . . .” The word “to” makes it appear that Booth was not the author of the letter. A person, therefore, might argue that since Michael Quinn knew that the letter was written by Booth, he would not make such a mistake in the rebuttal. The typed copy, however, destroys any basis for such an argument, for it agrees with Quinn’s dissertation: “Letter *of* Ezra Booth in *Ohio Star*, 8 December 1831, . . .”

While the change concerning Booth’s letter appears to be just an accidental mistake, the rebuttal is filled with many changes which were obviously deliberate. We estimated that over 1,000 words were either added or deleted. If it were not for the fact that Dr. Clandestine put his work forth as a copy of a “letter” which he prepared “for a friend” who was troubled after reading our book, we would have no objection to the changes. Every author has the right to change his own manuscript. We certainly do not feel, however, that a “professionally trained historian” should make changes in the contents of a letter. It appears, then, that Mormon apologists

who would defend the rebuttal are faced with a serious dilemma. If the letter was genuine, the printed version is a falsified copy. On the other hand, if they admit that it was never really a “letter,” they will have to explain why it was published as such. Neither alternative seems very attractive.

SKIMMING

We have previously raised the question as to whether the anonymous LDS historian had carefully read *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* or had merely skimmed through its pages. That he did not carefully read the book seems obvious from an accusation he made on pages 49-50 of his pamphlet:

The Tanners also feel that they have repudiated the ancient claims of the Book of Mormon through their painstaking survey of secular literature that was available to Joseph Smith, passages of which are very similar to passages in the Book of Mormon. Before I relate this issue to ancient scripture, let me give a few examples of the Tanners’ overzealousness to prove their point in this matter. For example, the Tanners (page 68) accuse Joseph Smith of borrowing a Book of Mormon phrase (Item Y) that the Gospel ministry should be “without money and without price” from the 1827 *Wayne Sentinel* (Item X). A far older and better known antecedent for either or both is Isaiah 55:1.

Dr. Clandestine seems to feel that he has made an important discovery by finding the words “without money and without price” in Isaiah 55:1. If he had carefully read *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 68, he would have found that we already pointed this out:

In the *Wayne Sentinel* (published in Joseph Smith’s neighborhood) for September 7, 1827, we find a copy of an “Epistle” from the “Yearly Meeting of Friends in London.” In this “Epistle” we find an attack on the paid ministry, stating that “the ministry of the Gospel is to be *without money and without price.*” In the Book of Mormon, Alma 1:20, we read: “. . . they did impart the word of God, one with another, *without money and without price.*” The words “without money and without price” also appear in Isaiah 55:1. Nevertheless, it is interesting that both the “Epistle” published in the *Wayne Sentinel* and the Book of Mormon use these words to attack a paid ministry.

DEFENDS LYING

On page 6 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, Dr. Clandestine makes this accusation:

The Tanners are guilty of such distortion as they seek to repudiate Mormonism by applying inflexible standards of criticism that they seem unwilling to apply to the rest of sacred history. . . . the Tanners criticize at length (pages 245-51) “secrecy” in Mormonism despite the precedents of Christ’s instructions to maintain secrecy about healings (Matthew 8:4; Mark 7:35-36; Luke 5:13-14, 8:55-56), about the fact that he was the Christ (Matthew 16:20; Mark 7:36; Luke 9:21), and about the Transfiguration (Matthew 17:9; Mark 9:9). I suspect that the Tanners would try to explain why Jesus required secrecy, but such explanation would give a biblical “problem” a perspective they deny to a similar (if not identical) issue in Mormon history.

A person reading only Dr. Clandestine's rebuttal would get the impression that we used a double standard with regard to secrecy. Actually, the pages Clandestine refers to (245-51) deal with much more than just secrecy. These pages show that Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders made untruthful statements with regard to polygamy. For instance, the Mormon Church now admits that Joseph Smith lived in polygamy toward the end of his life, yet on May 26, 1844, just a month before his death, Joseph Smith absolutely denied the accusation that he was a polygamist:

What a thing it is for a man to be accused of committing adultery, and having seven wives, when I can only find one.

I am the same man, and as innocent as I was fourteen years ago; and I can prove them all perjurers. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 411)

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we show that on many occasions the Mormon leaders emphatically denied polygamy at the very time they were living in it. This can hardly be compared with “Christ’s instructions to maintain secrecy” about certain things. We feel that it is not always wise to broadcast everything we know, but this is far different than lying. Jesus never tells us to lie; in fact, He tells us that it is the devil who is the father of lies (John 8:44). In Colossians 3:9 we read: “Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds.” One untruthful statement seems to lead to another. For instance, in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 247-248, we show that some of Joseph and Hyrum Smith’s statements denying polygamy were so embarrassing to later Mormon leaders that they were altered in the *History of the Church*. Since publishing our book, we have learned that a statement in Joseph Smith’s *History* which sanctions plural marriage was actually a condemnation of the practice before it was falsified. This statement was used by Joseph Fielding Smith, who later became the tenth president of the Mormon Church, in rebuttal to a member of the Reorganized LDS Church who claimed that Joseph Smith never endorsed the doctrine of plurality of wives:

Whether any such statement was ever printed in his lifetime or not I am not prepared to say. But I know of such evidence being recorded during his lifetime, for I have seen it.

I have copied the following from the Prophet’s manuscript record of Oct. 5, 1843, and know it is genuine:

“Gave instructions to try those persons who were preaching, teaching or practicing the doctrine of plurality of wives; for according to the law, I hold the keys of this power in the last days; for there is never but one on earth at a time on whom this power and its keys are conferred; and I have constantly said no man shall have but one wife at a time unless the Lord directs otherwise.” (*Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage*, by Joseph Fielding Smith, page 55)

When Joseph Fielding Smith speaks of “the Prophet’s manuscript record” he is, of course, referring to the handwritten manuscript of the *History of the Church*. The same reference is printed in the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 46.

Now that we know that Joseph Smith’s *History* was not finished until after his death, it is obvious that it could not have been “recorded during his lifetime” as Joseph Fielding Smith claimed. According to a chart in Dean Jessee’s article in *Brigham Young University Studies*, Summer 1971, page 441,

this material was not written until sometime between November 1854 and August 1855, which is about ten years after Smith’s death. In our research in Joseph Smith’s diaries we found that the entry in the manuscript record and the *History of the Church* is based on a statement recorded in Joseph Smith’s diary. When we compare the two, however, we find that the statement has been falsified so that the meaning is entirely changed. In Joseph Smith’s diary the statement flatly condemns polygamy and no exceptions are made for its practice:

... gave instructions to try those who were preaching teaching or practicing the doctrine of plurality of wives or this law—Joseph forbids it. and the practice thereof. No man shall have but one wife. (Joseph Smith Diary, October 5, 1843, Church Historical Department)

The reader will notice how this has been changed in the *History of the Church*, to make it appear that Joseph Smith has the “keys of power” to perform plural marriages if the Lord “directs otherwise”:

Gave instructions to try those persons who were preaching, teaching, or practicing the doctrine of plurality of wives; for, according to the law, I hold the keys of this power in the last days; for there is never but one on earth at a time on whom the power and its keys are conferred; and I have constantly said no man shall have but one wife at a time, unless the Lord directs otherwise. (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 46)

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 242-243, we show that in 1886 John Taylor, the third President of the Church, gave a revelation in which the Lord was supposed to have told him that the Church could never give up the practice of plural marriage. Just four years later, however, the Church issued the Manifesto—a document which was supposed to put a stop to the practice. (Those who are caught practicing polygamy today are excommunicated from the Church.) Since both the Manifesto and John Taylor’s 1886 revelation could not possibly have come from the same God, the Mormon leaders decided to suppress the revelation. At one time the First Presidency of the Mormon Church issued an “Official Statement” which claimed that “no such a revelation exists.” In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we presented evidence which demonstrated that the “Official Statement” is untrue.

In his study, “The New Mormon History,” pages 76-77, Richard Stephen Marshall quotes both Reed Durham and Max Parkin, of the LDS Institute of Religion, as saying that the leaders of the Church have not told the truth about the 1886 revelation:

The official Church position on the 1886 revelation is that it never was given and does not exist. . . . [Mark E.] Petersen’s book calls the 1886 revelation spurious. Historical evidence would seem to indicate, in contradiction to the book, that the revelation was given and is at present moment contained in the Church archives.

Reed Durham told this writer that it is “an out and out lie” to say that the 1886 revelation does not exist. He said, “I could stand before the Bar of God and prove that revelation was given. I have minutes of the meetings of the First Presidency and of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles referring to it.”

While Durham calls it an “out and out lie” to deny the revelation was given, Max Parkin, one of his colleagues, calls it a “lie of expediency.” He says that the mandate to carry the gospel, as taught by the Church, to all the nations of the world, is compelling to the degree that historical doctrines which could prove embarrassing to the Church, and thus hinder missionary work, are better covered or disavowed.

We do not see how Dr. Clandestine can excuse all of this dishonesty in the Church and yet be so critical of our work. In this regard it is interesting to note that those connected with the rebuttal emphatically denied any involvement in the project.

JOSEPH SMITH AND DRINKING

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 405-413, we show that Joseph Smith frequently broke the Word of Wisdom—a revelation that forbids the use of tobacco, alcoholic beverages, tea and coffee. Although many Mormons do not believe that Joseph Smith ever broke the Word of Wisdom, Dr. Clandestine seems willing to concede that there were some infractions of the rule:

A classic weapon of debate and polemics (*ad hominem* argument) is employed repeatedly by the Tanners to question how Mormonism could possibly be true when its leaders are guilty of sin, errors of judgment, and disagreeable personality traits. This is the direction of the Tanners’ response to *Joseph Smith’s polygamy, smoking and drinking*, financial failures, misjudgments of history and people, occasional temper outbursts, and a host of personality foibles. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 7)

In footnote 2 on page 9 of the same booklet, Clandestine speaks of Joseph Smith’s “occasional glass of beer or wine.” He tries to excuse Joseph Smith’s actions by referring to the use of wine in the Bible. Dr. Clandestine does not seem to get the point on this matter. Our contention is that since Joseph Smith gave the revelation on the Word of Wisdom, he, of all people, should have kept it. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 412, we gave this information:

We have shown that Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church, did not keep the Word of Wisdom, yet, according to Joseph Fielding Smith, Joseph Smith taught that *a member of the Church could not hold an office unless he observed the Word of Wisdom*: “One question considered was as follows: ‘Whether disobedience to the word of wisdom was a transgression sufficient to deprive an official member from holding office in the Church, after having it sufficiently taught him?’ After a free and full discussion **Joseph Smith**, who presided, gave his decision as follows: ‘*No official member in this Church is worthy to hold an office after having the word of wisdom properly taught him; and he, the official member, neglecting to comply with or obey it.*’ This decision was confirmed by unanimous vote.” (*Essentials in Church History*, page 169)

It is certainly strange that Joseph Smith could break the Word of Wisdom and yet retain his position as President of the Church. The thing that makes this especially strange is that when a member of the Church did not observe the Word of Wisdom, this was sometimes used against him if he was tried for his fellowship. Leonard J. Arrington stated: “Moreover, when a council at Far West tried a high church official (David Whitmer) for his fellowship, the first of the five charges against him was that he did not observe the Word

Thursday October 5
 morning walk out with Egan
 Butler-D. to farm 10. - - -
 3.00 walk on prairie to show some
 brethren some land. - one at home
 walked up and down & with wife -
 and gave instruction to try stop former
 practice teaching on ~~prohibiting~~ the doctrine of
 plurality of wives on this land. Joseph forbids
 it, and the practice thereof - We men
 side here but one wife

Photograph from Joseph Smith’s diary, October 5, 1843. Smith forbids the practice of polygamy.

of Wisdom” (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1959, page 40). As we have already shown, when Almon W. Babbitt was charged with not observing the Word of Wisdom, his only defence was that he “had taken the liberty to break the Word of Wisdom, from the example of President Joseph Smith, Jun., and others.”

If Joseph Smith had lived before the Word of Wisdom was given we would not have condemned him for the use of tobacco and alcoholic beverages, but since he gave the revelation his infractions cannot be easily overlooked.

On page 10 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, Dr. Clandestine charges:

In presenting the weaknesses and foibles of Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders, the Tanners write as though these were hidden secrets that they have been able to dredge up. . . . From what hidden records did the Tanners learn that Joseph Smith continued to drink wine and beer after the Word of Wisdom was given generally “as counsel” and occasionally enforced upon the Church?—From the official “History of Joseph Smith” in the *Deseret News* and *LDS Millennial Star* (See pages 406-407 for some of the Tanners’ own quotes).

Although it is true that some of our most important information comes from “the official ‘History of Joseph Smith,’” Dr. Clandestine is being very deceptive about this matter. Actually, the issues of the *Deseret News* and *LDS Millennial Star* which published this material are over 100 years old! These issues were, in fact, published under the leadership of Brigham Young—a man who was so liberal about the Word of Wisdom that he advised his people to grow their own tobacco and make their own whiskey. When

these references were reprinted in the 20th century, important changes were made. For instance, the *LDS Millennial Star* quoted Joseph Smith as making this statement:

Then went to John P. Greene's, and paid him and another brother \$200. *Drank a glass of beer at Moessers.* Called at William Clayton's, . . . (*Millennial Star*, vol. 23, page 720)

When this was reprinted in modern editions of the *History of the Church*, the words concerning the beer were deleted without any indication:

Then went to John P. Green's, and paid him and another brother \$200. Called at William Clayton's, . . . (*History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 424)

For a photograph of the documents demonstrating this change see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 7.

Although some references concerning Joseph Smith's use of wine are still published in the *History of the Church*, other items concerning his attitude toward whiskey and tobacco have been deleted without indication (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 6).

Dr. Clandestine must know that not more than a handful of Mormons are going to read Joseph Smith's *History* out of rare issues of publications that are over 100 years old when they can read it in volumes now printed by the Church. He should be honest enough to admit that the Church leaders have tried to cover up Joseph Smith's disregard for the Word of Wisdom.

Recently the diaries of Joseph Smith, which the Church had suppressed for about 130 years, have come to light. They contain two references relating to the Word of Wisdom which were never included in the *History of the Church*. Under the date of January 20, 1843, the following was recorded in Joseph Smith's Diary:

Elder Hyde told of the excellent *white wine* he drank in the east. *Joseph prophesied in the name of the Lord—that he would drink wine with him in that country.*

These words were suppressed in the printed *History of the Church*.

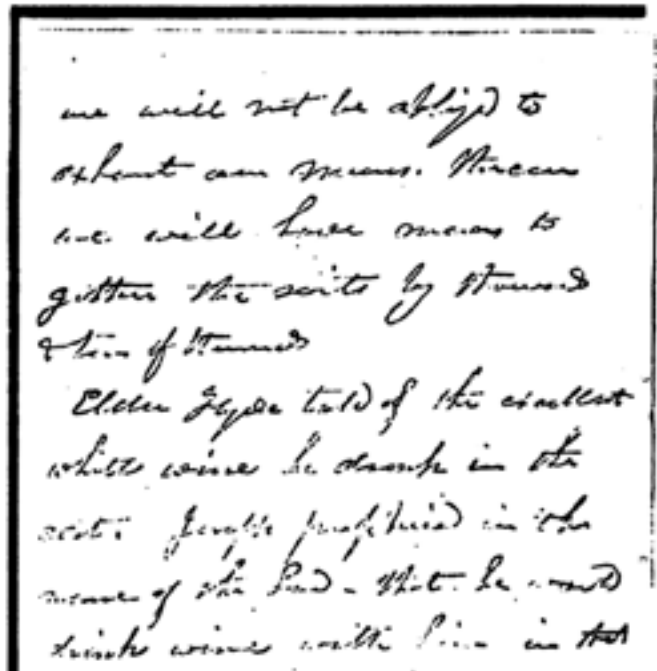
The Mormon Church forbids the use of tea, but according to Joseph Smith's Diary, March 11, 1843, Smith was fond of strong tea:

. . . in the office *Joseph said he had tea* with his breakfast. his wife asked him if [it] was good. he said *if it was a little stronger he should like it better*, when Mother Granger remarked, "It is so strong, and good, I should think it would answer Both for drink, and food."

This was entirely omitted in the *History of the Church* (see vol. 5, page 302).

It is interesting to note that the presence of tea and coffee in Joseph Smith's home caused one family to leave the Church. Mormon Apostle George A. Smith related the following:

. . . a certain family, . . . arrived in Kirtland, and the Prophet asked them to stop with him . . . Sister Emma, in the meantime, asked the old lady if she would have a cup of tea . . . or a cup of coffee. This whole family apostatized because they were invited to take a cup of tea or coffee, after the Word of Wisdom was given. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 2, page 214)



Photograph from Joseph Smith's Diary, January 20, 1843. Smith prophesied he would drink white wine.

Another statement which was probably embarrassing to the Mormon leaders appeared in Joseph Smith's Diary under the date of May 19, 1844: "eve I talked a long time in the bar Room . . ." In the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 398, this has been modified to read: "In the evening I talked to the brethren at my house, . . ."

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 408, we show that Joseph Smith sold liquor in Nauvoo, and that his wife Emma almost moved out when he installed a bar in the Nauvoo Mansion.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN PROPHECY

On pages 14-15 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, we find the following concerning Joseph Smith's famous Rocky Mountain Prophecy:

The failure to cite well-known evidence that challenges their conclusions occurs repeatedly in the Tanner's analysis of the seven-volume *History of the Church*. For example, it is implied (pages 134-35) that the prophecy of Joseph Smith about the Mormons moving to the Rocky Mountains (*HC* 5:85) was a falsification added to the history after the Mormons were actually in the Great Basin. However, in 1964 (eight years before this edition of *Shadow or Reality*) Stanley B. Kimball published a bibliography of sources for the Nauvoo history of Mormonism (of which the Tanners should have been aware) where he noted that the Oliver H. Olney Papers (written in 1842-43) at Yale University, "recorded the early plans of Joseph Smith to move west. . . ." If the Tanners did not trust that description, they or their widely scattered friends could have read the versified, anti-Mormon manuscript by Olney, dated July 2, 1842:

As a company is now a forming / In to the wilderness to go / As far west as the Rocky mountains. . . . If this was not the secret whispering / Amongst certain ones of the Church of L.D.S. / And could be easily proven If man could speak.

The Tanners are aware that the *History of the Church* was compiled from a variety of sources (many of which were only loaned to Church historians, to be returned once they had extracted pertinent information), and that the exact source for the account of Joseph Smith's prophecy of August 6, 1842, is not clear. Olney recorded the rumors about the move west in July, and someone else recorded the prophecy in August.

Dr. Clandestine seems to feel that the Olney manuscript sheds new light on the Rocky Mountain Prophecy. Actually, we read this manuscript before we published the 1972 edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* and even cited a reference to plural marriage in our book *Joseph Smith and Polygamy*, page 7. It was, in fact, partly because of Olney's manuscript that we said that there "is some evidence that Joseph Smith considered going west to build his kingdom . . ." (*Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 135). In his zeal to prove that we suppressed evidence, Dr. Clandestine seems to have completely overlooked this statement in our book.

In any case, while Olney does indicate that the Mormons were looking west, he says nothing about a prophecy given by Joseph Smith. The reader will notice that Dr. Clandestine says that "Olney recorded the rumors about the move west in July, and someone else recorded the prophecy in August." He is unable, however, to tell us just who this "someone else" might be, and has to admit that "the exact source for the account of Joseph Smith's prophecy of August 6, 1842 is not clear."

In the past Mormon writers maintained that Joseph Smith supervised the writing of the *History of the Church*. New evidence, however, has forced the admission that over 60% of the *History* was not compiled until after his death. When we published our enlarged edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* in 1972, we demonstrated that the famous Rocky Mountain Prophecy, attributed to Joseph Smith, was actually an interpolation crammed in between the lines of the original handwritten text in a much smaller handwriting (see pages 133-135). This indicated that the famous prophecy had been added to the manuscript sometime after this page was originally written. We cited a study by Dean C. Jessee, of the Church Historical Department, showing that the original page of "Joseph Smith's Manuscript History" was not even written until July 4, 1845—over a year after Smith's death! We reasoned that if the page was not written until July 4, 1845, then it was likely that the interpolation containing the prophecy was not added until after the Mormons came to Utah. We have recently found new evidence which further undermines the authenticity of this prophecy. Fortunately, in 1845 Brigham Young ordered the scribes to make a "duplicate hand-written copy of the History . . ." (*Brigham Young University Studies*, Summer 1971, page 469). We examined a microfilm of this second manuscript, Book D-2, page 2, and found that the "Rocky Mountain Prophecy" was written in very small handwriting between the lines. In other words, it was obviously added at a later time to this manuscript as well.

The situation, then, boils down to the following: we have two handwritten manuscripts, books D-1 and D-2. Neither of these books was even started until after Joseph Smith's

death. In both cases the prophecy concerning the Mormons coming to the Rocky Mountains has been interpolated in a smaller handwriting. From this evidence we can reach only one conclusion: the famous "Rocky Mountain Prophecy" is a forgery. The Church Historical Department has Joseph Smith's diary for 1842-43, but the first entry does not appear until December 21—some four months after the prophecy was supposed to have been given. Mormon scholars have been unable to come up with anything to support the authenticity of this prophecy. Davis Bitton, an Assistant Church Historian, has written almost five pages concerning this matter. He frankly states that "there is no such prophecy in the handwriting of Joseph Smith or published during the Prophet's lifetime, but it was referred to in general terms in 1846 during the trek west. After the arrival in the Salt Lake Valley the prophecy was frequently cited and became more specific as time went on" ("Joseph Smith in the Mormon Folk Memory," The John Whitmer Address, delivered at the Second Annual Meeting of the John Whitmer Historical Association, Lamoni, Iowa, September 28, 1974, unpublished manuscript, page 16).

Davis Bitton goes on to state that "The manuscript history covering this period was written in 1845, . . ." (This is, of course, a year after Joseph Smith's death.) Mr. Bitton then admits that the prophecy is an "insertion" which was added into the manuscript as "an afterthought" (*Ibid.*, page 18). Although Davis Bitton cannot find any real evidence that Joseph Smith made the famous "Rocky Mountain Prophecy," he does feel that there was "a time when something like this might have been said by Joseph Smith with considerable plausibility. Anytime during the last four years of his life, . . . the Prophet had good reason to consider possibilities for relocation. It can be demonstrated that he considered the possibility of settling in Oregon (or on Vancouver Island). He was attempting to negotiate some kind of colonization venture in Texas . . ." (*Ibid.*, page 17).

Davis Bitton admits that other changes were made in Joseph Smith's documents to support the idea that he knew the Mormons would come to the Rocky Mountains:

And in February 1844 the Prophet was organizing an exploring expedition to go to the West. There are some *interesting changes* in the way the description of this expedition was written by Willard Richards, secretary of Joseph Smith at the time, and the later revisions. The original, handwritten version reads: "Met with the Twelve in the assembly room concerning the Oregon Expedition." This has been modified to read "the Oregon and California Exploring Expedition." Continuing, the Richards manuscript reads, "I told them I wanted an exposition of all that country,"—which has been changed to "exploration of all that *mountain* country." There are other such changes that make one suspect that the *later compilers of the history*, notably George A. Smith and his assistants in the 1850s, were *determined to have Joseph Smith contemplating the precise location where the Saints had by then settled*. Oregon would not do; Oregon and California as then defined at least included the Rocky Mountains. If the Prophet could be made to say "mountain country" instead of just "country," it would appear that he clearly had in mind the future history of his followers. (*Ibid.*, pages 17-18)

Although some Mormons would like us to believe that Brigham Young knew all along that he was going to lead the

Mormons to “the midst of the Rocky Mountains,” there is evidence to show that he was somewhat confused about the matter, in a letter dated December 17, 1845, Young stated:

... we expect to emigrate West of the mountains next season. If we should eventually settle on *Vancouver's Island*, according to our calculation we shall greatly desire to have a mail route, ... if Oregon should be annexed to the United States, ... and Vancouver's Island incorporated in the same by our promptly paying national revenue, and taxes, we can live in peace with all men. (Photograph of letter in *Prologue*, Spring 1972, page 29)

In any case, Dr. Clandestine seems to miss the whole point with regard to the “Rocky Mountain Prophecy”—i.e., the Mormon Church always claimed that it was dictated by Joseph Smith himself, but all the evidence now indicates that it was not written in “Joseph Smith's Manuscript History” until after his death. It is interesting to note that on page 42 of his rebuttal, Dr. Clandestine admits that “Joseph Smith's autobiographical ‘History’ was written in large part *after his death* by clerks and ‘historians’ who *transformed third-person accounts by others than Joseph Smith into first-person autobiography of Joseph Smith*, ...” Clandestine would try to excuse all this saying that “until quite recently official LDS history, as written by men (often of limited education) who were not trained in methods of editing and history.” Now, while the early Mormons may not have been trained in “methods of editing and history,” they certainly knew enough to criticize their enemies when they broke the rules. We feel, therefore, that Dr. Clandestine's explanation for the falsification is a very poor excuse.

1826 TRIAL & SMITH'S MAGIC TALISMAN

In Part 1 of *Answering Dr. Clandestine*, we have already demonstrated that the anonymous Mormon historian has made a serious error with regard to Joseph Smith's 1826 trial. He claimed that the printing of the “court record” appeared in “contradictory versions.” We have shown, however, that the versions were the same.

Since we published the 1972 edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* Wesley P. Walters has brought forth a new discovery which also verifies the 1826 trial and shows that Joseph Smith was deeply involved in treasure digging and magical practices. Writing in *The Journal of Pastoral Practice*, Mr. Walters reveals the following:

Joseph Smith, Jr., before he became the founder and prophet of Mormonism, had made part of his living as a “glass looker.” By gazing into a peep-stone or seer stone, placed in a hat to obscure the light, he would attempt to see where buried treasure was hidden or to locate lost objects for people. This money digging activity and the court trials that grew out of that illegal practice have received new clarification through a recently discovered letter from a judge who, in 1830, tried Joseph Smith in Colesville, south central New York. The letter was written in 1842 by Joel King Noble, a justice of the peace in Colesville, Broome County ...

Our knowledge of Joseph Smith's activities in the Bainbridge area had previously, to a large extent, depended on the printed record of a trial at South Bainbridge in 1826, in which Joseph had admitted to his “glass looking” practices and was accordingly found guilty of breaking the law, though no sentence is recorded. ... the discovery in 1971 of the bills

of cost handed in to the county by Constable Philip DeZeng and Justice Neely for their services during the arrest and trial of Joseph Smith in 1826 have now established beyond doubt that the young “Glass looker” (as Mr. Neely's bill calls him) was indeed involved in glass looking for hidden treasure and lost objects, and that he was brought to trial for that crime. ... Mormons have recently been inclined to grant that Joseph Smith, Jr., was tried in 1826, but they do not believe he was found guilty, and they therefore tend to regard the printed record as a falsification. Mr. Noble's letter, however, now fills in the missing details and confirms the entire incident, so that there is no longer any reason to doubt the authenticity of the printed docket.

Judge Noble says quite unequivocally that “Jo. was condemned” in what he calls Joseph's “first trial.” Then he adds a detail that provides the clue to why no sentencing appears in the docket record even though Joseph was found guilty. Mr. Noble succinctly states that the “whisper came to Jo., ‘Off, Off!’” and so Joseph “took Leg Bail,” an early slang expression meaning “to escape from custody.” What is obviously happening is that the justices are privately suggesting to this first offender to “get out of town and don't come back,” and in exchange they will not impose sentence. This is why no sentence was recorded in the docket record of Mr. Neely.

In reporting the court's method of clemency, Judge Noble's statement agrees precisely with an early account of this 1826 trial published just five years after the trial had taken place. It was written by a young medical doctor who lived in South Bainbridge at the time, Dr. Abram Willard Benton, who like Mr. Noble mentions that Joseph had been involved in glass looking, and that he had been “tried and condemned.” Dr. Benton adds that because Joseph was a minor at the time, being 20 years old, “and thinking he might reform his conduct, he was designedly allowed to escape.” Therefore, the court, though it found him guilty of being in violation of the law, had intentionally not imposed sentence as a way of showing mercy on this youthful offender. ... Thus it is quite clear from all sides that Joseph wove occult religious material into his money digging practices, and this led the communities where he dug for treasure to associate him with divination, necromancy, and wizardry. ... Mr. Noble reports that he heard one witness testify that he had asked Joseph on one occasion whether he could actually “see or tell” more than anyone else, and Joseph had admitted he could not but added, “Anything for a living. I now and then get a Shilling.” However, it seems likely that he came at least half-way to believe in that realm of the occult, for he carried with him as a prized possession most of his life a talisman bearing the signs of Jupiter, and had it on him at the time of his death. Whatever his personal beliefs, his use of the religious elements of prayer and faith, as well as revelations telling where treasure could be found, shows a certain religious bent to his thinking and an inclination to use religious exercises as a means of manipulating people. Therefore, once he had determined to give up money digging after his close brush with the law in 1826, this occult religious interest made it easy for him to think in terms of producing a *religious* book from the gold plates he claimed to have discovered through the same stone he had used for his treasure hunting. (*The Journal of Pastoral Practice*, Summer 1977, pages 121-123, 127-128)

Wesley P. Walters has photographically reproduced Justice Noble's letter, and we have now included it in the pamphlet *Joseph Smith's Bainbridge, N.Y., Court Trials*. According to Justice Noble, when Joseph Smith was tried in his court in 1830 there was a discussion of Joseph's money

digging and use of magical practices. In the *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith himself admitted that money digging was discussed during the trial:

Next day I was brought before the magistrate's court at Colesville, Broome county, and put upon trial. . . .

Mr. Seymour . . . brought up, *the story of my having been a money-digger*; and in this manner proceeded, hoping evidently to influence the court and the people against me. (*History of the Church*, vol. 1, pages 91-93)

Two years after we published the enlarged edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* Dr. Reed Durham, who was Director of the LDS Institute of Religion at the University of Utah and President of the Mormon History Association, made a discovery which was so startling that it caused great consternation among Mormon scholars and officials. Mr. Durham found that what had previously been identified as the “Masonic jewel of the Prophet Joseph Smith” was in reality a “Jupiter talisman.” This is a medallion which contains material relating to astrology and magic. Dr. Durham, apparently not realizing the devastating implications of his discovery, announced this important find in his Presidential Address before the Mormon History Association on April 20, 1974:

. . . I should like to initiate all of you into what is perhaps the strangest, the most mysterious, *occult-like* esoteric, and yet Masonically oriented practice ever adopted by Joseph Smith. . . . All available evidence suggests that *Joseph Smith the Prophet possessed a magical Masonic medallion, or talisman*, which he worked during his lifetime and which was evidently on his person when he was martyred. His talisman is in the shape of a silver dollar and is probably made of silver or tin. It is exactly one and nine-sixteenths in diameter, . . . the talisman, . . . originally purchased from the Emma Smith Bidamon family, fully notarized by that family to be authentic and to have *belonged to Joseph Smith*, can now be identified *as a Jupiter talisman*. It carries the sign and image of Jupiter and should more appropriately be referred to as the Table of Jupiter. And in some very real and quite mysterious sense, Table of Jupiter was the most appropriate talisman for Joseph Smith to possess. Indeed, it seemed meant for him, because on all levels of interpretation: planetary, mythological, numerological, astrological, mystical cabalism, and talismatic magic, the Prophet was, in every case appropriately described.

The characters on the talisman are primarily in Hebrew, but there is one inscription in Latin. Every letter in the Hebrew alphabet has a numerical equivalent and those numerical equivalents make up a magic square. By adding the numbers in this Jupiter Table in any direction . . . the total will be the same. In this case, on the Jupiter Table, 34. . . .

There is the one side of the talisman belonging to the Prophet Joseph Smith. You can see the Hebrew characters . . . you see on the margins, at the bottom is the Jupiter sign, . . . The cross at the top represents the spirit of Jupiter, and you will see the path of Jupiter in the orbit of the heavens, and then again the Jupiter sign.

I wasn't able to find what this was, for—as I said—two months; and finally, in *a magic book* printed in England in 1801, published in America in 1804, and I traced it to Manchester, and to New York. It was a magic book by Francis Barrett and, lo and behold, how thrilled I was when *I saw in*

his list of magic seals the very talisman which Joseph Smith had in his possession at the time of his martyrdom. . . . To the Egyptians, Jupiter was known as Ammon, but to the Greeks he was Zeus: the ancient sky Father, or Father of the Gods. . . .

In astrology, Jupiter is always associated with high positions, getting one's own way, and all forms of status. And I quote: “Typically a person born under Jupiter will have the dignity of a natural ruler. . . . He will probably have an impressive manner . . . In physical appearance, the highly developed Jupiterian is strong, personable, and often handsome. . . . the Jupiterian influence produces a cheerful winning personality, capable of great development.”. . .

So closely is magic bound up with the stars and astrology that the term astrologer and magician were in ancient times almost synonymous. The purpose of the Table of Jupiter in talismanic magis [magic?] was to be able to call upon the celestial intelligences, assigned to the particular talisman, to assist one in all endeavors. The names of the deities which we gave to you, who could be invoked by the Table were always written on the talisman or represented by various numbers. Three such names were written on Joseph Smith's talisman: Ababa, Father; El Ob, Father is God or God the Father; and Josiphiel, Jehovah speaks for God, the Intelligence of Jupiter.

When properly invoked, with Jupiter being very powerful and ruling in the heavens, these intelligences—by the power of ancient magic—guaranteed to the possessor of this talisman *the gain of riches*, and favor, and power, and love and peace; and to confirm honors, and dignities, and councils. Talismatic magic further declared that anyone who worked skillfully with this Jupiter Table would obtain the power of stimulating anyone to offer his love to the possessor of the talisman, whether from a friend, brother, relative, or even any female. (*Mormon Miscellaneous*, published by David C. Martin, vol. 1, no. 1, October 1975, pages 14-15)

Reed Durham was severely criticized by Mormon scholars and officials for giving this speech. He was even called in by Mormon President Spencer W. Kimball, and finally found it necessary to issue a letter in which he reaffirmed his faith in Joseph Smith and said that he was sorry for the “concerns, and misunderstandings” that the speech had caused. Richard Steven Marshall claimed that in an interview on April 11, 1977, Dr. Durham told him, “I had to write that. They wanted me to bear my testimony. I hadn't done that in my talk. They had me do that so people would know where I stood” (“The New Mormon History,” page 54).

We feel that Dr. Durham's identification of Joseph Smith's talisman is one of the most significant discoveries in Mormon history and that he should be commended for his research. That Joseph Smith would own such a magic talisman fits very well with the evidence from his 1826 trial. W. D. Purple, who was an eye-witness to the trial, claimed it was reported that Smith said certain talismanic influences were needed to recover a box of treasure:

Mr. Thompson, an employee of Mr. Stowell, was the next witness. . . . Smith had told the Deacon that very many years before a band of robbers had buried on his flat a box of treasure, and as it was very valuable they had by a sacrifice placed a charm over it to protect it, so that it could not be obtained except by faith, accompanied by certain *talismatic influences*. . . . the box of treasure was struck by the shovel, on which they redoubled their energies, but it gradually

receded from their grasp. One of the men placed his hand upon the box, but it gradually sunk from his reach. . . . Mr. Stowell went to his flock and selected a fine vigorous lamb, and resolved to sacrifice it to the demon spirit who guarded the coveted treasure . . . but the treasure still receded from their grasp, and it was never obtained. (*The Chenango Lion*, Norwich, N.Y., May 3, 1877, as cited in *A New Witness For Christ In America*, vol. 2, pages 366-367)

Dr. Durham was unable to determine just when Joseph Smith obtained his talisman, but the fact that he was recommending “certain talismanic influences” around the time of the 1826 trial is certainly interesting. The Jupiter talisman is probably the type of talisman a money digger would be interested in because it was supposed to bring its possessor “the gain of riches, and favor, and power, . . .” Regardless of when Joseph Smith obtained his talisman, we do know that he possessed it up to the time of his death. He must have felt that it was very important because the Mormon scholar LaMar C. Berrett reveals that “This piece was in Joseph Smith’s pocket when he was martyred at Carthage Jail” (*The Wilford C. Wood Collection*, 1972, vol. 1, page 173).

The discovery of evidence to prove Joseph Smith’s 1826 trial was certainly a devastating blow to Mormonism, for it proved that Smith was a believer in magical practices. Reed Durham’s new find that Joseph Smith possessed a magic talisman is also very significant because it shows that Smith probably held these ideas until the time of his death.

DESTRUCTION OF EXPOSITOR

In *Mormonism—Shadow, or Reality?* pages 257-259, we pointed out that Joseph Smith, as Mayor of Nauvoo, ordered the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor* destroyed because it revealed his political aspirations and the secret practice of polygamy among the Mormons. We quoted the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts as saying:

“The legality of the action of the Mayor and City Council was, of course, *questionable*, though some sought to defend it on legal grounds; *must be conceded that neither proof nor argument for legality are convincing*. On the grounds of expediency or necessity the action is more defensible.” (*History of the Church*, Introduction to vol. 6, page xxxviii)

Dr. Clandestine has taken exception to our use of B. H. Roberts’ statement:

Two other examples of the Tanners’ “suppression of evidence” indicate their slanted use of sources. On page 257, the Tanners quote B. H. Roberts, who was not trained in law or legal history, to support their conclusion that the suppression of the *Nauvoo Expositor* by orders of Joseph Smith as mayor of Nauvoo was illegal. Seven years prior to the revised edition of *Shadow-Reality*, Dallin H. Oaks, at that time a professor at the University of Chicago Law School, published an article in a legal journal demonstrating that the suppression (abatement) of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a “public nuisance” was within the powers granted by the state of Illinois in the Nauvoo Charter, was consistent with contemporary judicial interpretations of the First Amendment, and was supported by legal precedents in support of suppression of newspapers prior to 1844. I find it hard to believe that the Tanners were unaware of this article, in view of the fact that they frequently

cite *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, and the Oaks article was reviewed in the Summer 1966 issue of *Dialogue*. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 15-16)

A careful reading of the article by Dallin H. Oaks, who is now President of the Church’s Brigham Young University, reveals that even Dr. Oaks feels that Joseph Smith went beyond the law. Oaks maintains that Smith had a right to destroy the published newspapers but not the press they were printed on:

In view of the law discussed above, particularly the statement in *Blackstone*, the combination of these three considerations seems to have been sufficient to give the Nauvoo City Council considerable basis in the law of their day for their action in characterizing *the published issues* of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a nuisance and in summarily abating them by destruction.

The characterization of the printing press as a nuisance, and its subsequent destruction, *is another matter*. The common law authorities on nuisance abatement generally, and especially those on summary abatement, were emphatic in declaring that abatement must be limited by the necessities of the case, and that no wanton or unnecessary destruction of property could be permitted. A party guilty of excess was liable in damages for trespass to the party injured. . . . there was no legal justification in 1844 for the destruction of the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Its libelous, provocative, and perhaps obscene output may well have been a public and a private nuisance, but the evil article was not the press itself but the way in which it was being used. Consequently, those who caused or accomplished its destruction were liable for money damages in an action of trespass. (*Utah Law Review*, Summer 1965, pages 890-891)

According to the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 448, it was Joseph Smith himself who directed that the press be destroyed. Acting as Mayor of Nauvoo, he issued this order:

You are here commanded to *destroy the printing press*, from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor*, and pi the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the *Expositors* . . . if resistance be offered to your execution of this order by the owners or others, demolish the house; . . . fail not to execute this order without delay, and make due return hereon.

By order of the City Council,
Joseph Smith, Mayor

Joseph Smith tried to justify his action before Governor Ford, but the Mormon historian B. H. Roberts had to admit that Smith had gone too far when he destroyed the press itself: “The destruction of libelous ‘*prints and papers*’ can scarcely be held to sustain the action of destroying a ‘*printing press*’” (*History of the Church*, vol. 7, page 91, footnote).

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 247 and 257 we demonstrated that the *Nauvoo Expositor* exposed the fact that Joseph Smith was secretly practicing polygamy. The Mormon leaders claimed that this was a lie. Eight years later, however, the Church published the revelation on polygamy which proved that the allegation in the *Expositor* was true. Thus it is clear that the *Expositor* was condemned on the basis of false testimony given by Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Even Dr. Oaks has to admit that the *Nauvoo Expositor* contained some rather accurate information on plural marriage:

The allegation about plurality of wives was buttressed by the affidavits of William and Jane Law and Austin Cowles to the effect that in 1843 Hyrum Smith had read them a written document which he said was a revelation from God sanctioning this practice. The affiants' descriptions of the revelation were very brief, but, insofar as they were specific about its contents, they gave generally accurate descriptions of portions of the revelation on plural marriage, later published in the Church's *Doctrine and Covenants*. (*Utah Law Review*, Summer 1965, page 869)

The reader will remember that Dr. Clandestine mentions a review of Dallin Oaks' article which was published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Summer 1966, pages 123-124. In this very review Thomas G. Alexander, of Brigham Young University, frankly stated that there was "no legal justification for the destruction of the press, and the proprietors might have sued the council for recovery of the machine's value."

It is interesting to note that James B. Allen, who serves as Assistant Church Historian under Leonard Arrington, acknowledges that Joseph Smith "acted illegally" when he destroyed the press:

... when Joseph Smith ordered the actual destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* printing press he provided his enemies with a clearly *legitimate* means of arresting him *for violation of the law*. They seized upon this to inflame the public even more, and this led directly to the assassination. Some people may be disturbed by the suggestion that *Joseph Smith acted illegally* in this instance, but it is important to understand that under the tense pressures of the times he, too, may have made a mistake. (*Brigham Young University Today*, March 1976, page 10)

MASONRY IN TEMPLE

On page 21 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, we find this criticism of our work:

The Tanners' treatment of the relationship of Mormonism and Masonry (pages 484-92) is a similar use of historical parallels. The Tanners claim that Mormon temple ordinances are the Item Y that Joseph Smith copied from the Item X of Masonry: ... the Tanners ignore the fact that five years before Joseph Smith was introduced to Masonry, two essentials of the Mormon endowment were practiced at Kirtland: the ceremonial washing (not just of feet) "from head to foot in soap and watter ... next in perfumed spirits," and the anointing with consecrated oil.

We feel that Dr. Clandestine has overlooked an important item with regard to Masonry. Although Joseph Smith did not actually become a Mason until 1842, he probably had some knowledge of Masonry long before he joined the fraternity. In *Mormonism—Shadow, or Reality?* page 491, we pointed out that "Joseph Smith probably became well informed concerning Masonry through the newspapers published in his area. The *Wayne Sentinel* contained a great deal about Masonry, and the *Palmyra Freeman* was regarded as an anti-Masonic newspaper. William J. Whalen observed that Joseph Smith might have 'witnessed the presentation of burlesque Masonic ceremonies at anti-Masonic rallies near his home. If he did not enjoy such spectacles or hear exposes of Masonic initiations, he would have been one of the few people in that

part of New York State to have escaped the pervasive influence of the anti-Masonic movement' (*The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World*, pages 195-196)."

Joseph Smith came from an area which was saturated with exposes of Masonry. Besides this many of his close associates were Masons. The Mormon writer Kenneth Godfrey admits that "Joseph Smith's own brother, Hyrum, became a Mason at Victor, New York, in 1827, and Heber C. Kimball, an early Mormon apostle, joined and received the first three degrees of Freemasonry at Milnor as early as 1823" (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Spring 1971, page 81).

Reed Durham, who has served as President of the Mormon History Association, has carefully examined the parallels between Mormonism and Masonry. Although Dr. Durham still maintains that Joseph Smith was a prophet, he has to admit that Masonry had a definite influence upon Mormonism:

... I am convinced that in the study of Masonry lies a pivotal key to further understanding Joseph Smith and the Church. ... Masonry in the Church had its origin prior to the time Joseph Smith became a Mason. ... It commenced in Joseph's home when his older brother became a Mason. Hyrum received the first three degrees of Masonry in Mount Moriah Lodge No. 112 of Palmyra, New York, at about the same time that Joseph was being initiated into the presence of God ... The many parallels found between early Mormonism and the Masonry of that day are substantial: ...

I have attempted thus far to demonstrate that Masonic influences upon Joseph in the early Church history, preceding his formal membership in Masonry were significant. However, these same Masonic influences exerted a more dominant character as reflected in the further expansion of the Church subsequent to the Prophet's Masonic membership. In fact, *I believe that there are few significant developments in the Church, that occurred after March 15, 1842, which did not have some Masonic interdependence*. Let me comment on a few of these developments. There is absolutely no question in my mind that the Mormon ceremony which came to be known as the Endowment, introduced by Joseph Smith to Mormon Masons, had an immediate inspiration from Masonry. This is not to suggest that no other source of inspiration could have been involved, but the *similarities between the two ceremonies are so apparent and overwhelming that some dependent relationship cannot be denied*. They are so similar, in fact, that one writer was led to refer to the Endowment as Celestial Masonry.

It is also obvious that the Nauvoo Temple architecture was in part, at least, Masonically influenced. Indeed, it appears that there was an intentional attempt to utilize Masonic symbols and motifs. ...

Another development in the Nauvoo Church, which has not been so obviously considered as Masonically inspired, was the establishment of the Female Relief Society. This organization was the Prophet's intentional attempt to expand Masonry to include the women of the Church. That the Relief Society was organized in the Masonic Lodge room, and only one day after Masonry was given to the men, was not happenstance. ... included in the actual vocabulary of Joseph Smith's counsel and instructions to the sisters were such words as: ancient orders, examinations, degrees, candidates, secrets, lodges, rules, signs, tokens, order of the priesthood, and keys; all indicating that the Society's orientation possessed Masonic overtones.

It was true that in orthodox Masonry, ... the inclusion of women was definitely prohibited and certainly unheard of.

The Joseph Smith Masonry was daily becoming less orthodox and tended to follow more in the direction of some unorthodox Masonry which had been imported to America from France. In this type of Masonry, two different women's groups operated. . . .

The second type of unorthodox female Masonry was known as "Adoptive" Masonry. . . . The ceremonies for women in this order were quite similar to those later found within the endowment ceremony of the Mormons. . . . I suggest that enough evidence presently exists to declare that the entire institution of the political kingdom of God, including the Council of Fifty, the living constitution, the proposed flag of the kingdom, and the anointing and coronation of the king, had its genesis in connection with Masonic thoughts and ceremonies. . . . it appears that the Prophet first embraced Masonry, and, then in the process, he modified, expanded, amplified, or glorified it. . . . I believe he accepted Masonry because he genuinely felt he recognized true Ancient Mysteries contained therein. . . . The Prophet believed that his mission was to restore all truth, and then to unify and weld it all together into one. This truth was referred to as "the Mysteries," and these Mysteries were inseparably connected with the Priesthood. . . . Can anyone deny that Masonic influence on Joseph Smith and the Church, either before or after his personal Masonic membership? The evidence demands comments. . . .

There are many questions which still demand the answers . . . if we, as Mormon historians, respond to these questions and myriads like them relative to Masonry in an ostrich-like fashion, with our heads buried in the traditional sand, then I submit: there never will be "any help for the widow's son." (*Mormon Miscellaneous*, October 1975, pages 11-16)

Although Dr. Clandestine attacks our work on Masonry and the temple ceremony, he does have to admit that Masonry could have "influenced" the wording used in the Mormon Endowment:

Joseph Smith's initiation as a Master Mason in 1842 may indeed have acted as a catalyst for him to seek further revelation about the ceremonies that Masons claimed came from the Temple of Solomon, and (in view of what I will discuss later about scriptural phraseology) it is possible that Masonic phraseology influenced the development of the wording used to teach the sacred elements of the LDS endowment. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 22)

"BIZARRE EDITORIAL STYLE"

On pages 26-27 of his rebuttal, Dr. Clandestine makes this charge against us:

Although the Tanners abandon all pretense of historical perspective by the other methods I have described, they further distil their distortion through their bizarre editorial style. First is their use of ellipses (. . .). . . . The use of ellipses is a well established tool of scholarship, but it may also be used for purposes of distortion.

Dr. Clandestine points out that in a quotation from *Mormon Doctrine*, we used ellipses to omit a portion that said it was by revelation Joseph Smith received the name

Mahonri Moriancumer—a name given to a baby in Kirtland, Ohio. We certainly did not mean to suppress the fact that Smith claimed he received this name from God. In fact, in the portion of the quotation which we used we included the statement that Joseph Smith was asked to "bless and name the baby" (*Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 95). We just assumed that people would know this was supposed to be an inspired name. Anyone who takes the time to read the first two pages of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* will see that Smith claimed God was continually revealing things to him. For example, when a skeleton was discovered, Joseph Smith asserted that God revealed to him that it was the remains of a "white Lamanite" whose name was "Zelph."

Although we feel that Clandestine's accusation about the name Mahonri Moriancumer is of no real importance, there is one quotation where we feel that we should have included more information. This is an excerpt from the *Wayne Sentinel*, December 27, 1825, which we have printed in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 39-40. We should have indicated that the article originally appeared in the *Orleans Advocate*. In the first edition of our book (1962) we did include a statement by E. Cecil McGavin that this article "was printed in several papers in western New York, appearing in the *Wayne Sentinel*, December 27, 1825" (page 41).

At any rate, on page 3 of his pamphlet, Clandestine complained about the "more than five hundred pages of closely written commentary and document excerpts" which it was necessary to wade through in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* If we had included the entire context of every quotation the book would have been far too large for most people to read. In any case, we feel honored that Dr. Clandestine has not accused us of rewording quotations or deleting portions of material cited without indicating it with ellipses marks. We do not, of course, claim that *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* is a perfect book. Any book of this size is bound to have a few mistakes. For instance, on page 76 we quoted John 8:21 as saying that the wicked will "die in their sins, whereas it should read "die in your sins." In a quotation from page 106 of Richard P. Howard's book, *Restoration Scriptures*, we have accidentally omitted nine words (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 396). We do not think Dr. Clandestine will make an issue of this because he is certainly capable of making such an error. For instance, although we know that he deliberately left out many portions of his original typed letter when he printed it, there is one place where thirteen words appear to have been omitted by mistake. We feel that it is an accidental omission because the printed text does not make sense:

. . . rights that have not been exercised in legal action against "church censorship and suppression." (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 7-8, footnote 1)

The typed manuscript which has become available to us reads as follows:

. . . rights that have not been exercised in legal action against them to avoid giving the Tanners ammunition for a bleeding-heart campaign against "church censorship and suppression."

It is obvious that someone's eye has skipped from the word "against" on one line to where it appears again on the next line. We did the same thing when we left out nine words in the quotation which appears on page 396 of our book.

In the past anti-Mormon writers have been accused of altering quotations, deleting material without indication and quoting mainly from other anti-Mormon sources. Dr. Clandestine does not accuse us of any of these things; instead, he upbraids us for using the Mormon Church's own sources:

Moreover, their references to Joseph Smith's violent temper and other personality quirks *come primarily from LDS apostles* who knew him and wanted (like the ancient biblical historians) to share his humanness with Mormons who did not know him personally. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 10-11)

The common addition of the Tanners to this device is to create their Straw Man *by quoting from their opponents' own sources*, in this case *from the prominent advocates and defenders of Mormonism*.

One use of the "Straw Man" by the Tanners involves quoting General Authorities of the Church on doctrine and history, and then showing how the doctrines in question are disputed by other General Authorities or by written scriptures, and also by showing how specific historical statements and explanations of the General Authorities are inadequate or contradicted by the historical evidences. The Tanners are aware that the official position of the LDS Church is "that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such" (*HC* 5:265) . . . but they also know that despite this denial of infallibility, Mormons tend to give special significance (if not outright divine status) to anything said by an LDS President or other General Authority. Therefore, the Tanners use Mormon gullibility and misplaced allegiance to priesthood authority as weapons to destroy confidence in the foundations of Mormonism. . . .

General Authorities have the limitations of all men in the matters under discussion here. They can engage in doctrinal speculation, defend valid or invalid doctrinal interpretations from a faulty understanding of written scripture, and make assertions or denials about sacred and secular history that are founded on inadequate research or misunderstanding. (*Ibid.*, pages 23-25)

This is probably the first time that "anti-Mormon" writers have been reproved for quoting from the Mormon Church's "own sources." At any rate, when Dr. Clandestine admits that General Authorities can have "a faulty understanding of written scripture," he is treading on dangerous ground as far as Mormonism is concerned. The ward teacher's message for June 1945 contained this warning:

Any Latter-day Saint who denounces or opposes, whether actively or otherwise, any plan or doctrine advocated by the "prophets, seers, and revelators" of the Church is cultivating the spirit of apostasy. . . . Lucifer . . . wins a great victory when he can get members of the Church to speak against their leaders and to "*do their own thinking*," . . .

When our leaders speak, the thinking has been done. When they propose a plan—it is God's plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy. (*Improvement Era*, June 1945, page 354)

On pages 27-28 of his rebuttal, Dr. Clandestine complains about our use of underlining and capitalization in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?*:

The Tanners introduce the third editorial practice with a statement on the last page of their Preface: "Capitalization and underlining are used for emphasis throughout this book." As is true of ellipses, the occasional use of underlining or italics for emphasis is fully acceptable and even desirable. With the exception of pages 75-79, 462-73, and 500-511, however, every page of *Shadow-Reality* is alive with underlinings and FULL CAPITAL phrases. This extensive use of emphasis in the closely spaced text of the 587-page *Shadow-Reality* actually discourages reading each word or even every sentence and paragraph, but instead encourages the reader's eye to skip from emphasized words to emphasized words that are in close proximity, and to pay little attention to the tightly spaced words in between. This editorial practice enables the Tanners to quote length documents "in context," with the assurance that the reader will assimilate only the sensationalistic headlines and emphasis.

Underlining, of course, is equivalent to the use of italics, and since we had no italicized type, we were forced to underline the portions of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* that we wished to emphasize. Capital letters for emphasis have been used by both Mormon and anti-Mormon writers for many years (see, for instance, *History of the Church*, vol. 1, page 5, where the words "THIS IS MY BELOVED SON, HEAR HIM" are printed in capital letters). This practice, however, is offensive to some scholars, and sometime before Dr. Clandestine wrote his criticism we had decided to cease the practice except in some special cases. The issues of the *Salt Lake City Messenger* published after May 1973 contain very little capitalization for emphasis, and the manuscript which we prepared for Moody Press is free from capital letters except where they appeared in the original documents.

We feel, however, that Dr. Clandestine is being very harsh with us when he claims we used emphasis for the purpose of distortion. The Mormon Apostle Mark E. Petersen uses capital letters for emphasis, but we certainly would not accuse him of using them to distort the meaning of his quotes (see especially, *As Translated Correctly*, pages 61-63, 88-94). Although we do not agree with many things which Apostle Petersen writes, we feel that he only uses capital letters to emphasize portions of quotations which he thinks are important to support his point of view. Dr. Clandestine is not so charitable towards us; he claims that our extensive use of emphasis "discourages reading every word or even every sentence and paragraph" and that this "practice enables the Tanners to quote lengthy documents 'in context,' with the assurance that the reader will assimilate only the sensationalistic headlines and emphasis." We were rather surprised by Dr. Clandestine's accusation. We certainly do not want the reader to skip over any of the material. We realize, of course, that some people will not take the time to read carefully no matter how the material is presented. Judging from his criticism of our work, Dr. Clandestine seems to have skipped through *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* We feel, however, that he cannot blame this on our "extensive use of emphasis." His animosity against the book undoubtedly kept

him from reading it carefully. He admits, in fact, that he felt like he was “enduring a Chinese water torture” when he read the book. In any case, Clandestine cites only one example to try to prove we have practiced distortion through the use of emphasis:

For example, on page 413 the Tanners quote a long passage from a conference talk of Joseph F. Smith in which many words and sentences are emphasized, including the phrase: “. . . Z.C.M.I. KEPT LIQUORS of various kinds for medicinal purposes.” The Tanners’ editorial practices discourage the reader from noticing the connecting words and sentences that modify or alter the sensational impression of the emphasized words. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 28)

A careful reading of the entire quotation shows that we have not distorted the meaning at all. President Joseph F. Smith claimed that liquors were sold for medicinal purposes at the Church’s Z.C.M.I., but he goes on to admit that people were coming “under the cover of night” to “buy liquor to drink.” He goes on to state that “Those who were the most horrified at seeing the All-Seeing Eye and ‘Holiness to the Lord’ over the front door of Z.C.M.I., I will guarantee are the ones that have bought the most tea and coffee, tobacco and whiskey there. . . . if the poor creature that wants it can get it there, that ought to satisfy him. If he could not get it there, he would not patronize Z.C.M.I. at all, but would go somewhere else to deal” (*Conference Report*, April 1898, page 11).

It would appear, then, that Dr. Clandestine has distorted the truth by only including a portion of the quotation in his pamphlet. On July 14, 1908, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that the “church is running the biggest liquor business in the State, through its Z.C.M.I. drugstore and also through the big liquor business done by Apostle Smoot in his drug store at Provo.”

SUPPRESSION OF RECORDS

On pages 13-14 of his rebuttal, Dr. Clandestine says that “the Tanners cast the LDS Archives in a sinister light because it was closed to the public for many decades, but fail to comment that this closed-archive practice is not only consistent with the policy of most businesses (including the richly historical Hudson’s Bay Company), but also with that of most religious and charitable organizations. The custodians of LDS manuscripts have sometimes been defensive about the documents under their control, yet this has been no less true in institutions that have lacked the LDS Church’s heritage of persecution and hostile propaganda.”

We find it interesting that Dr. Clandestine feels he has to defend the “closed-archive practice” that has plagued Mormon scholars for many years. Before he became Mormon Church Historian, even Dr. Arrington complained about the matter:

It is unfortunate for the cause of Mormon history that the Church Historian’s Library, which is in the possession of virtually all of the diaries of leading Mormons, has not seen fit to publish these diaries or to permit qualified historians to use them without restriction. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Spring 1966, page 26)

It is interesting to note that even Michael Quinn has had to admit that some of the records of the Church’s secret Council of 50 are still being suppressed. In his Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, May, 1976, Quinn said that “Hansen’s *Quest for Empire*, . . . will probably remain the standard work on the

Council of Fifty until all the presently existing minutes and records of that body are *released from present restrictions and made available to scholars*” (“The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite,” page 193).

FIRST VISION PROBLEMS

In the first part of *Answering Dr. Clandestine*, pages 7-9, we pointed out that the anonymous Mormon historian has made a grave error in attempting to minimize the importance of Joseph Smith’s First Vision. On pages 30-32 of his rebuttal, he goes so far as to try to separate the First Vision from Joseph Smith’s divine calling. In the face of all the evidence to the contrary, Dr. Clandestine says:

. . . the distinction between private experience and divine calling explains the contrasting publicity given to the Angel Moroni story and the story of the First Vision. . . . the private experience of the First Vision that had nothing to do with the rise of Mormonism, except that it (like the bone surgery incident Joseph Smith included in one of the manuscript histories of his early life) was one of a mass of autobiographical details that would be of interest to persons trying to understand the life of the man who brought forth the Book of Mormon and Mormonism itself. When Joseph Smith finally published an account of the First Vision, he appropriately titled it (in significant contrast to Cowdery’s 1834 narrative): “History of Joseph Smith.” (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 31-32)

Dr. Clandestine would apparently have us believe that since Joseph Smith titled his account “History of Joseph Smith” instead of “History of the Church” in the *Times and Seasons*, we do not have to believe that it had anything to do with the rise of Mormonism. If he had read the paragraph which appears just above the title, Dr. Clandestine could have never made such a grave error:

In the last number I gave a brief *history of the rise and progress of the Church*. I now enter more particularly in to that *history*, and extract from my journal.

JOSEPH SMITH.

(*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, page 726)

If Dr. Clandestine had turned to the April 15, 1842, issue of the *Times and Seasons*, page 753, he would have discovered the same title (“History of Joseph Smith”), yet he would have found the account of the Angel Nephi—later changed to Moroni—telling Joseph Smith about the “gold plates” from which he translated the Book of Mormon. The logical extension of Clandestine’s reasoning would be that the story of the Book of Mormon has nothing to do with the Mormon Church.

Joseph Smith claimed that he received his First Vision just after a revival swept through his neighborhood in 1820. The Mormon Apostle John A. Widtsoe maintained that “*All acceptable evidence* within and beyond the Church confirms the Prophet’s story that his first vision occurred when he was between fourteen and fifteen years of age in the year 1820 and before the Book of Mormon revelations occurred” (*Evidences and Reconciliations*, 3 volumes in 1, page 339).

In 1967 Wesley P. Walters published an article in which he demonstrated that “in 1820 there was no revival in any of the churches in Palmyra or its vicinity” (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 155-161). Dr. Clandestine seems to realize that it would be difficult to maintain there was a revival in 1820 in light Walters’ research. Therefore, he tries

to fit Joseph Smith's story into the framework of a revival which occurred in 1817:

The combined data from the 1838 and the 1832 accounts therefore establish the possibility that the religious revivals that impressed Joseph Smith had occurred as early as 1817–1818. Despite their insistence on the year 1820, the Tanners themselves present information that supports the above possibility: On page 65 they quote the 1887 book of M. T. Lamb that the revival occurred “sixty or seventy years ago” (1817 to 1827), and on page 156 they quote Reverend Walters' verification that a religious revival did occur in Palmyra in 1817. . . . the ambiguity of Joseph Smith's own dating does not allow the year 1820 to be seized upon as the only date for the revival, the vision, or both. . . . Many Mormon writers until recent years interpreted Joseph Smith's 1838 reference to the location of the religious excitement (“. . . in the place where we lived . . . in that region of country, indeed the whole district of Country seemed affected by it . . .”) as meaning that there was a religious revival in Palmyra in 1820. Reverend Walters has demonstrated that there was no revival in Palmyra in 1820, and therefore he and the Tanners claim that they have refuted the historicity of the First Vision, when all they have done is show that Mormon writers have misinterpreted the sketchy descriptions of the First Vision. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 35-36)

Since Joseph Smith would have only been 11 years old at the time of the 1817 revival, we doubt that many people will take Dr. Clandestine's reconstruction seriously. Joseph Smith's 1838 account says that he was in his “fifteenth year” at the time of the “great excitement” (*Pearl of Great Price*, Joseph Smith 2:7-8). It is interesting to note that Clandestine admits that Joseph Smith's earliest account of the First Vision “does not mention revivals or religious excitement beyond his own, . . .” (page 35).

In the past Mormon apologists have maintained that Joseph Smith was very precise in his dating. Dr. Clandestine, however, concedes that “There is abundant evidence that Joseph Smith had only the vaguest idea of the years in which these events of his youth transpired” (page 35).

On pages 7-8 of this pamphlet we demonstrated that Joseph Smith's first handwritten account of the First Vision only mentions one personage (Jesus Christ), whereas the official account says that both God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ appeared. Dr. Clandestine does not seem to feel that this discrepancy is very important:

One objection is that the 1832 account indicated that Joseph Smith communed with only one representative of Deity, rather than both the Father and the Son as separate personages, as stated in the conventional 1838 account. . . .

I see no problem with viewing the 1832 description as Joseph Smith's emphasis upon only a part of an overwhelming experience, and the absence of specific reference to two personages does not prove the later accounts to be fiction. (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, pages 39-40)

In a footnote on page 41, Dr. Clandestine charges that “the Tanners force upon the several accounts of the First Vision a requirement for consistency that they do not require of the New Testament.” On page 7 of the same pamphlet, we find the following:

Are they as willing to dismiss the story of Christ's resurrection as fabrication because His apostles disagreed as to whether there were one or two angels at the tomb (Matthew 28:5; John 20:12)? Or do they likewise claim that Luke's report of Saul's vision on the road to Damascus was “made up years after it was supposed to have occurred” merely because Luke could not retell the experience twice in the same letter without contradicting himself (Acts 9:7, 22:9)?

While we must admit there are some discrepancies in the Bible, we do not feel that they should be used to try to justify the serious changes in Joseph Smith's story of the First Vision. It is true that Matthew 28:5 speaks of an “angel” being at the sepulchre, while John 20:12 says there were “two angels.” We must remember, however, that these accounts were written by two different authors. Whenever we get more than one account of an incident there are bound to be some discrepancies. We agree with Dr. Clandestine when he states: “. . . perfect consistency is as often a trait of deception as of truth, . . .” (page 7). We have tried to take this into consideration in our study of Mormon history. We do not expect all accounts of an incident to agree perfectly. For instance, according to the *History of the Church*, vol. 6, page 618, just before Joseph Smith was murdered he exclaimed: “O Lord, my God!” John D. Lee, however, adds eight additional words after “O Lord, my God.” While this could be viewed as a contradiction, we feel that since both accounts use the words “O Lord, my God,” the contention that Joseph Smith uttered these four words is strengthened.

Thomas Paine criticized the Bible writing:

Not any two of these writers agree in reciting, *exactly in the same words*, the written inscription, short as it is, which they tell us was put over Christ when he was crucified; and besides this, Mark says: He was crucified at the third hour (nine in the morning), and John says it was the sixth hour (twelve at noon).

The inscription is thus stated in these books:

MATTHEW. This is Jesus, the king of the Jews.

MARK. The king of the Jews.

LUKE. This is the king of the Jews.

JOHN. Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews.

We may infer from these circumstances, trivial as they are, that those writers, whoever they were, and in whatever time they lived, were not present at the scene. (*The Age of Reason*, reprinted by the Thomas Paine Foundation, New York, pages 151-152)

While Thomas Paine is correct in stating that the four Gospels disagree as to the exact wording of the inscription, we feel that there is real agreement in that all four use the words “the king of the Jews. The quotation from John in Paine's book (at least in the printing we have) omits the word “the” before “king of the Jews” (see John 19:19). It is unreasonable to demand absolute agreement in every detail from two or more witnesses. For instance, we recently talked to a couple who told us of a sign they had on the fence in front of their house. The wife claimed that it read, “Beware of Dog,” whereas the husband maintained it said, “Dog on Duty.” Although they disagreed on the exact wording of the sign, we know that they had both seen it on many occasions.

Now, when we turn back to the handwritten accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision, we see that the discrepancies cannot be attributed to different authors because Smith was responsible for all of them.

In an account of the First Vision which was recorded in Joseph Smith's "1835-36 Diary" (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 579), Smith claimed that he saw "many angels" in the vision. Neither the official account nor the version written in 1832 mention that angels were present. Now, if this were the only discrepancy in the accounts of the vision, one could perhaps excuse the matter by saying that since angels are far less important than Deity, it was not necessary to mention them. This type of reasoning, however, could not be used to explain the absence of God the Father in the 1832 account. *We can see no conceivable reason for Joseph Smith to leave out the most important personage in the entire universe.*

Whether there was one angel or two at Jesus' sepulchre does not affect doctrine, but Joseph Smith's different accounts of the First Vision affect a person's view of the Godhead. Mormon leaders use the official account of the First Vision to try to prove that God the Father is an exalted man and has a body of flesh and bone. The Apostle John A. Wdtsoe admitted that "It was an extraordinary experience. Never before had God the Father and God the Son appeared to mortal man" (*Joseph Smith—Seeker After Truth*, page 4).

Dr. Clandestine claims that Luke contradicted himself when he recorded Saul's vision on the road to Damascus in Acts 9:7 and 22:9. Acts 9:7 says that those who were with Saul "stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man," whereas Acts 22:9 indicates they "saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spoke to me." While there does appear to be a contradiction here (for an attempted reconciliation see *The Wycliffe Bible Commentary*, page 1140), both accounts make it plain that those with Saul were aware that he was having a vision and were afraid. Except for the discrepancy pointed out above, the two accounts of Saul's vision are very complementary. They both claim that when Saul was near Damascus a great light appeared. In both accounts Jesus spoke to him and said "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" The message that the Lord gave is essentially the same, and in both cases Saul became blind and was led "by the hand" to Damascus.

If the handwritten accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision harmonized as well as the accounts of Saul's vision, Dr. Clandestine would really have something to boast about. As it is, he is left with a very weak argument.

After reading Dr. Clandestine's pamphlet, Michael Marquardt pointed out something that is very interesting. The two scriptural examples that Clandestine uses to try to show contradictions in the Bible have been altered to remove the problem in Joseph Smith's Inspired Version of the Bible. The King James Version of Matthew, Chapter 28 says that an "angel" of the Lord appeared at the sepulchre, but Joseph Smith's Inspired Version 28:2 says that it was "two angels." In the Story of Saul's vision (King James Version, Acts 9:7), it says that the men with him were "hearing a voice," but in the Inspired Version, Joseph Smith changed this to read that they "heard not the voice of him who spoke to him."

While Joseph Smith's rendition of these verses outwardly appears to reconcile the problems, his work is not based on any ancient manuscript and is therefore without any foundation in fact. What can we think of a man who has the audacity to alter ancient Biblical texts when he cannot even get the details of his own First Vision straight? In the first handwritten account of his vision, Joseph Smith said that he saw one personage.

The second account says there were many, and the third says there were two. In addition to this, there are discrepancies with regard to when the vision occurred and what Joseph Smith was told by the personage(s) who addressed him. While we would expect some variations in any story, the discrepancies in Joseph Smith's story of the First Vision are of such a nature that they make it impossible to believe.

Since printing *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* some new evidence concerning the First Vision has come to light. For example, Mormon writers have always depended on a book by Joseph Smith's mother to prove the First Vision actually occurred. Dr. Clandestine says that "when Lucy Mack Smith came to the early visions of her son Joseph Smith, she (or her ghost writers, Howard and Marthy Coray) simply quoted from the published version in the *Times and Seasons*" (*Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, page 20). The fact that Mrs. Smith's book used Joseph Smith's official account of the First Vision has convinced many Mormons that she knew no other story. Wesley P. Walters, however, has recently examined a "preliminary draft" of Lucy Smith's manuscript in the Church Historical Department. Instead of a vision of the Father and Son in the woods, Joseph Smith's mother reports that it was an angel who appeared to Joseph Smith in his bedroom and told him all churches were wrong. We feel that this manuscript destroys the value of Lucy Smith's book as evidence for the First Vision.

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 148, we pointed out that when Joseph Smith's *History* was first published in the *Deseret News*, he referred to his First Vision as merely a "visitation of angels": ". . . I received the *first visitation of angels*, which was when I was about fourteen years old; . . . (*Deseret News*, May 29, 1852). Later Mormon historians changed the wording so that the word "angels" was completely left out. In the *History of the Church*, vol. 2, page 312, it reads as follows: ". . . I received my *first vision* which was when I was about fourteen years old; . . ."

On page 150 of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we made this statement: "Now that we are able to examine the journal found in the 'Manuscript History,' Book A-1, we not only find that the words *first visitation of Angels* are correct, but we also find that the entire statement was originally written in the third person singular." Since the Mormon Church was suppressing Joseph Smith's 1835-36 Diary we were not aware of the fact that it contained the same statement written in the first person. Now that we have obtained access to the 1835-36 Diary (page 37), it is obvious that Joseph Smith himself is responsible for the word "angels" in the account: ". . . I received the *first visitation of angels* . . ." Before the discovery of the statement written in the first person, one might have argued that the account written in the third person was a mistake. Such an argument now becomes completely untenable.

Fortunately, just before we went to press on the 1972 edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we obtained Dean C. Jessee's transcript of the portion of Joseph Smith's Diary where he gives "Joshua the Jewish minister" an account of the First Vision. We were able to include this important account in Appendix B, page 579. This account also appears in the back of the "Manuscript History," Book A-1, although it is written in the third person. At first we felt that Joseph Smith had the account copied into his diary from this manuscript (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 579). Michael Marquardt, however, felt that Joseph Smith's Diary was the

original source and that the account was copied into the back of the “Manuscript History,” Book A-1, from Joseph Smith’s Diary. We feel that his evidence is rather convincing. In any case, the fact that it is in the first person singular in Joseph Smith’s Diary shows that Smith was completely responsible for this “strange” account of the First Vision. In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 579, we show that when the *History of the Church* was compiled, this account of the vision was completely omitted. The reason for this is obvious: it did not agree with the account which appears at the beginning of Joseph’s *History*.

BENSON VERSUS ARRINGTON

In Part 1, pages 7-9, of this pamphlet we presented the theory that those who produced *Jerald and Sandra Tanner’s Distorted View of Mormonism* may have gone to great lengths to hide its origin from “conservatives like Ezra Taft Benson, who is next in line to be President of the Church.” We indicated that this theory “presupposes a serious split between the Historical Department and at least some of the General Authorities of the Church.” Since we wrote this, more evidence has come to light showing that there is a growing rift between Mormon scholars and the leaders of the Church. The views of Leonard Arrington and Ezra Taft Benson appear to be diametrically opposed as far as Mormon history is concerned.

Arrington believes in what some now call “New Mormon History,” although he probably would not refer to it by that title. Richard Stephen Marshall gives this information:

Recent years have seen the emergence of a widespread new approach to Mormon history. . . . it seems fitting to apply the appellation of “The New Mormon History” as does Robert Flanders.

Latter-day Saint Church Historian, Leonard Arrington, explained to this writer that *to call this type of history a “New History” “gets us into trouble with the General Authorities.”* He says they prefer to look at it as a reinforcement of the traditional history, emphasizing continuity. . . .

Arrington points out elsewhere that traditional Mormon history has been influenced by several “built-in biases,” which the New History would try to circumvent in its attempt at historical discovery. . . . An increased openness in Mormon history will have a tendency to arouse questions which could prove uncomfortable, and no doubt, it is this uncomfortability which has caused some people to frown upon the new objectivity. They are used to the Old History, which Arrington calls “sugary.” . . .

Arrington has also pointed out that “our historians were perhaps unduly respectful of certain authorities, placing credence in accounts that should have [been] subjected to critical analysis.” . . .

This desire to set aside personal faith to a degree in order to write objective history epitomizes the case of many who write on the Mormon past today.

Although much objective Mormon history has been written since the turn of the century both Flanders and Hansen point to the publication of Fawn McKay Brodie’s *No Man Knows My History* as an event of great significance in the history of the New Mormon History. Most Latter-day Saints have classified her book as an anti-Mormon work, . . . Robert Flanders calls the book “a landmark . . . a transitional work,” linking both the Old and the New Histories. He adds that a “new era dawned with her book. All subsequent serious studies of early Mormonism have necessarily had Brodie as a reference point.” . . .

Another event which has given great impetus to the New History movement was the founding, in 1966, of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. . . .

Brigham Young University Studies was founded in 1959 and caused a stir with the publication of its first issue, as this writer understands it, because of the article by Leonard Arrington, “An Economic Interpretation of the ‘Word of Wisdom.’” The periodical obviously succumbed to pressure from above and did not publish anything for a year. Then it reappeared in 1961 with an entirely new board of editors. In recent years *BYU Studies* has tended toward the kind of objectivity characterized by *Dialogue*. James Clayton notes that it was predicted that one of the things *Dialogue* would do would be to drive *BYU Studies* to the left, which it appears has happened. (“The New Mormon History,” pages 13, 14, 20, 23-26)

Before he became Church Historian Leonard Arrington freely criticized Mormon biographies and made an open attack on the Church’s suppression of its early records:

Just as Mrs. Brodie’s biography, and certain others, are usually regarded (by the Mormons, at least) as “anti,” most of the “pro” biographies are undeviating pictures of sweetness and light. These err even more on the side of incredibility than the blacker portraits of the anti’s. Indeed, the only Mormon biography which appears to have withstood historical criticism in either direction is Juanita Brooks’ *John Doyle Lee*. This is indeed embarrassing, considering that there have been, by now, several million Mormons. It is unfortunate for the cause of Mormon history that the Church Historian’s Library, which is in the possession of virtually all of the diaries of leading Mormons, has not seen fit to publish these diaries or to permit qualified historians to use them without restriction. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Spring 1966, pages 25-26)

While it seems almost incredible that the Mormon Church would select a man like Dr. Arrington for Church Historian, a person must understand the circumstances which led to his appointment. During the early 1960’s we had exerted a great deal of pressure to try to force the Mormon leaders to open the archives to researchers. In 1966 *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* began to take up the cause. In the issue for Autumn 1966, page 110, P.A.M. Taylor went so far as to say that he was “sure that secrecy does more harm to the Church’s reputation than could result from any disclosures from the archives; . . .” By the early 1970’s the Church was developing a bad image because its records were being suppressed. The Church’s own scholars were very disturbed about the matter and were requesting that a professionally trained man be appointed to fill the position of Church Historian. The Mormon leaders realized that they must present a new image to the world, and under these difficult circumstances Dr. Arrington was appointed Church Historian. The *Deseret News* for January 15, 1972, said that “The appointment of Dr. Leonard J. Arrington as church historian . . . is itself an historic step.

“It marks the first time that this important post has been filled by going outside the membership of the church’s general authorities. . . . it was held for 50 years by President Joseph Fielding Smith.”

Before Dr. Arrington had finished his first year as Church Historian he was having trouble with the General Authorities. On November 24, 1972, the *Deseret News* announced that a group known as “Friends of Church History” was to hold an “organizational meeting” at the “General Church Office Building.” The article went onto state:

Monthly meetings will be held at which papers will be presented, thus providing members with a means of keeping up-to-date on current research and new interpretations, Smart added. . . .

“It will be a meeting of the like-minded, a chance for Church history buffs to stimulate thought and encourage study among their group and beyond,” commented Dr. Leonard Arrington, . . .

The group, which will operate in cooperation with the Church’s Historical [de]partment, will have access to the department’s facilities for research and study. (*Deseret News*, November 24, 1972)

The “Friends of Church History” got off to a great start. We understand that about 500 people attended the first meeting. Dr. Arrington was probably elated by the large turn out, but the Mormon leaders could see that this would cause serious problems for the Church. With a large group studying Church history the truth about Joseph Smith and the foundation of the Church would be very likely to emerge. The Mormon leaders could not stand for their people to learn about the real Joseph Smith; therefore, an order was issued by the First Presidency that the next meeting should be cancelled. Meetings were to be held “the fourth Thursday of each month,” but no meeting has actually been held since November 30, 1972.

After “Friends of Church History” had not met for several months, Dr. Arrington was asked the reason. He replied that they were still “thrashing out” the constitution. When a prominent Mormon scholar was told of Dr. Arrington’s statement, he said that they were “thrashing out more than the constitution.” William B. Smart—the man who was supposed to head the Friends of Church History—confirmed that it was the “First Presidency” that gave the order to “hold” it up.

On December 13, 1972, the *Deseret News* announced that “Elder Joseph Anderson has been appointed director of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” Since Anderson believed in suppressing the records, his appointment was taken as bad news for those who wanted an open history. It soon became apparent that the Mormon leaders were still in control of the Historical Department and that Dr. Arrington was “Church Historian” in name only. We feel that the Mormon leaders were forced into appointing Dr. Arrington as Church Historian because of the pressure that was exerted upon them. After he was appointed they moved to take away the powers of his office and to make him compromise his position.

At any rate, we have not heard anything more about “Friends of Church History” since 1973, and some of Dr. Arrington’s other projects seem to be endangered by the attitude of the General Authorities. One of Leonard Arrington’s dreams was to have the Church publish a one-volume history. This dream seemed to become a reality in 1976 when James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard produced the book *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. In the Foreword to this book, Dr. Arrington wrote:

With the approval of the First Presidency, we asked two of our finest historians, James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, to undertake the task of preparing this history. Dr. Allen, . . . is now assistant Church historian as well as professor of history at BYU. Dr. Leonard . . . is now senior historical associate in the Historical Department of the Church. . . . the work was read by a committee consisting of myself as Church Historian; Dr. Davis Bitton, assistant Church historian; and Dr. Maureen Urnsback Beecher, editor of the Historical Department.

After *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* appeared, the rumor went out that Ezra Taft Benson, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, wanted the book “shredded.” Richard Steven Marshall furnishes this information:

It is this attitude on the part of Church leaders which undoubtedly led Ezra Taft Benson to ask that *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, by James Allen and Glen Leonard, be shredded. (James Allen told this writer that his book created a stir primarily because he and Leonard had treated the Word of Wisdom in a historical as well as a spiritual manner, and also because they did not call the story of the crickets and the seagulls a miracle.) . . . This conflict is underscored by the distinct possibility that Elder Benson will become the thirteenth president of the Church in the event of the death of Spencer W. Kimball. That could turn out to be an unlucky number indeed for LDS historians who want to publish objective New History. (“The New Mormon History,” pages 38-39)

Although the book has not been “shredded,” Ezra Taft Benson maintains that the Church will not continue to print it. In a letter dated June 23, 1978, President Benson stated: “The book, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, will not be republished.” In the same letter President Benson remarked: “In answer to your letter . . . regarding the book, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, a few of my concerns are directed in a talk which I gave to the Religious Educators in September 1976.” In the speech Benson refers to, we find the following:

Because of problems with some writings from some of our teachers who have put themselves in print, it is well to give you some cautions. Doctrinal interpretation is the province of the First Presidency. The Lord has given that stewardship to them by revelation. No teacher has the right to interpret doctrine for the Church members. If Church members would remember that, we could do away with a number of books which have troubled our members.

This same caution should be observed in interpreting the history of the Church. Has it occurred to you that one may interpret doctrine when he or she undertakes to explain certain events in Church history? To suggest, for example, that the word of wisdom was an outgrowth of the temperance movement in America and that Joseph Smith selected certain prohibition and dietary features from that movement and presented them to the Lord for confirmation is also to pronounce an explanation contradictory to the one given by Brigham Young. (*Journal of Discourses* 12:158.) To suggest that Joseph Smith received “The Vision” on the three degrees of glory, Section 76 of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, as he grappled for answers that contemporary philosophers were grappling for, is to infer an interpretation contrary to the Prophet’s own. (See *History of the Church* 1:252-253.)

We would hope that if you feel you must write for the scholarly journals, you always defend the faith. Avoid expressions and terminology which offend the Brethren and Church members. I refer to such expressions as “he alleged” when a President of the Church described a revelation or manifestation; or other expressions such as “experimental systems” and “communal life” as they describe sacred revelations dealing with the United Order and Law of Consecration. A revelation of God is not an experiment. The Lord has already done His research. Revelations from God are not based on the theories or philosophies of men, regardless of their worldly learning. Further, I would admonish you to avoid using labels which depreciate the calling of The Prophet of this dispensation, such as classifying him among so-called “primitivists.”

Now, on another related matter, it has come to our attention that some of our teachers, particularly in our university programs, are purchasing writings from known apostates, or other liberal sources, in an effort to become informed about certain points of view, or to glean from their research. You must realize that when you purchase their writings, or subscribe to their periodicals, you help sustain their cause. We would hope that their writings not be on your Seminary and Institute or personal bookshelves. We are entrusting you to represent the Lord and the First Presidency to your students, not the views of the Church’s detractors. (*Address to Religious Educators*, Assembly Hall, September 17, 1976, pages 15-16)

In a speech given March 28, 1976, President Benson had some very critical things to say regarding New Mormon History:

I know the philosophy behind this practice—“to tell it as it is.” All too often those who subscribe to this philosophy are not hampered by too many facts. When will we awaken to the fact that the defamation of our dead heroes only serves to undermine faith in the principles for which they stood, and the institutions which they established. Some have termed this practice as “historical realism” or moderately called it “debunking.” I call it slander and defamation. And I repeat, that those who are guilty of it in their writing or teaching will answer to a Higher Tribunal. . . .

This humanistic emphasis on history is not confined to secular history. There have been and continue to be attempts to bring this philosophy into our own Church history. Again the emphasis is to underplay revelation and God’s intervention in significant events, and to inordinately humanize the prophets of God so that their human frailties become more apparent than their spiritual qualities. It is a stake of mind and spirit characterized by one history buff who asked: “Do you believe the Church has arrived at a sufficient state of maturity where we can begin to tell our real story?” Inferred in that question is the accusation that the Church has not been telling the truth. Unfortunately, too many of those who have been intellectually gifted become so imbued with criticism that they become disaffected spiritually. . . . My purpose further is to forewarn you about a humanistic emphasis which would tarnish our own Church history and its leaders. (*God’s Hand in our Nation’s History*, given at a Twelve-Stake Fireside at Brigham Young University, March 28, 1976, pages 8-10)

Referring to President Benson’s attack on New Mormon History, Richard Steven Marshall made these comments:

This talk seems to have been given on the genuine idea that one’s faith is endangered when one delves too deeply into the Mormon past. It appears as though present LDS authorities only encourage knowledge to the extent that it will produce faith. A case in point is found in the obvious omission of any discussion of polygamy in Sunday school manuals. Knowledge which detracts from faith is knowledge better not learned. There is a self-preservation instinct among the leaders of the Church. (“The New Mormon History,” pages 36-37)

Marshall goes on to point out that “for all the new openness, there are still problems, inherent in the re-examination of Mormon history.

The New History in its effort to discover the “truth” about 19th century Mormonism finds a divergence between what the present Church says and what history indicates is fact. The historians, in trying to determine what actually happened, tread on sensitive ground. (*Ibid.*, page 44)

On pages 73-74 of his thesis, Mr. Marshall observes:

As the amount of evidence grows and becomes increasingly available to the public, a disparity between what some Church leaders today say and what actually happened will become more and more evident. This disparity could make the leaders look as though they were trying to cover up the past, and casting them in that kind of light could have a detrimental effect on the faith of many people. Little wonder that Ezra Taft Benson would discourage the writing of objective, secular Church history and that he would ask that no one buy any fundamentalist, apostate literature. It is merely an interest in the self-preservation of the faith of the members of the Church.

Leonard Arrington’s views on Church history are so contrary to those held by many of the General Authorities that it is a wonder he has survived this long as Church Historian. Mr. Marshall observed:

Leonard Arrington, in a very pointed statement seemingly justifies an in-depth probing into the Mormon past: “My own impression is that an intensive study of Church history, while it will dispel certain myths or half-myths sometimes perpetuated in Sunday school (and other classes) will build testimonies rather than weaken them.”

There are many who do not share that opinion, including a good portion of the General Authorities. There is some logical justification for their lack of regard for a totally open approach to Mormon history. There is some evidence that those who examine it with any degree of intensity will indeed have a greater chance of losing their faith. (*Ibid.*, pages 32-33)

Unfortunately for Richard Steven Marshall, his thesis caused a serious disturbance which he could never have anticipated. He expected it to remain unused in the University of Utah Library, but the General Authorities of the Church obtained a copy. Mr. Marshall had presented the problems of “New Mormon History” so clearly that it brought the whole question into focus in the minds of the Church leaders. They could see where the whole thing would eventually lead, and, therefore, a meeting was called to consider the matter. Some of

the books written by these professionally trained historians were examined and found wanting. As we indicated earlier, two of those who were working on the Church's new "sixteen-volume sesquicentennial history" were called in for questioning. It was rumored that Dr. Arrington and his whole "gang" were soon going to be dismissed, but apparently cooler heads prevailed and we now appear to have a standoff. Some feel that Dr. Arrington will gradually be "phased out." It is also reported that it is becoming increasingly difficult for Mormon scholars to get access to documents in the Historical Department. If Leonard Arrington should survive under the leadership of Spencer W. Kimball, it is very unlikely that he will remain Church Historian if Ezra Taft Benson becomes President.

However this may be, the pamphlet *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism* appeared at just about the time the General Authorities became so disturbed over how scholars like Arrington were affecting the Church. Anyone who reads this rebuttal can tell that it is a product of those who believe in "New Mormon History." It seems, in fact, to contain a thinly-disguised attack on Benson's view of Mormon history:

It is regrettable that in our urbane, twentieth century experience as a church, many of our writers (including nearly all of our apologist-defenders) have found it necessary to ignore or even deny the weaknesses, fallibility, and humanity of our prophets and apostles. . . . In the short-run, glorifying our leaders may be good public relations, but in the long-run it makes Mormons vulnerable to shallow, muckraking *ad hominum* attacks on their leaders. (page 11)

It is certainly too bad that Dr. Clandestine did not have the courage to give us the names of these "apologist-defenders." Anyone who takes the time to study Mormon history, however, would know that he is referring to men like the Mormon Apostles Ezra Taft Benson, Mark E. Petersen and Bruce R. McConkie.

OUTCOME OF REBUTTAL

We have always wanted the Church to make a rebuttal to our work because we feel that a public discussion of the matter would be to our advantage. We firmly believe that there can be only one explanation for the long silence by Mormon writers, and that is that they know that the charges we make are basically correct and cannot be refuted. A number of years ago one Mormon author attempted to write an answer to *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* He found, however, that he could not deal with the issues raised in the book. He finally admitted that the truth concerning the Church was even worse than what we had presented. This author had previously written a book that the Church had published, but he ended up leaving Mormonism.

The second attempt to prepare a rebuttal has tended to bring humiliation on those who concocted it. One Mormon historian asked us not to expose the role of the Historical Department in the rebuttal lest it cause unsurmountable problems for Leonard Arrington. We felt, however, that the Mormon leaders must have learned Arrington's role in the matter when they read Marshall's thesis even if they were not aware of it prior to that time. Therefore, we did not feel that we could get him in any more trouble as far as the Church was concerned.

At any rate, we believe that *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* has certainly stood the test of a rebuttal from some of the Church's top scholars. Since publishing this book in

1972, we have found only a very limited number of issues that would need revision in a new edition. A few sections could be updated because of recent changes in the Church. For example, the Priesthood has now been granted to blacks (see our article in the *Salt Lake City Messenger* for July 1978).

On page 3 of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we mention a six-lesson plan which Mormon missionaries memorized to teach investigators. It was known as *A Uniform System For Teaching Investigators*. In 1973 a new eight-lesson plan, *The Uniform System For Teaching Families*, was published by the Church. When the old missionary lessons were printed they contained no copyright notice. Because of this both John L. Smith and Hal Hougey reprinted the plan and widely distributed it to anti-Mormons. Since potential converts became aware of the memorized lessons before they were presented, it undoubtedly cost the Mormon Church many members. In printing the new lesson plan the Church leaders have made sure that this would not happen again. There are no less than 129 warnings that *The Uniform System For Teaching Families* is copyrighted by the "Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints - All rights reserved."

On page 463 of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we have a photograph of the temple garment, which comes down to the wrists and ankles of those who wear it. At the time we published the 1972 edition of our book, a member was required to wear the full-length style when attending to the temple ritual but could wear an abbreviated style the rest of the time. On November 10, 1975, however, the First Presidency of the Church sent a letter to "All Temple Presidents" in which a change was made so that the abbreviated garment could be worn in the endowment ceremony:

In the future, while involved in temple ordinances, patrons will have the option of wearing either the "approved style" garment (short sleeve and knee length) or the garment with the long sleeve and long leg.

Patrons receiving their initiatory ordinances may be clothed in their own "approved style" garment.

It is suggested that temple presidents not purchase any more of the long-sleeve, long-leg garments for rental purposes.

This may be announced to all temple workers and posted on the bulletin boards in the locker rooms. Notice is going forward to Stake, Mission, and District Presidents suggesting that they notify Bishops, Branch Presidents and other priesthood leaders. No other announcement or publicity is desired.

The suggestion that "temple presidents not purchase any more of the long-sleeve, long-leg garments for rental purposes" leads to the conclusion that Mormon leaders are embarrassed by the "old style" garments and want to gradually get rid of them. The abbreviation of the temple garment is especially interesting in light of the fact that Joseph F. Smith, the sixth President of the Church, taught that the garments should remain "*unchanged, and unaltered, from the very pattern in which God gave them. Let us have the moral courage to stand against the opinions of fashion, and especially where fashion compels us to break a covenant and so commit a grievous sin*" (*The Improvement Era*, vol. 9:813, as quoted in *Temples of the Most High*, page 276). In 1918 the First Presidency of the Church sent a message to the Bishops in which the following appeared: "FIRST: The garments worn by those who receive endowments must be white, and of the approved pattern; they *must not be altered or mutilated, and are to be*

worn as intended, down to the wrist and ankles, and around the neck” (*Messages of the First Presidency*, by J. R. Clark, 1971, vol. 5, page 110). It is certainly interesting to note that the General Authorities of the Church have now made the very changes which earlier leaders warned against.

In 1976 an interesting change concerning “sealings” was announced. As we pointed out in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* Mormonism teaches that if a man’s wife dies he can be sealed to another woman and have them both in heaven. A woman, on the other hand, can only have one husband in eternity. The fact that a woman could only be sealed to one man seemed to create a problem for those doing work for the dead. In a newsletter published by Sandy First Ward we find the following:

. . . Brother Christiansen talked about new rulings concerning sealings for the dead. It is now possible for a woman that was married more than once to be sealed ALL her husbands, providing that in life she had not been sealed to any of her husbands.

The First Presidency of the Church has ruled that rather than try to decide which husband a deceased woman should be sealed to, she can be sealed to all of them. However, only one sealing will be valid and accepted before God. God and the woman will decide which one of the sealings will be accepted on Judgment Day. (*Tele-Ward Sandy First Ward*, January 25, 1976, vol. v, no. 2, page 2)

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 516-527, we included a chapter on “Mormonism and Money.” While this chapter presented an accurate picture of the Church’s financial holdings in 1972, there are bound to be some changes as the years go by. For instance, on page 524 we printed a letter from Robert T. Bartley, of the Federal Communications Commission, which listed some radio stations owned by the Church in Boise, Idaho. Al G. Vuylsteke, General Manager of KBOI AM & FM, has indicated that the Church no longer owns these stations. This does not mean, however, that the Church is getting out of the communications field; on the contrary, since 1972 it has bought stations in larger cities such as Kansas City and Los Angeles. The Church owns its radio and television stations through a subsidiary known as Bonneville International Corp. On July 15, 1975, the *New York Times* carried a full-page advertisement concerning the Mormon Church’s radio and television stations. It was claimed in this advertisement that the Church’s stations WRFM and KBIG were “the two most listened to FM’s in the nation.” On the same page the following list of stations owned by the Church appeared:

WRFM, New York
 KBIG, Los Angeles
 WCLR, Skokie/Chicago
 KSEA, Seattle
 KMBR, Kansas City
 KSL-FM, Salt Lake City
 KBRT (AM), Avalon/Los Angeles
 KIRO (AM) and KIRO-TV, Seattle
 KMBZ (AM), Kansas City
 KSL (AM) and KSL-TV, Salt Lake City

By 1977 the Church had acquired all of the FM stations that it was possible to legally hold. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for January 26, 1978, reported:

KSL-FM radio station formally became a property of Simmons Family Inc., Wednesday with its transfer from Bonneville International Corp. . . .

Bonneville International is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, . . .

Bonneville International sold the station to comply with FCC multiple ownership regulations which limit holdings by any one corporation to seven FM stations.

Bonneville wanted to buy KAFM in Dallas, Tex. It had seven FM stations. So, it put KSL-FM on the block last spring.

While the Church has made some changes in its holdings since 1972, it is becoming richer all the time. On page 519 of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we quoted the Mormon writer John J. Stewart as saying that the “LDS Church is in excellent financial condition, having one of the greatest incomes of any private organization in the United States, more than a million dollars per day in tithing and other funds pour continuously into its treasury (*Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, page 183).” In 1976 Bill Beecham and David Briscoe wrote the following for *Utah Holiday Magazine*:

Today, the LDS church is a religious and financial empire with . . . assets in the billions of dollars and an income in contributions and in sales by church-controlled corporations estimated at more than \$3 million a day. . . .

There has never been an accounting of modern church income or wealth. The church’s last disclosure of expenditures was made 17 years ago, when it was reported in a church General Conference that \$72,794,306 was spent the previous year on the church’s far-reaching religious and social programs.

Asked by two Associated Press reporters why this information is now withheld, President N. Eldon Tanner of the church’s First Presidency said, “It was determined that continued publication of the expenditure was not desirable.” He did not elaborate. Asked about church income, he replied, “I don’t think the public needs to have that information.” President Tanner acknowledges that one of his assignments in the church as First Counselor is to oversee the church’s financial interests. . . .

Church holdings, as outlined in the Associated Press report, would rank the church among the nation’s top 50 corporations in total assets—those with \$2 billion or more. Church property includes more than 5,000 mostly-religious buildings throughout the world, a 36-story apartment house in New York City, a 260,000 acre ranch near Disney World in Florida, a village in Hawaii and an estimated 65 acres of business and religious property in downtown Salt Lake City, including a \$33 million headquarters building. (*Utah Holiday*, March 22, 1976, pages 4-6)

The *Salt Lake Tribune* for July 2, 1976, reported that Mormon President Spencer W. Kimball “was asked on the NBC ‘Today’ show about an Associated Press estimate last year that the church and corporations it controls bring in more than \$3 million a day. . . .

“He neither disputed nor confirmed the AP estimate that would place the church among the nation’s top 50 corporations in total assets.”

Although Dr. Clandestine does not mention the matter, some Mormons have suggested that we have been dishonest

with regard to the allegation that Joseph Smith believed the moon was inhabited. An anonymous typewritten article (not to be confused with the response prepared by the Historical Dept.) contains this accusation:

Since nothing new can be learned, the ill-wishers invent ways to shackle Joseph with “lunar lunacy.” Unfortunately, since the Tanner’s work is revered as a “masterpiece” of the “most authentic, best documented” materials on Mormonism (See 11), Joseph, in his innocence, is stealthily “framed” with moon-mania.

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 2, we quoted from the journal of Oliver B. Huntington:

The *inhabitants of the moon* are more of a uniform size than the inhabitants of the earth, being about 6 feet in height.

They dress very much like the quaker style and are quite general in style, or fashion of dress.

They live to be very old; coming generally, near a thousand years.

This is the description of them as *given by Joseph the Seer*, and he could “See” whatever he asked the father in the name of Jesus to see. (“Journal of Oliver B. Huntington,” vol. 3, page 166 of typed copy at Utah State Historical Society)

The anonymous writer (whom we shall call the brother of Clandestine) makes this observation about Huntington’s statement:

Oliver B. Huntington kept a history of his activities in the Church that has provided color for various Church histories. . . . and is a reliable source since it provides facts as they transpired. . . . It is a misnomer to call the moonman section of Mr. Huntington’s writings a diary. It could be more accurately called a reminiscence. The material quoted above is not an entry of any date attesting the activities that transpired on that day. Rather it is the twilight memories of a stately but aged gentleman of Mormonism.

We agree with the brother of Clandestine when he says that the “moonman section of Mr. Huntington’s writings” is a reminiscence. Although it has been referred to by both Mormon and anti-Mormon writers as a diary, Earl E. Olson, of the Church Historical Dept., feels that it should be called an “autobiography.” In any case, there is another item about the inhabitants of the moon in Huntington’s unpublished writings (typed copy, vol. 3, page 168):

The Moon was described by the Prophet Joseph to Philo Dibble as inhabited by a people tall well formed measuring general 6 feet or over in height. Dressed very uniformly in style resembling the Quaker fashion and lived to be generally near a thousand years old.

In addition to these statements, the Church’s own publication, *The Young Woman’s Journal*, printed an article by Huntington in which the following appears:

Nearly all the great discoveries of men in the last half century have, in one way or another, either directly or indirectly, contributed to prove Joseph Smith to be a Prophet.

As far back as 1837, I know that he said the moon was inhabited by men and women the same as this earth, and that they lived to a greater age than we do—that they live generally to near the age of a 1000 years.

He described the men as averaging near six feet in height, and dressing quite uniformly in something near the Quaker style.

In my Patriarchal blessing, given by the father of Joseph the Prophet, in Kirtland, 1837, I was told that I should preach the gospel before I was 21 years of age; that *I should preach the gospel* to the inhabitants upon the islands of the sea, *and—to the inhabitants of the moon*, even the planet you can now behold with your eyes. (*Young Woman’s Journal*, published by the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Associations of Zion, 1892, vol. 3, pages 263-64)

The brother of Clandestine comments about the Church publishing Huntington’s statement: “It is only the senile but loving memories of an aged Mormon whose Church honored him by publishing his recollections rather than covertly hiding them in embarrassment: the offense with which Mormons are so notoriously charged.” We can hardly believe that the Church leaders would publish Huntington’s statement under the title, “THE INHABITANTS OF THE MOON” just to humor him. They must have believed what Huntington said about the moon. Apostle Abraham H. Cannon took enough interest in Huntington’s statement to record the information in his diary (see the “Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon,” vol. 18, page 57).

The brother of Clandestine tries to discredit Huntington’s printed statement because it mentions a blessing given by Joseph Smith’s father:

The blessing given by Joseph Smith Sn. has been discussed. *Such blessings, if they exist, are on record with the Church.* Therefore, one wonders why no one has found Mr. Huntington’s 1837 Patriarchal blessing. The credibility of the claims of the Mormon foe rest in its existence. The fact of the matter is, *he did not receive a Patriarchal blessing from anyone in 1837.* No such Patriarchal blessing exists. (See 6.) Mr. Huntington received his Patriarchal blessing at the hands of Hyrum Smith on Nov. 14, 1843. There is no mention of his future moon assignment in this blessing. However, Oliver did receive a father’s blessing on Dec. 7th, 1836. I have received a photocopy of it from the Church archives. (This copy and its typed transcription are enclosed for review.) Included in this blessing was the following: “. . . before thou art twenty-one thou wilt be called to preach the fullness of the gospel, thou shalt have power with God even to translate thyself to Heaven, and preach to the inhabitants of the moon or planets, if it shall be expedient, if thou art faithful all these blessings will be given thee . . .” (underscoring added). It is likely that Mr. Huntington’s dim recollection of the early days mixed his father’s pronouncement with his 1843 Patriarchal blessing, which he thought was given in 1837. This blessing is undoubtedly also the source from which the *Young Woman’s Journal* article of Mr. Huntington was distilled due to the common language and thought.

We feel that the brother of Clandestine is making a very serious error when he states that “Such blessings, if they exist, are on record with the Church.” Actually, Joseph Smith, Senior’s own book containing Patriarchal Blessings has a short sketch added by authority of the Mormon historians George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff which makes it clear that many of the early blessings were not recorded. We quote the following from a typed copy:

“The book of Patriarchal Blessings” by Joseph Smith Sen., was purchased by a contribution of the Saints at

Kirtland, in the latter part of the year 1834. *A considerable number of blessings which were given by that Patriarch, were not recorded*, through the negligence of the Scribes.

The fact that Huntington received a Patriarchal Blessing from Hyrum Smith in 1843 certainly does not rule out an earlier blessing by Joseph Smith's father. Even though the Patriarchal Blessing books are still suppressed, we have learned that Huntington also received a blessing from Patriarch John Smith.

While it is true that Oliver B. Huntington received a blessing from his father William Huntington which sounds like the blessing mentioned in the article published in the *Young Woman's Journal*, we feel that it is likely that he also received a blessing from Joseph Smith, Senior which mentioned visiting the moon. Michael Marquardt has given us a typed extract from a blessing given by Joseph Smith's father to Lorenzo Snow on December 15, 1836. Lorenzo Snow, who later became President of the Church, received this promise: "Thou shalt have power to translate thyself from one planet to another; and *power to go to the moon* . . ."

The wording of the blessing given to Lorenzo Snow by Joseph Smith, Senior is so similar to the wording we find in the blessing given by Oliver B. Huntington's father that we feel there must be a connection between the two. Below is a comparison.

BLESSING GIVEN BY JOSEPH SMITH, SEN. December 15, 1836: "*Thou shalt have power to translate thyself from one planet to another; and power to go to the moon* . . ."

BLESSING GIVEN BY WILLIAM HUNTINGTON. December 7, 1836: ". . . *thou shalt have power with God even to translate thyself to Heaven, & preach to the inhabitants of the moon or planets, . . .*"

We believe that Oliver B. Huntington obtained his wording from Joseph Smith's father. Since Huntington claimed he did receive a Patriarchal Blessing from Joseph Smith, Sen., it seems very likely that his father's blessing was dependent upon it. It is also interesting to note that the blessing to Lorenzo Snow was given only a week after William Huntington's blessing. If the Church leaders would allow us to examine the Patriarchal Blessings of Joseph Smith, Sen. and his son Hyrum we might find even more information about visiting the moon. Access to these blessings has even been denied to some of the top Mormon scholars.

At any rate, Eugene England has recently published George Laub's Journal, "Commenced, January 1, 1845." It contains an account of the teaching of Hyrum Smith on "the plurality of gods & worlds," in which we find the following:

. . . every Star that we see is a world and is inhabited the same as this world is peopled. *The Sun & Moon is inhabited & the Stars & (Jesus Christ is the light of the Sun, etc.). The Stars are inhabited the same as this Earth.* (George Laub's Journal, as cited in *Brigham Young University Studies*, Winter 1978, page 177)

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 2, we quote a statement from William A. Linn's book about Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, visiting the moon:

Daniel Hendrix relates that as he and Harris were riding to the village one evening, and he remarked on the beauty of the moon, Harris replied that if his companion could only see it as he had, he might well call it beautiful, explaining that *he had actually visited the moon*, and added that it "was only the faithful who were permitted to visit the celestial regions." (*The Story of the Mormons*, New York, 1902, page 35)

The brother of Clandestine charges that "This story is, of course, an idiotic lie." Although we must admit that this account was not published until many years after the event was supposed to have occurred, we do not believe it is wise to dismiss it as "an idiotic lie." Since we know that Joseph Smith's father and William Huntington were promising faithful Mormons visits to the moon, we feel that a visionary man like Harris might make such a claim.

Recently another statement relating to the idea that Joseph Smith believed the moon was inhabited has come to light. It appears in a typewritten paper entitled, "Sayings of the Prophet Joseph." We have not been able to determine the author of this paper, but it comes from the file of a Mormon scholar. On page 3 of this paper we find this intriguing statement:

Father Rogers said in the St. George Temple that he heard *the Prophet say* in the Kirtland Temple, *that the moon was inhabited* by a race of people about middle stature and very mild and they would never have put the Saviour to death if he had come among them.

Unfortunately, this brief statement does not give "Father Rogers" first name. Samuel Hollister Rogers, however, was in Kirtland and lived long enough to have mentioned this matter at the St. George Temple. There may have been other men by the name of Rogers who could meet these qualifications, but more research needs to be done with regard to this matter. In any case, evidence that the Smith family believed the moon was inhabited appears to be mounting, and Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, seems to have endorsed that teaching:

Who can tell us of *the inhabitants of this little planet that shines of an evening, called the moon?* . . . when you inquire about the inhabitants of that sphere you find that the most learned are as ignorant in regard to them as the most ignorant of their fellows. So it is with regard to *the inhabitants of the sun*. Do you think it is inhabited? I rather think it is. Do you think there is any life there? *No question of it*; it was not made in vain. It was made to *give light to those who dwell upon it*, and to other planets; and so will this planet when it is celestialized. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 13, page 271)

Earl E. Olson, who has served as Assistant Church Historian, is not willing to acknowledge that Joseph Smith taught the moon was inhabited, but he admits that Brigham Young gave a sermon "from which we may infer that he thought there were inhabitants on the moon, . . ." (Statement by Earl E. Olson, dated October 29, 1970).

VIOLETING COPYRIGHT?

On page 7 of *Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism*, Dr. Clandestine says that the Tanners "are deeply appalled and alienated that modern LDS apostles would dare write letters threatening legal action for unauthorized reproduction and tale of personal diaries and sermons . . ."

In a footnote to this statement Dr. Clandestine charges that “The Tanners apparently have never heard of, or choose to ignore, the realities of literary rights in copyright law, rights that have not been exercised in legal action against ‘church censorship and suppression.’ Thus the Tanners continue to profit in finances and prestige from their publication of complete documents without permission from, nor compensation to, their proprietary owners” (*Ibid.*, pages 7-8).

The letters “threatening legal action” which Clandestine refers to were written by Apostles LeGrand Richards and Mark E. Petersen. We have reproduced photographs of these letters in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 12-13. The letter from Apostle Richards is especially interesting. In this letter he states:

... I note that contrary to my instructions, you obtained permission from the Genealogical Department to read my great grandfather’s Journal and that you have made excerpts therefrom, according to your own statement which you intend to use hereafter.

I am advised by legal authority that while the Journals belong to the organization or library, *the literary rights belong to the descendants, and that if any one descendant objects, no one has the right to copy and print anything from such journals.* . . .

This, therefore, is to advise you that if you quote from my great grandfather’s journal in any of your future writings, *you lay yourself liable to a suit for damages*, since you have no permission and since I, as one of the descendants, positively object to your so quoting.

While it is true that “literary rights belong to the descendants” of those who wrote journals, we feel that Apostle Richards is way out of line in threatening a suit for damages because we printed a few brief excerpts from his great grandfather’s journal. If we used Apostle Richards’ reasoning we could probably bring a suit against the Mormon Church for printing Brigham Young’s letters and journals. We could say that since Sandra Tanner is a great-great-granddaughter of Brigham Young, that the Church has no right to reproduce any of his private papers. After all, Apostle Richards maintained that “while the Journals belong to the organization or library, the literary rights belong to the descendants, and that if any one descendant objects, no one has the right to copy and print anything from such journals.” If Apostle Richards had any case on his great-grandfather’s journal, it would seem that we have a better one. For instance, the Mormon Church’s Deseret Book Company “In Collaboration with the Historical Department” has produced a book entitled, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*. Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington has even written a “General Editor’s Preface” for this publication. In this book many private letters of Brigham Young have been reproduced with “no permission” from Sandra Tanner. Not only have letters of Brigham Young been reproduced, but also a section has been devoted to Brigham Young’s son, Brigham Young, Jr. This section contains extracts from Brigham Young, Jr.’s private letters and diary. Again, these quotations have been made without obtaining permission from Sandra Tanner, who is the great-granddaughter of Apostle Brigham Young, Jr. A letter from the Copyright Office, dated April 10, 1978, says that “The basic rule is that, unless the literary property rights have transferred, the author or his heirs have the exclusive right to decide when and how his letters and other personal writings should be published for the first time.”

Samuel Spring informs us that “Recently a collector bought the manuscript of an unpublished story written by Mark Twain. The collector decided to publish it. The heirs of Mark Twain objected, because Mark Twain had concluded that the story wasn’t finished or good enough to be published. His heirs still honored Mark Twain’s wishes. The court held that though the collector had gotten good title to the manuscript he had not thereby obtained the right to publish it. . . . the court held that the facts did not show that Mark Twain or his heirs had sold, or intended to sell, their common-law copyright. The collector therefore had the right to keep the manuscript forever, but never to publish it” (*Risks & Rights*, New York, 1955, page 76).

If we wished to follow Apostle Richards suppressive type of logic we could threaten the Mormon Church and its writers with all kinds of suits over the use of the private letters of Brigham Young and his son, Brigham Young, Jr. We have no intention of doing this, however, as we feel that the material should be made available to the public. We only wish that the Church would publish all of Brigham Young’s papers. It seems ridiculous for descendants of people who lived over a hundred years ago to try to suppress publication of their papers. At any rate, before Dr. Clandestine lectures us on copyright laws he should be sure that his own church is in compliance with all the technicalities of the law. Actually, we feel that the Mormon Church is rather careful about the matter, but there are undoubtedly a number of cases where violations could be pointed out if a person wanted to be overly critical.

Dr. Clandestine accuses us of profiting in “finances and prestige” through violations of “literary rights in copyright law.” If Clandestine were not writing anonymously, we could ask him exactly where the violations have occurred. Some people have felt that we went too far in publishing *Joseph Smith’s Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*. Even though the Church owns the original manuscript of this document, we do not feel that they have any literary rights. Although we have no way of verifying it, we have heard that Church officials did not believe they could win a suit over this publication.

As to the publication of Mark E. Petersen’s *Race Problems As They Affect The Church*, at the time we published it we believed that it was in the public domain. Since Apostle Petersen never pressed the suit which he threatened (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 13), he either felt he could not win the case or else reasoned that it would cause too much embarrassment to the Church if he brought any more attention to his racist speech.

Some people have expressed concern because we have photographically reprinted many old books which were once printed by the Mormon Church or its critics. Actually, most of the books we have printed are over a hundred years old. If they ever had a copyright, it has expired long ago. In a U.S. Government publication, *Duration of Copyright Under the New Law*, Circular R15a, we find the following: “Under the law in effect before 1978, . . . the copyright lasted for a first term of 28 years from the date it was secured. During the last (28th) year of the first term, the copyright was eligible for renewal. If renewed, the copyright was extended for a second term of 28 years.” Since the copyright was only renewable once, books more than 56 years old (except in some instances where “the second term was extended beyond the 28 years by special legislation”) are no longer protected and are in the public domain. Samuel Spring writes:

The technical term “public domain” is used as descriptive of what may freely be used. . . . Literary and artistic creations

created in the past, before copyrights existed, and which were never copyrighted, belong to everyone and are in the public domain. Also, copyrighted literary, musical, and artistic works of any kind upon which copyrights were taken out are in the public domain after these copyrights have expired by lapse of time. . . .

Any created expression once in the public domain can not thereafter be copyrighted and withdrawn from the public domain. (*Risks and Rights*, pages 122-123)

Under the new copyright law published works receive protection “lasting for the author’s life, plus an additional 50 years after the author’s death.” The new law, however, provides no protection for works “already in the public domain.” The reader can see, therefore, that we are not violating any copyright laws when we reprint the old books about Mormonism. Now, while it is true that the Mormon Church puts copyright notices in the Book of Mormon, *Doctrine and Covenants* and Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church*, these notices do not amount to anything. These works all passed into the public domain many years ago. The Mormon Church can only copyright “additions, changes, or other new material appearing for the first time in the work. There is no way to restore copyright protection for a work in the public domain, even by including it in a new version. And protection for a copyrighted work cannot be lengthened by republishing the work with new matter” (*The Copyright Handbook*, by Howard Walls, New York, 1963, page 54).

From this it is plain to see that the entire text of Joseph Smith’s works mentioned above is in the public domain and can be reprinted without any fear of legal action.

In our book *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we use many quotations from books which are still protected by copyright. This has disturbed some of our readers who are not acquainted with “fair use” in copyright law. Margaret Nicholson gives this information about fair use:

How much can be quoted without the specific permission of the copyright owner?

Probably no other question besets publishers—and the Copyright Office—so frequently. In a form letter the Copyright Offices says cautiously but not very helpfully, “One must use his own best judgment”—which is exactly what the quoting author and publisher want to avoid.

The Copyright Act is silent, the Copyright Office is noncommittal, and for the most part the courts have been evasive in defining just what “reasonable quotation” is. . . . The courts have conceded that *there is fair use of quotation from copyright works*. For material quoted for critical, satirical, discursive, incidental, and scholarly purposes, permission is the exception rather than the rule, and most authors and publishers welcome it as free publicity. It stimulates rather than competes with the sale of the work from which it is quoted (unless it is adverse criticism, and sometimes even then). . . . it is not necessary to ask permission for what is obviously fair use, and to do so may result in embarrassment. (*A Manual of Copyright Practice*, New York, 1965, page 154)

In the U.S. Government publication, *Copyright and the Librarian*, Circular R21, page 2, we read: “The fair use provision of the new law is, of necessity, general and is not susceptible to either precise definition or automatic application. Each case must be considered and decided on its own merit.”

Many publishers put a statement in the front of a book which would seem to indicate that no part of it can be reproduced. Samuel Spring shows that such statements are completely meaningless as far as the law is concerned:

. . . a provincial custom has arisen among United States publishers (including many prominent ones) of inserting a notice at the beginning of the book which either denies entirely the right of fair comment and fair use (without express consent in each instance by such publisher) or attempts drastically to limit the right of fair use. A typical example of such notices is:

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without the permission of the publisher (named).

Other forms in common use, permit short quotations only in critical reviews published in *newspapers* and *periodicals*. Evidently they attempt to prohibit critical use by quotation in factual books or as background material in books.

This purported limitation is contrary to the law of copyright, and annoying because *unfounded in legal right*. An insertion of such a useless notice in a book is as undignified as it is futile. . . . no publisher has ever dared rely upon a notice denying or limiting the right of fair comment in any reported litigation. . . .

The right of fair comment, in short, is imposed by the courts upon copyright proprietors who sell to the public, in order to protect the public’s interest. Since the right is implied in law and in order to carry out the Constitutional provisions, in the public interest, it cannot be negated by notice harming the public interest. Once the book is published and copyrighted, the law imposes the right of fair comment in the public as against the copyright proprietor. It is for the court, not the copyright proprietor, to define the extent and limits upon fair comment and fair use. . . .

No court, by any decision or opinion, has ever given the slightest hint that the right of fair comment can be denied to the public by the copyright proprietor, through a notice denying it. Neither has any court ever suggested that the copyright proprietor has the right to define and so to limit the public right of fair comment and fair use. All cases indicate that the definition of fair use and fair comment is for the court, acting in the public’s interest, not for the publisher as the copyright proprietor. Thus the use of such futile notices could well be dispensed with. (*Risks and Rights*, pages 178-180)

Charles H. Lieb says that the “copyright proprietor by statute has the exclusive right to print, reprint, publish, copy and vend the copyrighted work. That right, nevertheless, is subject to the right of others to make ‘fair use’ of the work. The fair use doctrine is an equitable rule of reason. John Schulman has likened it to the golden rule—that one should not copy from someone else what he would not want copied from himself. Its application depends on the facts. Broadly speaking, the criteria by which fair use is determined are the purpose of the use, the nature of the copyrighted work, the quantity and value of the materials used and the degree in which the use may prejudice the sale or diminish the profits or supersede the objects of the original work” (*Copyright—The Librarian And The Law*, New Brunswick, N.J., 1972, page 27).

Although we have made extensive quotations from certain books, we feel that we have been careful not to “diminish the profits” of any of the authors cited. We feel, in fact, that we

have actually helped the sale of a number of books through our quotations. We have been very careful to give the title of each work cited and to avoid plagiarism.

At any rate, the subject of copyright is extremely complex, and we feel that Dr. Clandestine should be very careful in making accusations.

NAG HAMMADI TEXTS

On pages 21-22 of his rebuttal, Dr. Clandestine claims that the LDS temple ceremonies “bear striking resemblances to the format of salvation ordinances described in the *Gospel of Philip* which was discovered at Nag Hammadi, Egypt in recent decades: ‘For this one is no longer a christian but a Christ. The Lord did everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism [anointing with consecrated oil] and a eucharist and a redemption and a bride-chamber.’”

We feel that Dr. Clandestine and other Mormon scholars who use the Nag Hammadi documents to try to show that early Christians had doctrines similar to Mormonism are making a serious mistake. To begin with, the Nag Hammadi texts came from a group known as Gnostics. Charles F. Pfeiffer says that “Gnosticism appropriated Christian terminology to express its essentially unChristian philosophy” (*The Biblical World*, page 410). Philip Schaff makes these comments about Gnosticism:

More important and more widely spread in the second period was the paganizing heresy, known by the name of Gnosticism . . . It is a one-sided intellectualism on a dualistic heathen basis. It rests on an over-valuation of knowledge of gnosis, and a depreciation of faith or pistis. The Gnostics . . . fancied themselves the sole possessors of an esoteric, philosophical religion, which made them genuine, spiritual men, and looked down with contempt upon the mere men of the soul and of the body. . . . They, moreover, adulterated Christianity with sundry elements entirely foreign, and thus quite obscured the true essence of the gospel. . . .

As to its substance, Gnosticism is chiefly of heathen descent. It is a peculiar translation or transfusion of heathen philosophy and religion into Christianity. . . .

Gnosticism is, therefore, the grandest and most comprehensive form of speculative religious syncretism known to history. It consists of Oriental mysticism, Greek philosophy, Alexandrian, Philonic, and Cabbalistic Judaism, and Christian ideas of salvation, not merely mechanically compiled, but, as it were, chemically combined. . . . They gathered from the whole field of ancient mythology, astronomy, physics, and magic, everything which could serve in any way to support their fancies. (*History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, pages 199-202)

Speaking of one of the Nag Hammadi texts known as “On the Origin of the World,” Hans-Gebhard Bethge and Orval S. Wintermute claim that “the varieties of Jewish thought, Manichaeian motifs, Christian ideas, Greek or Hellenistic philosophical and mythological concepts, magical and astrological themes, and elements of Egyptian lore together suggest that Alexandria may have been the place where the original Greek text was composed” (*The Nag Hammadi Library*, San Francisco, 1977, page 161).

The pagan influence in “On the Origin of the World” is evident from the following extracts:

Out of the first blood Eros appeared, being androgynous. His masculine nature is Himeros, because he is fire from the light. His feminine nature which is with him is a blood-Soul, (and) is derived from the substance of Pronoia. He is very handsome in his beauty, having more loveliness than all the creatures of Chaos. Then when all of the gods and their angels saw Eros, they become enamored of him. (*Ibid.*, page 168)

Now the birth of the instructor occurred in this way. When Sophia cast a drop <of> light, it floated on the water. Immediately the man appeared, being androgynous. . . . An androgynous man was begotten, one whom the Greeks call “Hermaphrodites.” (*Ibid.*, page 171)

The same work talks of the “Phoenix,” a mythical bird which was supposed to live five or six hundred years. After death it was supposed to rise and live for another cycle of years. Besides being filled with pagan mythology, some of the Nag Hammadi documents disclose the God of the Old Testament as being evil and stupid. John Dart gives this information about the Nag Hammadi texts:

The Garden of Eden story is radically rewritten in three Nag Hammadi texts. The serpent tends to emerge heroically in the Gnostic rendition of Paradise, and the Creator God is portrayed as the ignorant ruler of a despicable world. (*The Laughing Savior*, New York, 1976, page 65)

Adam predicted that the wrathful Creator God would seek to destroy Seth’s seed, the men of “gnosis,” with a flood. Noah and his household would be saved to repopulate the earth and serve the evil deity, but angels would rescue the Gnostics by taking them aloft. . . .

Fire, sulphur, and asphalt would be cast down on the Gnostics—allusions to punishment meted out to the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah. (The Gnostic reversal at work again: Sodom and Gomorrah were really inhabited by the righteous.) The angels . . . would descend to save them from the fire, . . . (*Ibid.*, pages 82-83)

. . . in *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* . . . the Creator God bellows: “I am God, and there is no other beside me.” The narrator, later identified with Jesus Christ, reacts: “I laughed in joy when I examined his empty glory.” (*Ibid.*, page 110)

Christianity tended to drive toward doctrinal unity while Gnostic thinkers apparently preferred their independent ways. They seemed to seek and incorporate into their systems any bit of “truth” or “knowledge” they found, regardless of the source. The Gnostics considered the world and its creator to be evil, that a higher Father of truth exists, and that a spark of him resides in every person. (*Ibid.*, page 132)

In the Nag Hammadi text “The Second Treatise of the Great Seth,” Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and even God Himself are called laughingstocks:

And then a voice—of the Cosmocrator—came to the angels: “I am God and there is no other beside me.” But I laughed joyfully when I examined his empty glory. But he went on to say, “Who is man?” And the entire host of his angels who had seen Adam and his dwelling were laughing at his smallness. . . .

For Adam was a laughingstock, since he was made a counterfeit . . . And Abraham and Isaac and Jacob were a laughingstock, since they, the counterfeit fathers, were given a name by the Hebdomad, as if he had become stronger than I . . . the Archon was a laughingstock because he said, "I am God, and there is none greater than I. I alone am the Father, the Lord, and there is no other beside me. I am a jealous God, who brings the sins of the fathers upon the children for three and four generations." As if he had become stronger than I and my brothers! . . . he was in an empty glory. . . . he was vain in an empty glory. . . . he was a laughingstock . . . (*The Nag Hammadi Library*, pages 331, 335-336)

In "The Testimony of Truth," another Nag Hammadi text we find the following:

But of what sort is this God? First [he] envied Adam that he should eat from the tree of knowledge. . . . Surely he has shown himself to be a malicious envier. And what kind of a God is this? (*Ibid.*, page 412)

In "The Apocryphon of John," we read that God "is impious in his madness which is in him. . . . he is ignorant of his strength, . . ." (*Ibid.*, page 105). On the following page God is called "the arrogant one." In the "Hypostasis of the Archons," the God of Israel is accused of sin and blasphemy:

Their chief is blind; [because of his] Power, and his ignorance [and his] arrogance he said, with his [Power], "It is I who am God; there is none [apart from me]."

When he said this he sinned . . . then there was a voice that came forth from Incorruptibility, saying, "You are mistaken, Samael"—which is, "god of the blind."

His thoughts became blind. And, having expelled his Power—that is, the blasphemy he had spoken—. . . (*Ibid.*, page 153)

Since the Nag Hammadi texts are filled with pagan mythology and attack the God of Israel, it is hard to understand why Mormon scholars put much stock in them.

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 379-381, we show that portions of New Testament books have been discovered which are dated about A.D. 200. In fact, one fragment of papyrus from the book of John is dated "about 125 or 130 A.D." Though some of the Gnostic writings may have been originally composed in the 2nd century, the copies found near the Egyptian town of Nag Hammadi were probably written in the 4th century. James M. Robinson says that "A thorough study of the hands in the Nag Hammadi library has not yet been made, although dates ranging at least from the beginning to the end of the fourth century C.E. have been proposed. . . ."

"The papyrus used for letters and business documents and reused to thicken the leather covers may be located in time and space with more ease than can the quires themselves. Dates found in such cartonnage of Codex VII are 333, 341, 346, and 348 C.E. This indicates that the cover of Codex VII was manufactured after these dates" (*The Nag Hammadi Library*, pages 15-16).

Among the documents found at Nag Hammadi is one entitled, "The Gospel of Truth." Scholars feel that this might be a copy of the same gospel mentioned by Irenaeus about A.D. 180:

But those who are from Valentinus, being, on the other hand, altogether reckless, while they put forth their own compositions, boast that they possess more Gospels than there really are. Indeed, they have arrived at such a pitch of audacity, as to entitle their comparatively recent writing "the Gospel of Truth," although it agrees in nothing with the Gospels of the Apostles, so that they have really no Gospel which is not full of blasphemy. For if what they have published is the Gospel of Truth, and yet is totally unlike those which have been handed down to us by the Apostles, any who please may learn, as is shown by the Scriptures themselves, that that which has been handed down from the Apostles can no longer be reckoned the Gospel of truth. (*Adversus Haereses*, iii. 11.9, as cited in *The Biblical World*, pages 404-405)

In an article entitled, "The Word From Nag Hammadi," Edwin M. Yamauchi comments:

The apocryphal gospels are non-canonical writings of a motley variety about the purported deeds and revelations of Jesus Christ. Though the Greek word *apocrypha* originally meant "hidden," the church fathers used it to describe spurious writings foisted as gospels. Irenaeus refers to "an unspeakable number of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they themselves (i.e. heretics) had forged, to bewilder the minds of the foolish." . . .

The study of the Agrapha, particularly in the apocryphal gospels, reveals the relative poverty and inferiority of the mass of the extra-canonical literature, and by contrast highlights the precious value of the sayings of Jesus preserved in the New Testament. As Jeremias concludes: ". . . the extra-canonical literature, taken as a whole, manifest a surprising poverty. The bulk of it is legendary, and bears the clear mark of forgery. Only here and there, amid a mass of worthless rubbish, do we come across a priceless jewel." (*Christianity Today*, January 13, 1978, pages 19 and 22)

The Mormon publication *Brigham Young University Today*, March, 1976, page 8, claims that the Nag Hammadi documents contain some "authentic traditions and teachings," but it admits that the texts are of doubtful authorship:

The origins of the texts are difficult and often impossible to determine, and it is doubtful they were written by the men whose names they bear—Adam, Seth, Melchizedek, John, James, Paul and Peter . . .

The same article says that "Two BYU scriptioners . . . have become intrigued by the 4th Century Gnostic papyri which contain striking parallels with Mormon thought and theology." Since the Nag Hammadi documents are undoubtedly forgeries, it is hard to understand why Mormon scholars would be "intrigued" by them. We feel that the parallels between the Nag Hammadi texts and Mormonism only tend to show pagan influences on Mormonism. After all, Greek mythology was well known in Joseph Smith's day, and that it had an influence on Joseph Smith as well as the Gnostics should come as no surprise.

Although the Nag Hammadi documents were discovered in 1945 or 1946, they were not made available in their entirety in English translation until 1977. One of the documents, The Gospel of Thomas, was published in 1960. We were able

to read this purported gospel at that time, but did not find anything in it that supported Mormonism. *BYU Studies*, Winter 1975, printed a short work entitled, “The Apocalypse of Peter.” Some of the other documents have been printed at various times, but until 1977 the Nag Hammadi texts were not available in their entirety in any modern language. One Mormon scholar took advantage of the unavailability of translations of the texts to make some fantastic claims. Now that translations of the documents have been published in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, we are able to see how utterly ridiculous these claims were. For instance, he maintained that the sacramental prayer in the Book of Mormon was just like one found in the Nag Hammadi texts. While there is a prayer (“On The Eucharist A”) found in “A Valentinian Exposition,” it certainly is not identical to that found in the Book of Mormon (see, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, page 442).

Now that the texts are available in English, Mormon apologists will have to be more careful in their claims about the Nag Hammadi documents. Our examination of them leads us to conclude that they furnish no new evidence for Mormonism.

CONCLUSION

Although *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* has been subjected to attacks “from ambush,” no Mormon scholar has put his name to a rebuttal. Even D. Michael Quinn has been quoted as saying:

“ . . . I think it’s a shame no serious scholar has dealt with the Tanner’s approach to Mormon history and religious history in a professional academic journal. Their work has gained enough notoriety to merit that kind of treatment. . . .”
(*Utah Holiday Magazine*, February 1978, page 7)

While some would argue that the Church does not like to engage in controversy, its recent attack on the advocates of the Spalding theory demonstrates that this is simply not true (*Deseret News*, Church Section, August 20, 1977). The truth of the matter is that the Church leaders do not mind controversy if they feel they can come out ahead. We believe, however, that the Church has too many secrets to hide to come out in open opposition to *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* A man who talked to one of the Church’s Apostles claimed that he “told me to quit studying materials put out by the Tanner’s. (By the way, I never told him I was studying material from the Tanners). I told him ‘surely some day there will be an answer to these questions.’ He told me *there never would be an answer* and I should stop my inquiries. This was too much for me to handle” (Letter dated August 13, 1978). The continual silence of Church leaders to the charges contained in our book has tended to arouse suspicion in the minds of many people that there are no answers to the problems.

While we presented an extremely strong case against the Church in the 1972 edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* if we were to revise the book it would be even more devastating.



PART 3

A Response to *RESPONSE*

By Wesley P. Walters

Jerald and Sandra Tanner's Distorted View of Mormonism: A Response to Mormonism—Shadow or Reality? by a Latter-day Saint Historian, is an anonymous attempt to answer the Tanners' faith-shattering study of Mormonism. *RESPONSE* parades under the facade of scholarship, but the work is really a cheap polemic and it is understandable why no reputable scholar was willing to sign his name to it. It presents a plethora of nit-picking criticisms hardly worth noticing, but there are two areas that deserve some comment at length.

DR. ANONYMOUS AS A POLEMICIST

First the booklet correctly notes that the Tanners' approach "involves quoting the General Authorities of the Church on doctrine and history, and then showing how the doctrines in question are disputed by other General Authorities or by written scriptures, and also by showing how specific historical statements and explanations of the General Authorities are inadequate or contradicted by the historical evidence" (page 23). Unable to fault the Tanners on the accuracy of their evidence in these areas, the *RESPONSE* seeks to discredit the Tanners by accusing them of unfairness and dishonesty in the way they present their material ("their slanted use of sources" page 15, "hypocritical" page 26, "distorted", etc). The anonymous writer(s) claims that in their quotations of doctrinal and historical sources the Tanners set up a "Straw Man" because the "Tanners are aware that the official position of the LDS Church is 'that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such' (HC 5:265)" (page 23). In short *RESPONSE* agrees with the Tanners that the Mormon leaders have been guilty of massive contradictions in doctrine and history, but argues that these leaders were speaking then as mere men and not as prophets of the Mormon Church.

On the surface this sounds like a reasonable answer to the Tanners' criticisms, until one asks some basic questions. How does one know that the statement that a prophet is a prophet only when acting as such is "the official position of the LDS Church"? This statement does not appear in any of the Four Standard Works of the Church, but rather in Joseph Smith's *Church History*. What makes this statement from the *History* "official"; or are all statements from the *History* official (and if so when was the *History* elevated to that "official" capacity)? Furthermore, was Joseph speaking as a prophet when he made the statement about a prophet, or was he merely giving his private opinion? More important yet, how does one tell when a prophet is speaking as a prophet? Is it when the speaker introduces his statements with an "I prophesy in the name of

the Lord"? In his personal diary Joseph Smith has a statement that sounds for all the world as if he is speaking as a prophet:

I prophesy in the name of the Lord God that Governor Ford by granting the Writ against me has demeaned himself politically and his carcass will stink on the face of the earth food for the carrion crow and Turkey buzzard (*Nauvoo Diary*, June 30, 1843)

Yet this prophecy never even made it into Joseph's published *History*. Was it because Governor Ford died at home and the turkey buzzards did not pick his bones? Or was it because even though announcing that he was prophesying in the name of the Lord God, he was really not acting as a prophet? The point is, how does the average person know when Joseph Smith or any other President of the LDS Church is speaking as a prophet? If you cannot tell that, it is really quite useless to boast about having a church led by a living prophet.

Look, for example, at the teaching of Prophet Brigham Young that Adam was the real God of this world and the only God with whom we have to do. Those who have made an intensive study of Pres. Young's teaching (like Rodney Turner who devoted a thesis to the subject at BYU) acknowledge that Brigham Young intended to teach the Adam-God Doctrine. Furthermore, Brigham Young claimed to have received this teaching by revelation from God:

one particular doctrine which I revealed to them, and which God revealed to me—namely that Adam is our Father and God (*Deseret News*, 6/18/1873, page 305)

Yet the current President, Spencer Kimball, has labeled the Adam-God Doctrine "false doctrine":

We warn you against the dissemination of doctrines which are not according to the Scriptures and which are alleged to have been taught by some of the General Authorities of past generations. Such, for instance, is the Adam-God theory. We denounce that theory and hope that everyone will be cautioned against this and other kinds of false doctrine (*Deseret News*, 10/9/1976)

Which President was speaking as a prophet, and how do we tell for certain? The *RESPONSE*'s accusation that the Tanners have intentionally tried to ignore the "official position" of the Church is just a smoke-screen to keep the LDS people from looking at the hopelessly confused teachings of the Mormon Church.

The fact of the matter is, the Mormon church is not clear on just how to tell when their leaders are speaking as prophets.

One recent head of the church, Joseph Fielding Smith, would have us disregard any of his words that contradict the Four Standard Works—the Bible, Book of Mormon, *Doctrine and Covenants*, and *Pearl of Great Price*. That shifts the source of authority to those four works. But what gives those books supreme authority over the words of a modern prophet? Usually we are told that it is because they were accepted by a vote of the whole church. Would this mean that something like the Temple Ceremonies have no authority because they were never submitted to a vote of the church?

And what about the places where the Four Standard Works are in contradiction to each other (e.g. the Book of Moses makes only one, “I, God,” responsible for creation while the Book of Abraham changes this to “they, the Gods”)? Which Standard Work prevails? One of those Standard Works, the *Doctrine and Covenants*, makes it plain that everything *anyone* speaks under the influence of the Spirit is Scripture (DC 68:4). Where do those Spirit directed utterances fit into the total picture? *RESPONSE* has tried to make it appear that the Tanners have been dishonest in dealing with the public in this matter. In reality it is the *RESPONSE* that has been misleading and dishonest, for the dictum of a “prophet acting as a prophet” is fraught with the same contradictions and conflict that the Tanners have found throughout all Mormon literature.

DR. ANONYMOUS AS AN HISTORIAN

As a polemic *RESPONSE* is a basically dishonest work, but as a piece of historical writing it is a sheer disaster. In the first place his stance is one that authentic historians would reject. He asserts that his own preconceived ideas are the most basic consideration of all. He regards his “own experience with prayer, the Spirit and revelation” as “primary evidence” while “the historical record” as well as the Scriptures are only “secondary” (page 3). Therefore the evidence itself must be subservient to his own beliefs. This means that it is of basic importance to have a *preconceived acceptance* of Joseph Smith’s story, but it is completely unacceptable for others to have a *preconceived rejection* of Smith’s statements based on *their* previous spiritual experience with prayer, the Spirit, etc. The Tanners are therefore held guilty of such a crime (page 29). This is indeed a strange posture for one who claims to be a “professionally trained historian.” While historians at times are guilty of rearranging the data to fit their preconceived beliefs, this is the first time we have encountered one who embraces this as the only just procedure.

One of the main areas that troubles this “professionally trained historian” is the matter of how to deal with the conflicting data involved in Joseph Smith’s “First Vision” accounts. The author devotes over one fifth of his brief booklet to this matter alone. The problem is that there are at least three conflicting accounts of how Mormonism began, each of which emanates from Joseph Smith himself. About 1832 Joseph began an account about his own life and the “rise of the church” in which he claims to have *read his Bible* from about ages 12 to 15 and *concluded that there was no true church upon earth* “that built upon the Gospel of Jesus Christ as recorded in the new testament.” At age 15 (in his “16th year”), or 1821, *motivated by his Bible reading* he sought forgiveness and was granted his request by a personal *vision of Christ*. This account remained unfinished, and unpublished until recently. In 1835 he aided his top assistant, Oliver Cowdery, in composing the *first published account* of the rise of the

church. In that version it was 1823 when he was spiritually *stirred by a revival* in which is mother, sister and two brothers joined the Presbyterian Church. He sought to know, “*if a Supreme being did exist*,” and whether he was accepted and forgiven by Him. His prayer was answered not by a personal visit from the Lord, but by the *visit of an angel* who told him about the gold plates. About 1838 yet another version was composed which has become “the official version” since it is incorporated in the *Pearl of Great Price*, a part of the LDS scriptures. In this version (according to the original manuscript and the earliest printings) it had *never entered Joseph’s mind that all churches were wrong* (this contradiction has been eliminated from present editions). The revival described by Cowdery in the second version was *moved back to 1820* and this became the motivation for him to go into the woods and pray for light on which church to join. His prayer was answered by the *appearance of “two glorious personages,”* who are understood by Mormons to be two separate gods, *the Father and the Son*.

The anonymous writer seeks to soften these conflicting accounts by suggesting that the accounts of Christ’s resurrection are just as conflicting. While this charge can be seriously challenged, even if it were true one must note that there is a vast difference between variations in three eye-witnesses describing an event from their own separate personal vantage points, and just one individual telling three irreconcilable stories.

The *RESPONSE* builds its main case, however, on the assertion that Joseph’s accounts are “ambiguous” due to the vagueness of young Joseph’s memory. Pursuing this ambiguity theme, Joseph’s 1838 account (the booklet erroneously calls it the 1834 account) is called “a mass of precision and ambiguity.” Then phrases are cited from the account which are apparently intended to convince the reader that this ‘official version’ is indeed ambiguous in its dating of the event: “in the spring of Eighteen hundred and twenty . . . in my fifteenth year . . . between fourteen and fifteen years old or thereabouts . . . a little over fourteen years of age” (page 33). Aside from the word “thereabouts” there is nothing in the least ambiguous about the dating. Joseph reached age fourteen on December 23, 1819. Therefore in “the spring of 1820” he was “a little over fourteen years of age,” was “between fourteen and fifteen years old” and was “in my fifteenth year” (since a person is in the first year of his life until he reaches age one, when he enters his second year). Since the latter form of expression is not heard too frequently today it is common to misread “in my fifteenth year” as meaning age 15 instead of age 14. However, it is really inexcusable for a “professionally trained historian” (page 2) to continuously misread the phrase and further build a major point of his case on this misunderstanding of the text.

We find the *RESPONSE* again erroneously attributing ambiguity to the 1838 account in regard to the dating of the revival when it charges that “the chronology of the 1838 account that dates the revivals is ambiguous” (page 34). Joseph’s official account dates the revival as “sometime in the second year after our removal to Manchester,” which Joseph notes was “about four years” after they arrived at Palmyra. Since Joseph dates his arrival at Palmyra as being “in my tenth year” (that is, when he was age 9), the beginning point for calculating the revival chronology would be 1815. When one adds “about four years” to this date, a date of about 1819 marks the Smiths’ removal to Manchester, and “in the second year” after their removal yields the date of

1820 for the revival. There is complete agreement here with Joseph's dating of his vision. Yet this "professionally trained historian" in a footnote understands "in my tenth year" as age 10 or 1816, adds four years to arrive at 1820 for the date of their removal to Manchester and then misreads "in the second year" as equivalent to "two years later" to arrive at a date of 1822. Then he triumphantly announces what are his errors in reading as "ambiguity" in Joseph's account. Perhaps in his "professional" training he missed some basic courses in elementary English and simple arithmetic. However, his reading deficiency does not stop there. He proceeds to blame Mormon historians for the dating problems of Joseph's 1838 account. He asserts that they "have made the whole issue vulnerable to attack by putting too much emphasis on the spring of 1820 as the date of the First Vision." The truth is that it is Joseph Smith and not Mormon historians who has created the problem by putting the emphasis on the 1820 date. The Mormon historians were simply being faithful to the unambiguous words of their Prophet. However, this is not the end of our anonymous historian's blundering.

The next piece of miscalculation our "historian" is involved with is the expansion of a two year period into a "four year span." He states that the "possible time-frame" for the First Vision "extends from the spring of 1818 prior to his fourteenth birthday ('I was about 14 years old') to the spring of 1822 ('In the 16th year of my age')" (page 34). His reference to the "16th year" is from Smith's earlier 1832 account where there is no mention of Joseph being stirred by a revival and he sees only Christ. However, Smith's 16th year was *not* 1822 (as the anonymous historian erroneously calculates it) but 1821. Furthermore, the spring "prior to his fourteenth birthday" (which occurred Dec. 23, 1819) was the *spring of 1819 not the spring of 1818*. From 1819 to 1821 is a two year, not a "four-year span."

One reason the *RESPONSE* is desirous to push the date as early as possible is to have Joseph motivated by a revival in Palmyra which the anonymous historian maintains "occurred as early as 1817–1818" (page 35). Had this self-professed historian made the effort to check the historical data he would have discovered that *that* revival did not occur in 1817–1818, but dates from August 1816 to March 1817. That revival has no resemblance to the one Joseph describes in his 1838 account. It did not start with the Methodists and spread among all denominations as does the revival Smith describes. Rather it started among the Presbyterians and hardly went anywhere else, with the Presbyterians receiving 106 of the 126 converts. In Joseph's account the revival *ended* in a dispute over who would claim the converts. In the 1816–1817 revival a dispute did arise, but in the *midst* of the revival and over who would use the town meeting hall. At the conclusion there was just the opposite result from that described by Smith's account. According to Rev. Buttrick who was an active participant in the revival, Christians of various denominations rose above their denominational differences "to unite in a grand anthem of praise, *without knowing or inquiring to what sect the subject was inclined*" (*Religious Intelligencer*, Nov. 1, 1817, page 363f). Therefore it is mere wishful thinking and not historical evidence that connects Joseph's 1838 narrative with an 1816–1817 revival. But there is more yet.

As if aware that his suggested connection of Joseph's vision with the 1816–1817 (erroneously called 1817–1818) revival would not hold up, the anonymous author asserts that the revival may well have occurred in 1820 after all. To support this assertion he relies on two rather shoddy pieces of

historical writing. One of these by Peter Crawley is a forthright historical blunder and will serve as an example of the type of historical research the anonymous historian uses to build his case. The Crawley piece depends on an autobiography of David Marks, a young man of the same age as Joseph who, according to the booklet, "from 1815 to 1821 lived in Junius, New York, only fifteen miles from the Smith farm" (page 36). The writer informs us that Marks "walked to numerous revivals in towns as far as a thirty mile radius from his home in Junius." This makes it sound as though there had to be revivals going on all around Joseph Smith. This seems especially to be true when the writer appeals to Dr. Backman's article to show that "within a thirty-mile radius of the Smith farm a dozen communities were experiencing religious revivals in the 1819–1820 period" (page 37). Dr. Backman's article has multiple blunders which we hope to deal with in a separate article, but suffice it to say that almost all the examples Backman cites were not 1820 revivals at all. For example, he cites a revival as occurring at Victor, N.Y. in 1820, but he failed to carefully check his sources and missed the fact that the revival referred to did not occur until 1830. What then about the Crawley evidence? First, David Marks did not live "only fifteen miles from the Smith farm." The Smith farm was located in the Northwest corner of the town (township) of Manchester. The next township east of Manchester was Phelps, and Junius was beyond that. It is at least 15 miles in a straight line from the Smith farm to the East boundry of Phelps, and Mark's home was considerable East of that. Marks, for example, comments that he walked 18 miles from his home to attend a meeting in Phelps township and 40 miles from his home to reach Ontario, some 15 miles North of Palmyra. Therefore Marks's home was at least 25 to 30 miles from Joseph's home. Furthermore, the revivals he mentioned were not "numerous" but really only centered in two locations. One lay some 20–30 miles further east of him while the other was about the same distance to the Southwest. Thus any revivals Marks refers to were between 35 to 50 miles from Joseph's home, which is hardly the impression the anonymous writer leaves with the reader.

However, after seemingly establishing that there were revivals near Joseph in 1820, he reverses his field and concludes that this reviewer was correct that there were no revivals in Smith's area between 1819 and 1823. In fact, he argues that this is the key to the whole problem (page 38). He theorizes that Joseph was really stirred to become concerned about his sins by TWO revivals, one in 1817–1818 (his dates are still wrong) or possibly 1819–1820, and the other in 1823, in which Rev. George Lane took part. In this way he hopes to support Cowdery's 1823 date as true, while still supporting Joseph's "official" account which places the revival earlier in his career. However, the revival which Cowdery and Joseph describe, in which members of his family joined the Presbyterian Church, did not begin until *September of 1824*. Just how a revival late in 1824 involving George Lane could stir Joseph Smith up about his sins in 1823 is not explained by our historian who seems to delight in ambiguity. Worse yet is the fact that Joseph's mother, who places the revival sometime after Alvin died late in 1823, informs us that Joseph refused to attend the 1824 revival meetings.

In a preliminary draft of the history of her son, Lucy Smith speaks of this 1824 revival at Palmyra. In a paragraph, deleted from the final draft and omitted from her book, she states:

About this time their [*sic*] was a great revival in religion and the whole neighborhood was very much aroused to the subject and we among the rest flocked to the meeting house to see if there was a word of comfort for us that might relieve [*sic*] our over charged feelings [about Alvin's death] (page 86)

That she had not joined the Presbyterian Church as yet is clear from the fact that she mentioned that her husband had no objection to her or the children "becoming church members" (page 87). Then she adds that Joseph "refused from the first to attend the meeting with us." Our anonymous "historian" loves to fault the Tanners for not dealing with material he thinks they should have known about. Yet this LDS "scholar" completely ignores this basic piece of information and gives us no indication of how Joseph could be stirred by meetings he refused to attend. He also fails to mention that this preliminary draft knows nothing of any First Vision story but rather has Joseph *stirred* to make his inquiry before Alvin's death *as a result of a family conversation* in which they discuss how many thousand different interpretations of the Bible there were. Mother Smith states that Joseph then *retired to his bedroom where an angel informed him that all churches were wrong* and told him about the gold plates. All of this was, of course, deleted in the final draft and Joseph's official version put in its place.

The truth is that our anonymous historian's defense will not hold up and Joseph's accounts of his visions and the church's origins are hopelessly contradictory. The Historian of the RLDS Church has frankly admitted the impossibility of reconciling the accounts, but our anonymous "historian" refuses to concede the point. As if our historian had not bungled the whole matter enough, he tries one more approach which he hopes will explain why no one ever heard of Joseph's First Vision story in the earliest period of Mormon history. He asserts that Joseph's story was a "private" "personal" matter "which had no significance for . . . his prophetic calling" (page 30). Since it was very personal and not intended to validate the divine origin of the LDS Church, Cowdery rightfully omitted it in his essay on the rise of the church. While this is a clever approach it is completely at odds with Joseph's own accounts.

In the first place his 1832 account is not just a narration of unrelated events from his personal life, but "an account of his marvelous experiences and of all the mighty acts which he doeth in the name of Jesus Christ . . . and also an account of the rise of the Church of Christ." His claimed heavenly experience is made foundational to the entire movement, for he asserts, "firstly *he receiving the testimony from on high*," and links this directly with "secondly the ministering of Angels, thirdly the reception of the holy Priesthood." His 1838 account is no different in linking together his claimed personal experiences with the alleged divine origin of his church. Although it was briefly entitled "History of Joseph Smith, Jr.," as *RESPONSE* notes, the opening words show the interrelated nature of Smith's life and the claims put forth for his church.

Owing to the many reports which have been put in circulation . . . in relation to the rise and progress of the Church . . . I have been induced to write this history, to disabuse the public mind . . . in relation to myself and the Church.

Furthermore, to maintain that Joseph's First Vision story had no significance for Joseph's prophetic calling is to ignore

Joseph's own assertion to the contrary. He regarded his alleged First Vision as his special "calling." This is evident from his statement that before he received his Second Vision and a knowledge of the gold plates, he fell into divers sins. Such conduct, he confesses, was "not consistent with that character which ought to be maintained by *one who was called of God as I had been*" (J.S. 2:28). In fact, one wonders whether our anonymous historian has even bothered to look at Joseph's 1838 account. If he did spend time with it, then he is being intentionally deceptive, for there is nothing "private" and "personal" in the entire thrust of the narrative. It is just not true that Joseph's account portrays a "private experience of the First Vision that had nothing to do with the rise of Mormonism" (page 32). In Joseph's presentation of the Vision it is foundational, supporting his claim to have established the only true church, for all other churches are an "abomination." Furthermore, to relegate the First Vision story to a "private experience" (page 31) which lacked the "publicity" received by the story of the Angel Moroni's visit is completely to ignore the words of Joseph himself, words which Mormons claim to regard as Scripture. There is nothing private about the experience when he presents the entire community as up-in-arms about it. He says that he "soon found, however, that *my telling the story excited a great deal of prejudice against me . . . and was the cause of great persecution*" (2:22). He adds that "men of high standing would take notice sufficient to excite the public mind against me" and that "this was *common among all the sects*—all united to persecute me." Does this sound like a mere private personal matter? Furthermore he makes it plain that he did not keep silent about his vision. "I had actually seen a light, and in the midst of that light I saw two Personages . . . they were persecuting me, reviling me and speaking all manner of evil against me falsely *for so saying*." According to Joseph, therefore, the public persecution is linked directly to his telling his First Vision story. This is further emphasized when he asks, "Why does the world think to make me deny what I had actually seen" (2:25)? He further asserts that throughout this entire period nothing made him cease telling the story of his vision: "all the time suffering severe persecution at the hands of all classes of men, both religious and irreligious, *because I continued to affirm that I had seen a vision*" (2:27). Joseph in 1838 may have been making up the whole situation, and the failure to turn up any evidence of anyone who ever heard such a story at that early period points clearly in that direction; regardless of that, however, it is just plain misrepresentation to claim that the First Vision, as presented by Smith himself, was a private experience, "intensely personal" in nature. Any portrayal of it as such is intentional deception.

We have dealt at some length with this one topic because it is typical of the way most items are handled throughout the rest of the booklet. In our judgment the anonymous author is guilty of all the dishonest methods that he falsely accuses the Tanners of using. In fact, while he accuses the Tanners of "doing whatever is necessary to win the argument" it appears to us that this is his basic operating procedure. He misstates the issues, distorts the data, ignores the evidence and garbles the texts. Such a person does not deserve the title of a "professionally trained historian."

The work, however, is not entirely without redeeming social value. The author (who was apparently a committee member from the LDS Historical Department) has made some useful admissions. It is refreshing to find in print that Mormon defenders

at times have been guilty of “presenting carefully chosen evidence that shows only the positive side of Mormonism, while *ignoring or denying the existence of contrary evidence*” (page 4); to learn that “apologist-defenders” of Mormonism “found it necessary to ignore or *even deny* the weaknesses, fallibility and humanity of our prophets and apostles” (page 11); and to see acknowledged that Mormon people are given

to “gullibility” and “tend to give special significance (if not outright divine status) to anything said by a LDS President or other General Authority” (page 23). Apart from this, however, the work hardly merits the time it would take to answer all its distortions. The booklet style leaves Mormonism in the shadows and the Tanners work is still indispensable if one would find the reality of Mormonism past and present.

