Chapter 14

Latter-Day Saints and the Problem of Theology

Fenella Cannell

"'I'll freely admit that I'm not a theologian.' Bishop Hammond said."

In April 2014, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) excommunicated one of its rank and file members, a woman named Kate Kelly. Kelly was declared apostate for advocating for her church's recognition of women as members of the lay priesthood, which is currently reserved to adult men. In October 2013, representatives of the LDS group Ordain Women, to which Kelly belonged, made news in Utah and other Mormon stronghold states by requesting tickets to attend the 'priesthood sessions,' - that is, men-only sessions,- of the semi-annual cConference of the LDS church. These are held in the Conference Centre Center in Salt Lake City, but are livestreamed streamed live to various satellite locations where 'priesthood holders' (that is, i.e., men) are invited and expected to go to watch them collectively. Footage posted online that year and the following year showed examples of what happened in some locations. For instance, Brigham Young University (BYU) graduate Abbey Hansen and others gained entrance to watch the broadcasts with the men at BYU's Marriott Centre Center in October, 2015. The video shows a very Mormon encounter, in which polite and modestly -dressed members of Ordain Women awkwardly ask to be allowed to enter the meeting, and are eventually, though very reluctantly, admitted by an equally polite and respectably -dressed lady on at the door (Karen Roberts). The encounter takes place in a register of determined propriety, which does not, however, conceal the sense of extreme risk on the part of those requesting, or the painfully shocked and resentful way in which admission is conceded; Roberts says something like, ' "I'm not going to stop you !"'; which suggests an unspoken portion of the sentence , as in, "' I'm not going to stop you

[putting your head in that noose].”’ http://www.sltrib.com/entertainment/1668099-155/women-priesthood-session-ordain-meeting-church[1]

The church leadership had issued instructions that women should be admitted if to refuse them entrance would cause significant disruption. Disruption is not beloved of the present-day LDS Church, which has a commitment to corporate-style public relations management. However, once the conference was over, the church disciplined Kelly, excommunicating her through the usual LDS system of local courts and eventually turning down her final appeal to the First Presidency of the Church in Salt Lake City. Also in 2014, the Church excommunicated another member of intellectual inclinations, a psychologist named John Dehlin. Dehlin was expelled from his church for running the website, podcast series, and blog, “Mormon Stories,” (http://www.mormonstories.org) which had included among its features a series of in-depth discussions on the views of Ordain Women. Dehlin’s podcasts are sympathetic and receptive to Kelly’s position but also represent a range of different informed responses, including discussion from well-known LDS women scholars and feminists in good standing with the church, who take a different approach from Kelly. They do not include interviews with the Church authorities who disciplined her.

Members of Ordain Women were not seeking to provoke the LDS leadership for provocation’s sake but were aware that their views were unlikely to be popular in those circles. There is nothing secret about the *content* of the Conference Priesthood meetings, which are available to members of both genders as live broadcasts and then as online recordings;[2] however, the male-only Priesthood Meetings are a reflection of the central but contentious gendered division of authority within the LDS church, according to which adult men and not adult women will hold all the major positions of leadership within their church, up to and including eligibility for succession to the role of Prophet and President, the male leader of the worldwide church. LDS women have their own meetings at Conference, which

correspond to the regular local meetings of the women's organization known as the Relief Society, but although this is an important body, it cannot be a stepping stone to the role of General Authority, Apostle, or Prophet, even for the President of the Relief Society. John Dehlin's excommunication came as more of a shock to many LDS observers and commentators than Kelly's and was read by some as a worrying sign that Salt Lake was moving towards a closed and punitive attitude toward debate within the Church.

The members of Ordain Women would certainly like Mormon women to be given LDS priesthood powers; however, its primary aim is simply to open a discussion on these matters within the church (http://ordainwomen.org/mission/).[3] What was at issue was not just a particular decision (i.e., whether or not LDS women can be part of the priesthood) but the whole space of possibility of debate within the LDS Church and the question of how LDS leaders could be persuaded to acknowledge such debate as legitimate rather than to close it down.

All Christian churches at present consider themselves as confronting the problem of a mainstream culture that is, or at least thinks itself to be, secular. Anthropologists tend to consider objectified *secularism* and *religion* as linked artefacts of the modern imagination[4] and have traced the consequences of their polarisation in a number of ethnographies.[5] Some theologians and some philosophers have mounted sustained critiques of the claims of the secular to encompass all human reality and to supersede religious ways of being and knowing.[6] A different response has been for some church leaders and theologians to take an increasingly narrow definition of what is acceptable in religion and an increasingly anxious stance towards members who wish to open new topics of debate. Whether by accident or intention, such debate may result in the undermining of religious values by mainstream secularism. Situations that seem to threaten such secular invasions may be particularly likely to trigger the shutting down of debate. The problem is to hold open a space for faithful

discussion and questioning. In some situations of this kind in the Roman Catholic Church, the space of debate has been held open by (some) Catholic theologians who can draw on the long history that recognizes their expertise (under the authority of the Pope) on the church's own teachings, processes, and protocols. Thus, the Cambridge Professor of Divinity Nicholas Lash published a highly controversial article "On Not Inventing Doctrine" in *The Tablet*,[7] which challenged the then-Pope's claim that the ban on Catholic women priests had been made infallibly. Lash argued that the refusal to discuss the admissibility of women priests could not be justified on scriptural grounds and that the claim of infallibility was faulty.[8] Although Lash came under serious pressure over this statement from his superiors in the church, his scholarship on what constituted the proper basis for declaring infallible doctrine could not be disproved. Some Mormon intellectuals and campaigners seek something like this role of holding the church leadership accountable according to its own criteria. This chapter describes some aspects of these efforts as an attempt to establish a Mormon theology.

The excommunications of 2014 created a sense of anxiety among church members in part because they appeared to reprise previous traumatic events that many had hoped were firmly in the past. The year 2013 marked the twentieth anniversary of the excommunication of a number of very well respected and distinguished Mormon writers, speakers, and scholars known in media coverage as the "September Six."[9] These six members were expelled at the same time as each other and stood in a metonymic relation to a wider group of other historians, feminists, writers, and speakers who advocated for broader discussion and tolerance in the church and among whom further excommunications followed.

The distinguishing feature of the excommunications of 1993 was their anti-intellectualism. The September Six were all committed, church-going, believing members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and none of them wished to leave their church or to challenge the reality of the prophetic revelations on which it is based. Rather, all

the excommunicates asserted their right to open and engage in debate on issues that most people would recognize as matters of theology. In particular, the excommunications of 1993 were bound up with the flowering of Mormon feminism and Mormon feminist scholarship, which occurred somewhat later than in mainstream American culture. This flowering took distinctively theological forms rather than being presented in terms of legal entitlements or rights to equal status under the law.[10]

The status of LDS women relative to their non-LDS contemporaries both now and in the past is complex and can be interpreted in a variety of different ways. Mormon culture and religious charisma is heavily patriarchal in several respects,[11] but Mormon women's religious roles also obtained for them the support of their church for both the right to divorce and the right to suffrage in Utah at a date earlier than that of many other American states.[12] Marriage (defined as exclusively heterosexual) is essential for Latter-day Saints to enter into the highest state of resurrected life, and current teaching within the church suggests that righteous souls who are unfortunate enough not to find a spouse in this life may hope to be assigned one post-mortally and so enter into the state of Exaltation. The bearing and rearing of children is also an essential part of the work of Christ for Mormons; since it is necessary for every human person to pass through mortality before the end of the world and the return of the Savior, all married couples have a duty to raise children so that the waiting spirits may be housed in earthly bodies..[13] Men and woman are, therefore, interdependent in terms of the Mormon economy of salvation, and woman are highly valued within their church as wives, mothers, teachers, daughters, and sisters.

The official teachings and hierarchy of the LDS Church currently promotes and enforces a socially conservative view of gender roles within the family and claims that gender complementarity of the *equal but different* school is the only view compatible with Mormon doctrine and also the right path to human happiness and eternal salvation. For some

within the church, however, these tendencies bear the hallmark of a too-close accommodation to the forms of life typical of American conservative Protestants who have been a political and social power worth allying with especially since the 1980s but whose theologies are in several ways profoundly different from and, in fact, contradictory to those of the Latter-day Saints.[14] LDS church leaders during and after the Reagan years could see the benefits of emphasizing what was shared with evangelical Protestants rather than what was not, and these benefits included the potential softening of the exclusionary and critical attitudes to which Mormons had often been subjected within mainstream America. These shifts in attitude towards Protestants came, in addition to earlier and continuing profound efforts within the LDS church, towards centralization of institutional power and processes and towards the standardization of practice and doctrine in every locality. These changes took shape beginning under President Harold B. Lee in the early 1960s[15] and were known as Correlation. They were consciously motivated by the church leadership's concerns about maintaining its own identity and orthodoxy in a time of vastly increasing worldwide membership.[16] While Mormonism has always been a hierarchical church in which the authority of the present-day Prophets is centrally important, Utah Mormons of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries viewed that authority as paradigmatically personal, homespun, and accessible to face-to-face encounters between the members and their Prophet and Apostles. Even if it was, in fact, unlikely that an ordinary member would flag down an Apostle on the streets of Salt Lake City to ask his advice, the idea that this could happen remained a powerful element in the Mormon imaginary. The legendary obedience that Latter-day Saints have volunteered to their leaders rested on a sense of personal trust in genuine religious charisma. Obedience to leaders is ultimately a form of obedience to God (Heavenly Father), and given Mormon emphasis on the centrality of human free agency, it is

fundamentally considered as a gift. The gift may be, and often is, felt as a sacrifice. It may be (is) a moral obligation but should not be an automatic process of exaction.

Correlation dealt with the problem of a church expanding beyond the conceivable limits of personal authority by creating bureaucratic structures and mass systems for the maintenance of orthodoxy. The creation of standardized student and teacher guides from which all members would be taught about their religion during regular weekly Gospel Doctrine classes; the specification of clear roles for different groups within the church, including for men's' and women's organizations; the institution of visiting teaching in 1964, under which lay members are assigned people within their local church congregations (known as wards) to visit once a month and with whom to read Scripture; the creation of a synchronized program of Gospel readings such that every ward in the Church studies the same Scriptures each week all over the world all created a sense of coordination, gratitude to the church's leaders, and pride in the powerful organizational capacities of the church. They also, however, created experiential anomalies for many ordinary members for whom religious dedication had been locally grounded in small ways of doing things they knew as authentic and orthodox Mormonism but which now came under restraint, if not actually under question, within the centralized and homogenized system.

Latter-day Saints continue to place a very high value on the idea of their Prophets and Apostles as holders of religious charisma and of the relationship between leaders and followers in the church as ultimately a personal one, at least in the sense that it is not supposed to be an *impersonal* relationship. LDS leaders may not be able to know every member individually, but they are still vehicles for the Holy Spirit and conduits for radical present-day revelation; therefore, their actions should not contradict the longed-for capacities of God to be concerned with the irreducible value and non-interchangeability of every human being, however pressingly numerous human beings become. The increasing corporatism of

the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, on which many commentators and critics have remarked, therefore seems to set up structural tensions and instabilities.[17] On the one hand, it can appear as the natural outgrowth of the practical capacities and diligence that Mormons regard as characteristic of their church and desired by God; on the other hand, the gulf between prophets and systems can sometimes open unexpectedly beneath an individual's feet. Hierarchical power transmitted top-down through a rationalized and partly depersonalized system has a different effect on those who encounter it than hierarchical power transmitted from a living prophet directly to a known follower.

During the early 1990s, these tensions may have been troubling numbers of members in large or small ways but were particularly keenly felt, and particularly clearly expressed, by Mormon scholars and intellectuals, including those employed at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.[18] Mormon historians, writers, and feminist speakers had presented work that demonstrated the existence of more variable positions available within Mormon doctrine than were acknowledged or encouraged by the Church's leaders. In particular, this work demonstrated the complexity of the unfolding of Mormon teaching during the lifetime of the first Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr., and beyond, so that it became clear that it was difficult or impossible to assert a single, narrow statement of that doctrine, which would encompass the historical truth. This work of scholarship was important because from the time of its inception, Mormonism has understood itself both as a religion of authoritative revelation through present-day prophets and also as a religion compatible with the reality of historical events and with empirical evidence about past events, whether documentary, archaeological, linguistic, or bio-genetic.[19] In addition to this general issue of historical complexity, LDS feminists were especially attentive to nineteenth-century Mormon practices and teachings regarding the religious status of women compared to that of men. Elements that absorbed their attention included in particular the teaching on God the Mother, which acknowledges

that God (like every other resurrected and divine being in Mormon understanding) has a spouse in heaven whose reality was recognized by nineteenth-century prophets, as well as a reconsideration of the relationship between male and female access to priesthood power and the relative standing of the Priesthood (adult male) and Relief Society (adult female) organisztions intended by the first Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr.[20] It was argued, and evidence was presented to show, that the women of the Relief Society had been endowed by Smith with the power and responsibility to act as priesthood holders in their own right in certain contexts.

Mormonism frames priesthood power as the restoration via Joseph Smith of capacities of blessing, healing, and the authority to enact rituals necessary for salvation and resurrection on persons both living and dead, and to connect (i.e., seal) persons to one another so that kinship relations can endure beyond death. Mormon feminist scholars in the 1990s did not claim that Joseph Smith Jr. had endowed men and women with priesthood roles that were identical to each other but did argue that the Relief Society was always intended to share in these powers. It also became clear that nineteenth century and early twentieth century Mormon women had themselves explored and debated aspects of women's relationships to priesthood power without reprimand from the leaders of the church. Further historical research demonstrated that nineteenth-century Mormon women understood themselves to be entitled and required to use priesthood powers in various contexts, and particularly in the care of children, healing from sickness, the blessing of other women, and in midwifery.[21]

Although the social script encouraged by the church leadership at this time was that "men have the priesthood; women have motherhood," a formula that could be heard as a variation on Protestant ideas about gender complementarity under male headship,[22] Mormon feminism was taking some of its energy from contrary strains in the central rituals of Mormonism, conducted in LDS temples.[23] These rituals are necessary for salvation, and the

LDS leadership has expressly encouraged all its members to attend the temples frequently in recent decades[24] as a means to experience the absolute reality of Mormon revelation. LDS leaders often write guides to the correct attitude to the temple and the correct emotions to experience in the temple but also universally emphasize that the details of its liturgy should not be discussed, as this would encroach on its sacredness, understood as a separateness or setting apart from ordinary life. As I have argued elsewhere, however, the unspeakability of the details of temple ritual opens a space in which Latter-day Saints may experience *unpredictable* and *unscripted* emotions and understandings of their religion, rather than simply those considered correct by the church authorities.[25] This occurs despite the fact that Mormons are generally quite anxious (with an anxiety apparently related to the Protestant side of the Mormon legacy) about ritual itself and often monitor their own reactions to temple ritual with a high degree of concern about whether they are feeling the right thing. The affective power of temple ritual, or the discordant absence of affect for some people, can work either to enhance a person's sense of the overall rightness of the church hierarchy or to disturb that sense, but it does not appear to create a fully predictable or straightforward increase in approved models of experience, as church leadership logic would suppose.

Some elements of the symbolism and practice of temple ritual are widely apprehended by Latter-day Saints as suggesting that women, as well as men, are holders of priesthood power; indeed, the logic of requiring women as well as men to pass through temple ritual would imply this in itself. For many people, the lacuna between this apprehension and the *women have motherhood* message was one that they did not find troublesome or need to probe to its conclusion. For many others, however, Mormon feminist writing and scholarship spoke into forms of embodied experience that had already been felt as real, even if they had not been put into words. Thus, works such as Margaret and Paul Toscano's *Strangers in Paradox*, which explored the potential of Mormon ritual in relation to

gender complementarity, had a resonance for Mormon audiences not confined to academic circles.[26]

In the circumstances I have sketched, therefore, Mormon feminism appeared not as a single-issue movement focused on gender politics or gender rights but as an instance or emergence of fundamental questions of the sayable, the grounds of experience and the proper understanding of the character of God and religious authority within the LDS Church. This reaching for the right to articulate what many people believed was a direct experience of the power of Mormon religious reality found itself in conflict with certain figures among the then LDS central leadership. Among these, one of the most uncompromising was the Apostle Boyd K. Packer, who gave an address in 1993 in which he CANNELL PLEASE DO NOT DELETE THIS PHRASE who defined the three main enemies of the LDS church as feminists, homosexuals, and intellectuals.[27]

"The dangers I speak of come from the gay-lesbian movemquorent, the feminist movement (both of which are relatively new), and the ever-present challenge from the so-called scholars or intellectuals. Our local leaders must deal with all three of them with ever-increasing frequency. In each case, the members who are hurting have the conviction that the Church somehow is doing something wrong to members or that the Church is not doing enough for them".[28]

Apostle Packer's argument was that the reality of human suffering was not sufficient grounds for altering or wishing away revealed truth;

> When members are hurting, it is so easy to convince ourselves that we are justified, even duty bound, to use the influence of our appointment or our calling to somehow represent them. We then become their advocates - -- sympathize with their complaints against the Church,- and perhaps even soften the commandments to comfort them. Unwittingly we may turn about and face the wrong way. Then the channels of

> revelation are reversed. Let me say that again. Then the channels of revelation are reversed. In our efforts to comfort them, we lose our bearings and leave that segment of the line to which we are assigned unprotected. The question is not whether they need help and comfort. That goes without saying. The question is "How?" The Prophet Joseph Smith, when he organized the Relief Society said, "There is the need for decisions of character aside from sympathy."[29]

For Elder Packer, faith requires the ability to carry on in obedience to the church despite the inequalities of mortal life, trusting that the reasons for these inequities will be revealed in the life to come:;

"Only when they have some knowledge of the plan of redemption will they understand the supposed inequities of life. Only then will they understand the commandments God has given us. If we do not teach the plan of redemption, whatever else we do by way of programs and activities and instructions will not be enough."[30] In other words, the trials on earth through which we pass are designed by God for our ultimate good, to allow us to grow to our full potential as human beings and, therefore, to inherit the resurrected glory of the Mormon Celestial Kingdom. From that vantage point, all earthly suffering will either seem trivial or will be understandable within the larger framing in which ultimate achievement makes suffering purposeful, not senseless, and productive, not destructive of the true self.

Boyd K. Packer was not arguing that no comfort should be offered to those suffering in the here and now, but he did argue that there was an unanswerable requirement from God to keep the commandments revealed through his Church.

Many Latter-day Saints who heard Elder Packer's speech at the time remember it with great pain. His perspective had a deep and emotional appeal, which was felt powerfully even by those members who disagreed with his social views because all faithful Latter-day Saints wish, with Elder Packer, to defend the principle that their church is based on present-day

revelation and that its leaders continue to receive special gifts of prophecy from God. Members understand, also, that their leaders are consciously charting a course that upholds the legitimacy of religious authority and the value of church unity in a context in which many kinds of *secular* values have become mainstream and integral to the state.

While some members acknowledged that Boyd K. Packer was trying to do good by his own lights, they felt anguished that their church leaders would give so little legitimacy to any interpretations of LDS revelation other than their own. Mormon scholars often thought that Elder Packer had wrongly labeled them as opponents of their own church. They braced themselves against what they experienced as the overbearing authoritarianism of the leadership in Packer's generation by a sustained consideration of the inspired authorities of their church's past, whose fit with Packer's views was only partial and incomplete.

Janice Merrill Allred was one of the feminist thinkers and writers excommunicated following the exclusion of the September Six, several of whom were her colleagues, friends, and family members. Allred's sister's husband, Paul Toscano, had been one of the original excommunicates, and her sister, Paul's wife Margaret Toscano, was later also excluded from the church. Allred was excommunicated by a church court in 1995 and later published a full account of the proceedings of that court in the journal *Case Reports of the Mormon Alliance*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson. The details of this court, which make for excruciating reading, circled repeatedly around the question of who had the right to discern or declare where authority resides in the Mormon church:

> I pointed out that [the facts] showed that I had not disobeyed him. "In any case," I argued, "I am not under any obligation to follow your counsel. Since there is no Church law against speaking publicly or publishing articles about God the Mother, it is unfair to punish me for disobeying something which is neither a law of the Church nor a Commandment of God."

President Bacon told me,… "What difference does that make? I'm your leader and you should do what I say. I represent Jesus Christ to you." He told me.

I replied, "I am also a servant of Jesus Christ." [31]

In another passage of the deliberations, Bishop Hammond said,

"I'll freely admit I'm not a theologian. I don't know the scriptures that well. In any doctrinal discussion you could run rings around me and beat me under the table. But I don't see that we need to discuss the doctrinal issues at all in either of your papers because it's so obvious that what you're saying goes against Church doctrine."

"It's not obvious at all," I replied, "That's your opinion. I've told you a number of times that my interpretation of the Godhead is based on the scriptures and it does not contradict what Jesus says the doctrine of his Church is, so how does it go against Church doctrine? You tell me that 'Him Shall Ye Hear' [32] contains false doctrine, but I don't think it does. You won't even say what you think the false doctrine *is* other than the main idea. I think that the idea that the prophet will never lead the Church astray is false doctrine. There is no scriptural basis for this idea. There is no revelation supporting it. It is antithetical to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and it contradicts my principle of free agency. There is no historical precedent for it. There's no reason at all for claiming that Church leaders can't or won't lead the Church astray except that some leaders said so."

"That's good enough for me," Bishop Hammond said.[33]

In accounts written by these excommunicates, the outcome of the court deliberations is felt by those who pass through them already to have been decided before they began. Although Allred's husband, friends, and children paced the corridors or hovered by the telephone as they waited anxiously for the outcome of her trial, the protagonist herself seemed already reluctantly resigned to what is to come:

I continued my final plea for exoneration. “Believing what you do about what it would mean to excommunicate me—-that it would invalidate my baptismal covenant, that it would take away the sealing with my husband and children, that it would mean that I couldn’t participate or serve in the Church or be with my children at important times in their lives—-believing all this, how could you do this to me? You know of my belief in God and my desire and efforts to do what is right. How can you punish me in this way just because you think I have broken these rules, these rules which are not from God but which you made up?”

Bishop Hammond was obviously angry with me. Up to this point he had usually spoken quietly and slowly. Now he spoke quickly, with more energy, and there was a hard edge to his voice. “You have to take some of the responsibility. You can’t lay it all on us. You knew you were going over the line. You knew you were doing what we didn’t want you to do. We told you what the consequences would be.”

I didn’t respond. It seemed so hopeless. I just didn’t have the energy to point out one more time that they had drawn the line, that it could be drawn in another way, or that, better yet, it didn’t have to be drawn at all. [34]

Janice Allred’s account of her disciplinary hearing seems, in fact, to stand in a long tradition of religious writing about persecution, faith, and dissent. The labors of the accused to maintain a tone of reason under extreme duress, the painstaking detail, the forensic reconstruction of just what was said and how it was said, the sudden, momentary outbursts of brutality on the part of those who held power all claim for Allred’s experience affinity with Christians over the centuries who have suffered for their faith and whose trials have been recorded in spiritual autobiography, biography, and martyrology. Latter-day Saints do not usually make explicit claims on historical Protestant traditions, although they are aware that many nineteenth-century converts to their church were drawn from dissenting groups such as

the Methodists. Still less do they like to claim comparison with Roman Catholics, since the Catholic Church is associated with a historical epoch of European apostasy for Mormons. The most immediate referent for a Latter-day Saint under trial is the suffering of the first Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr. and the first generation of Mormons. The difficulty for Latter-day Saints in contention with their leaders is that those leaders will always emphasize obedience to the Prophet and to the church hierarchy that developed after Joseph Smith's death. In Allred's account, therefore, we hear a direct appeal to the authority of the Savior above even the authority of the Prophet: " I am also a servant of Jesus Christ," says Allred.[35]

Behind every Christian life narrative is the model of Christ's own life narrative.[36] Christ submitted himself to the justice of the Roman empire. Punishment and injustice was dealt to him, and he transcended through the power of God. Every Christian martyr, saint, and reformer since has depended on that fact to sustain them when they felt obliged to defend their faith against the unrighteous power of either state or church. Implicitly, Allred, too, reaches for this tradition, but her critics and judges cannot share or acknowledge it. Yet as Allred presents her story, throughout the trial her accusers constantly made visible the contradictions in their own position: "We think you're a good neighbor, a good person. We don't think you're a bad person. You have a lot of integrity. We recognize your desire to do what is right and follow your principles. We want you to know that we love you and welcome you to come to church and we'll help you in any way we can."[37]

At the moment of her excommunication, Allred received a direct assurance that she was not abandoned by God:

> They were all sitting in the same chairs they had been in during the court. Every one of them looked devastated. Their faces were averted and downcast. No one looked at me. Bishop Hammond read a statement. "It is the decision of this disciplinary council that you be excommunicated from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

> The words pierced my heart, but then a warm sensation, beginning in my breast, suffused my entire body, filling me and surrounding me with a perfect spirit of peace and love. God had comforted me and granted me my desire. Through the power of his spirit, I was able to forgive and love the men who had unrighteously judged me and whose judgment would cause many others to similarly judge me. I saw them as lost sheep who had been led astray; I wanted to gather them into the fold of God's love where they could be healed of their blindness and soothed of their fear.[38]

This *warm sensation* is instantly recognizable by all Latter-day Saints as the unmistakable action of the Holy Spirit creating the "burning in the bosom"[39] by which Joseph Smith Jr. and all who follow him have identified the truth of God and of their religion. As Allred explicitly points out, Mormons are given the gift of having the Holy Spirit always with them when they are baptized. Through the guiding presence of the Spirit, they may avail themselves of the gift of personal revelation. All Latter-day Saints have this gift, through which the Spirit will assist them to know what the Heavenly Father wishes them to do in their lives, either when they pray or sometimes through unlooked-for gifts of minor revelation. The gift is only dimmed or lost if a person commits serious sins.

The Church leadership is very careful to define the relationship of personal revelation to the great gift of revelation for the whole Church, which is given to the Prophet alone. In theory, the two never can or should conflict. But people can believe this yet draw different conclusions when conflict does, in fact, occur. The members of the LDS disciplinary court had become convinced that the leaders of the church could never commit an error. They believed that because the appointment of church officers is considered to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, they must have the advantage in any case of doubt. For this reason, as Properzi points out, many Latter-day Saints prefer to delegate the interpretation of doctrine to those who have the mantle of church authority. Janice Allred was convinced, on the contrary, that

this was not the case. Her case was based partly on the pitting of past, undoubted authorities against present leaders, Scripture as the word of God against the statements of her accusers. The intimate assurance that the Holy Spirit was with her even when the court had removed her church membership underlined this belief. If the excommunication had been a just one, Allred should have been deprived of the presence of the Spirit and of the gift of personal revelation. However, since Allred's experience of the Spirit is necessarily subjective, she could only convey its truth and the claims she based on it performatively, through her Christlike conduct and words.

Other excommunicates took slightly different narrative and performative paths in their encounters with and responses to LDS authorities. Maxine Hanks, for example, who was punished as one of the September Six, has since become famous as the only member of that group to have since rejoined the church. Interestingly, she did so in 2012, just before Ordain Women began mounting demonstrations to petition for the admission of women to priesthood meetings. Maxine has spoken on a number of occasions about her decisions and has also given interviews for John Dehlin's *Mormon Stories* podcast series. For some former members of the church, her decision to rejoin came as a shock and suggested either that she had been deceived by church leaders who persuaded her to rejoin for the sake of a public relations victory or that she was insincere. Maxine's own account of what happened, however, which is on record in a number of locations, is quite truthful to the best of my knowledge and explicitly excludes the idea of deception by the church.[40]

Maxine Hanks had been a pivotal member of the Mormon feminist group in the 1990s and had published a now classic book, *Mormon Women and Authority*, which discusses a range of topics on LDS women's roles and includes essays on God the Mother by Janice Allred and others.[41] She was disciplined and excommunicated by the church because she declined to promise to stop speaking or writing on these topics. Maxine then spent nearly

twenty years outside the church. During this time she trained in the Gnostic church and acted as minister in an interfaith chapel for many years, often writing her own liturgy. Within Gnosticism, she passed through the Deaconate and a number of other orders short of final ordination. She also studied at Harvard Divinity School and worked with women Episcopalian ministers and considered joining them as a priest. From 2002, she participated in roundtable interfaith discussions that included leaders of the LDS church, and in 2011 she decided to rejoin the church. Maxine has described how a lifelong LDS friend wrote to the First Presidency on her behalf in 2011 while she herself was still wondering how to make an approach to the church. The church then invited her to return.

One important aspect of Maxine Hanks' rebaptism into the church[42] is that she was not asked to undergo a repentance process. Normally, an excommunicate is required to pass through a formal and quite testing process of demonstration of repentance and conformity of life with church standards, which involves a number of stages of discussion with bishops (that is, local lay ministers) or other officers of the church. The fact that Maxine was not required to do this is central to her story, since from her point of view it is a clear demonstration that the church leadership had changed its attitude since her excommunication and no longer viewed her as an apostate. This shift in her view constituted a central concession, since it was, in effect, an admission that she was not an obdurate sinner against the revealed truth of her faith. By extension, it was a tacit admission that she, too, had not been deprived of the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit during the years of her exclusion from the church.

In her statements and interviews, Maxine Hanks is not primarily concerned, as Allred's account that I have quoted here is, to detail the process of her excommunication. Allred's texts and Hanks' texts are, therefore, not exactly of the same kind. Both, however, are episodes in spiritual autobiography, and both evidence the processes and resources with

which their authors claimed the competence to debate the nature of God, to speak theologically. Maxine Hanks, if my ear is correctly attuned, often moves into liturgical intonations and reaches intuitively for liturgical phrasing when she speaks about her excommunication and return to the church. For example, she gave an address to the liberal and enquiring Mormon forum Sunstone, where many among the audience had been her supporters after she was exiled from the church, to explain why she had agreed to be rebaptized. This talk has become well-known in LDS circles. Near the start of the talk, Maxine says,;

> It felt as though the excommunications happened to *all* of us; we were all excommunicated. Um,… . . . so many people suffered with this; it changed them and their lives. I'll never forget [names two church members who are not excommunicates] who would stand speechless with tears running down their faces, that all they could do was hug us and say how sorry they were. J. B. Williams had this whole page in the Tribune[43] with hundreds of signatures supporting us. There was a great conflict . . . that affected both sides, the liberals and progressives, and the church. It affected *both* sides.
>
> It was a conflict within the larger personality of Mormonism, yet I have a feeling now that it was meant to happen. We all play our parts in getting to know ourselves and the church better.
>
> We were all tested together, so perhaps healing happens together as well.
>
> We are gathered together on a path of light, to manifest the power of Christ, within.
>
> And to participate in a great mystery that was, and is, and is yet to come.[44]

Again, after a speech of some power, complexity and length, she closes the same talk by saying,

It's the Spirit . . . that's democratic, not the Church, but the working of the Spirit is democratic. . . . I see Joseph Smith as a prophet in the true sense of the word, a real prophet, a seer, a revelator, a visionary, and I have for many years. . . . Comprehending the complexity, the depth and genius of his role, he was a wounded healer, with a gift greater than his wounds and a personality greater than either of them. . . . He was on a hero's journey, too, when he said, "No man knows my history." He could have said, "No one knows my journey. . . . " He entered the infinite dimensions of himself every day, and he constantly brought the spiritual into the material world in text, theology, and organization. . . . I think his work on Mormonism *was* complete, but we just haven't fully seen it yet. I think the answers are, . . . I think we're just now starting to… excavating them more fully. I see Mormons as a powerful lay Christian church, not just Christian but metaChristian. Mormonism revives [many traditions in Christianity, including Gnosticism]. . . . I see all of those elements represented in specific ways in Mormonism. I am amazed that JS facilitated all the revival of all those elements of early Christianity. . . . It's also a Pan-Christianity. . . . It has elements from . . . a synthesis of multiple traditions, far more sophisticated, deep and rich than we've I think realized.

One last thought here: Anyone who thinks that Mormonism is a conservative religion doesn't know its history, theology, doctrine. Mormonism was a radical restorationist faith with prophets and prophetesses and seers and visionaries aflame with the Spirit of God like a fire. Joseph Smith facilitated something so grand and complex that it's up to us to complete it, to excavate it, until as the Gnostics say the mystery is completed in us.

I'll leave you with the blessing I said at the end of every service at Holy Cross chapel: There is a Power that makes all things new, within us and within those who

know us, as one with God. May that peace live over you, and may that Power lift you into light, now and forever, Amen.[45]. [Applause.]

Even to non-Mormon readers, it may be clear from this extract that Maxine Hanks can speak authentically and with conviction from within what we might identify as a priestly register. The liturgy she has used and written comes naturally to her; so do forms of action and engagement that we could think of as sacramental. She mediates meaning; she offers a blessing for others. Earlier in her talk, she tells the audience that part of her service within the Gnostic church involved the practice of consecrating others, and that she has officiated with permission at many kinds of office and liturgy. However, she stopped just short of accepting a permanent priestly role in another church and returned to the church of her upbringing. Unlike Kate Kelly, Maxine Hanks does not feel the need to campaign for the immediate admission of women to all the formal functions of the male Mormon priesthood. She seems presently to be seeking to work from within a position of reconciliation with the church and not from a continuation of direct conflict. It also seems clear from what she says that she feels that she has acquired her own inalienable sense of priesthood and means of expressing it, which she is taking back into the LDS church, with what results it remains to be seen.

One of the original grounds on which Hanks replied explicitly to her critics prior to her excommunication was to refer to her own family pedigree in the church. She is descended from multiple lines of first-generation Mormons who knew the Prophet and is also descended from Joseph Smith himself. This claim requires some explanation in an LDS context beyond the obvious implication that Hanks had a solid grounding in the principles of the church. Mormons believe that salvation (and apotheosis) is available to everyone, by the exercise of their free agency. Therefore, they strongly reject formal doctrines of Election or Predestination. However, Mormons also understand that individuals can be foreordained for certain roles on earth, although they may succeed or fail in carrying out these obligations and

must make a conscious effort to succeed. This idea rests on the LDS understanding of time, in which there is a premortal existence as well as a mortal and post-mortal one. Our actions in this world may relate to promises made in our pre-mortal existence, although on earth we have little memory of that time. Further, many Mormons think that God asked particular groups of people to take on special tasks in historical earthly time for the good of all. Although one cannot literally 'inherit' prophetic power in any automatic sense, therefore, many people would assume that those descended from the first Prophet and his followers might have been of a group of special souls to whom some important divine purpose had been entrusted.

Given the relationship between premortal, mortal, and post-mortal time, Mormons are particularly attuned to what I would term typological (or perhaps hyper-typological) resonances in life narratives.[46] One of the characteristics of Joseph Smith's gifts of prophecy was his capacity to make connections between apparently disconnected texts, events, and persons, a capacity that Samuel Morris Brown has insightfully commented was identified by Joseph Smith with practices of 'translation'.[47]

To me it appears that Maxine Hanks' instantiation of Mormonism draws in part on her sense that she is herself in some way a Prophetess and a possessor of the priesthood in a church that is, after all, as she says composed of saints who have been given the Spirit of God. The connection with Joseph Smith is also suggested, including in the extracts already quoted, by her recourse to the idea of the hero's journey, a phrase taken from the writer Joseph Campbell and from his interest in the idea of human religious and mythic universals. Hanks has often replied to questions about what her return to the LDS church means to others who have been excommunicated by explaining that she does not intend to impose her own journey on anyone else. She speaks in terms (familiar to any anthropologist raised on Van Gennep, Victor Turner, and other theorists of initiation and ritual) of a three-stage process of

expulsion, exile, and return. In the extracts quoted, she links these models of mythic passage to the life of Joseph Smith; "He was on a hero's journey, too."' Her trials outside the Mormon church are what have enabled her to return to the church, stronger than when she left it.

In making these references, Maxine Hanks is speaking in ways that connect very profoundly to Mormon concepts and assumptions, and not just to a general audience with a taste for mythic universals. Mormons are Restorationists. In parallel to their 'typological' approach to personal narratives, they tend to think of the LDS church as the fulfilment of all (good) things from the past, so that all historical wisdom and virtue is seen as foreshadowing the greater truths of Mormon revelation. What Maxine Hanks is doing, therefore, is inhabiting a very resonant Mormon position; she places her present-day self as the fulfillment of truths and purposes for the church earlier only imperfectly glimpsed by her former critics.; lLike a prophet, she reveals in retrospect the underlying pattern of a godly plan hidden to others around her. [48]

***

Sarah Coakley in this volume has urged anthropologists to remember that their interlocutors may be animated by profound theological understandings and motivations not reducible to other factors and encouraged theologians to take from anthropology the insight that theologies are always socially situated.[49] I agree with both these suggestions, and both are relevant to the present chapter.

Allred, Fielding Anderson, and other members of the Mormon Alliance based their program of critical engagement with their church's leadership on impeccably scriptural grounds. Identifying the problem within their church as one of authoritarianism,[50] they advanced to challenge this tendency a famous statement from the founding prophet Joseph Smith on unrighteous dominion. Writing from jail during the persecution of the church in

Missouri on the advent of his martyrdom, he wrote, "Almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, will begin to exercise unrighteous dominion." Further,

> 6 That the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and that the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness.
>
> 37 That they may be conferred upon us, it is true; but when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold, the heavens withdraw themselves; the Spirit of the Lord is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man.[51]

In other words, Mormon priesthood authority is self-canceling if it is used to oppress others. No Latter-day Saint disputes that this statement is the inspired word of Joseph Smith. It is difficult to imagine any LDS Prophet and President wishing to set aside the claim of righteousness in governing the church, since this would be a self-invalidating act. The gift of continuing inspiration given to LDS Prophets and Presidents for the leadership of their church has taken Mormonism through some controversial and notorious changes in doctrine, of which perhaps the most famous was the revelation in 1890 that plural marriage should be ended, so that the church could survive persecution by the Federal government. The preference for religious polygyny was a revelation given to Smith, and the later revelation set it aside. Seismic as were the changes this brought about, however, they were possible, not least because Mormonism existed before polygamy. But a leadership claim that contested the identification of Mormon priesthood with the powers of heaven would not be conceivable either to progressives or conservatives. *Unrighteous dominion*, therefore, constituted a powerful grounding from which to try to open debate on Mormon principles.

Previously, I noted the forensic level of detail and precision with which Janice Allred's account of her excommunication process is offered to the reader. The same is true of many of the cases published by the Mormon Alliance, and this is intentional. Having established the Scriptural basis for a claim to consideration, the Alliance writers then put forward their evidence. By implication the readers, (perhaps guided by the Holy Spirit,) are to weigh their claims justly where Bishop Hammond and his colleagues have failed to do so. The many Bishop Hammonds of the world are, it seems to be hoped, to have their consciences stirred and brought to life. The legalistic framing is not, however, just a 'secular' borrowing; it addresses the LDS church's processes of excommunication, since these operate through its own religious 'courts'. It details lapses of procedure where these occur, and identifies lacunae in the reasoning of those presiding. The same evidential intent is also present in some of the material reocorded recorded by John Dehlin for his *Mormon Stories* podcasts. The underlying hope is that, as E. P. Thompson argued in a very different context, law and legal process are never purely ideological.[52] Even where those in power, according to this view, control its operations by the existence of a legal system that contains the potential for those involved to be persuaded to make a decision against their own entrenched interests.

I have suggested that one further way in which anthropology might contribute to a dialogue with theology is to consider the local meanings of theology itself in particular times and places. In the Mormon context, this question is intimately linked to the effort to bring a Mormon theology into being. The theology here considered is the category neither of anthropologists nor of professional theologians, but of a lived category, put into play in a specific unequal encounter. For some Mormons, as Bishop Hammond intimated, the word itself can be suspect, suggesting a possible attack on prophecy or, alternatively, associations with the theological tradition of the Roman Catholic church, which Mormons regard as flawed and incomplete.[53] For other Mormons, the practice of theology, whether or not they

explicitly insist on that term, is a space of potential for the longed-for future flourishing of their church. Janice Allred does not insist on the term *theology*, but neither does she use it as a term of disparagement. For Allred, the practices of Scripture reading, praying, and reasoning about the Mormon faith and the history of the church to which she and all Latter-day Saints are enjoined are the beginnings of a process that, given sufficient time and properly scholarly study, becomes a Mormon theology. For Bishop Hammond, any point at which Allred's work brings her into tension with the interpretations of her church leaders is the point at which she should defer because church leaders must, by definition, be those who know best what present-day revelation can tell us. For him, presumably, any future development of a Mormon theology could only be safely led from the top.

Within an LDS hierarchy that was sceptical of, and sometimes hostile to, the legitimacy of theological discourse, theological debate (e.g., on God the Mother) could not simply be engaged. Before that could happen, it first had to come be recognized as a possible Mormon form. It was not sufficient to cite a text from Joseph Smith. Mormon dissenters did not just talk back to authority; they talked back using certain elements of the existing Mormon repertoire in slightly new ways, so as to talk with authority. I have suggested that both Janice Allred and Maxine Hanks, in addition to many other Mormon men and women, had to create a space for Mormon theology performatively, as well as scripturally or legally. What they had to achieve was to enact an inhabitation of their own position that would communicate authenticity to other Latter-day Saints and would be recognized by them as indicating the presence of a person guided by the Holy Spirit and gifted with forms of prophetic authority. As certain historical studies in the development of early Christianity have argued,[54] changes in discourse depend on the change being in some way meaningful and comprehensible to those to whom it is proposed; that is, the new has to speak in part through

forms that are already familiar. Or as anthropologists, following Max Weber, have sometimes described, some people become capable of changing things because they are able to join previously disengaged worlds of meaning in ways that persuade others.[55] As Weber originally suggested, therefore, many forms of charismatic leadership have affinities with prophecy. In this chapter, I have suggested that for Latter-day Saints, at least, prophetic modes of action with special affinities with the seership of Joseph Smith seem to be necessary for the localized grounding of theology.

Notes

1. Kristen Moulton, "Some Women Get into Mormon Priesthood Session, " *The Salt Lake Tribune*, last modified April 18, 2015, accessed May 5th 2015, http://www.sltrib.com/entertainment/1668099-155/women-priesthood-session-ordain-meeting-church.

2. See for instance the online access to the Conference talks from October 2015 at https://www.lds.org/general-conference/sessions/2015/10?lang=eng.

3. "Mission Statement," *Ordain Women*, accessed June 12th 2015, http://ordainwomen.org/mission/.

4. Fenella Cannell, "The Anthropology of Secularism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (Oct. 2010): 85–100; Susan McKinnon and Fenella Cannell, eds., *Vital Relations: Modernity and the Persistent Life of Kinship* (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 2013).

5. For example, Susan F. Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

6. P. Henry de Lubac, *Surnaturel; Etudes historiques* (1946, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1991); John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory; Beyond Secular Reason* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2007).

7. Nicholas Nash, "On Not Inventing Doctrine," *The Tablet* December 2, 1995: 1544, accessed March 2nd 2016 , http://www.womenpriests.org/teaching/lash.asp.

8. I am indebted to co-participant Nicholas Adams for drawing my attention to this parallel and for many illuminating comments and questions.

9. Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Where Mormonism's 'September Six' Are Now," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 16, 2014, accessed 25th May 2016, http://archive.sltrib.com/story.php?ref=/sltrib/news/58060420-78/mormon-church-lds-

excommunicated.html.csp. The September Six are Avraham Gileadi, Michael Quinn, Maxine Hanks, Lynne Kanavel Whitesides, Paul Toscano, and Lavina Fielding Anderson.

10. Bialecki observes that Mormon universal priesthood "'waters down the division of labour necessary for the production of a formal theology' .(Bialecki, chap. 9, #). The present chapter instead focuses on Mormon theology as emergent from the exclusion of women from Mormon priesthood.

11. I do not discuss directly here the issue of nineteenth-century LDS religious polygamy, the implications of which in terms of women's status and experience are one of the most intensely contested topics in a contentious field. It is important to be clear that the official LDS church ended polygamy in 1890, although its cultural legacy remains important.

12. The right to divorce was important where women joined the church as converts in the nineteenth century but their husbands did not; converted women could free themselves from one marriage and marry again a faithful member of the church.

13. Children will also continue to be born to exalted couples in the Celestial Kingdom after death. See Fenella Cannell, 2005, " The Christianity of Anthropology" in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society* 11; 335-356 and Cannell in preparation " Book of Remembrance; Mormon sacred kinship in secular America" .

14. See O. Kendall White 1987 " Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy; A Crisis Theology." Salt Lake City, Signature Books.

15. Correlation was built on a range of changes that took place at intervals in the church, often in response to generational crises about perceived distance from the life of the first Prophet.

16. "An Era of Correlation and Consolidation," *Church History in the Fulness of Times Student Manual* (Salt Lake City, UT: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003), 562–78, accessed 30th January 2016, https://www.lds.org/manual/church-history-in-

the-fulness-of-times-student-manual/chapter-forty-three-an-era-of-correlation-and-consolidation?lang=eng.

17. See Daymon Smith, 2010, " The Book of Mammon; A Book about a Book about the Corporation that Owns the Mormons" Create Space Independent Publishing Platform. Givens describes Latter-day Saints as a "people of paradox," including the tension between authority and freedom in Mormon culture (Terryl Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002]).

18. Standards of conduct at Brigham Young University (BYU) conform to a special code designed to be compatible with church values, including modest dress and the avoidance of sex before marriage. Academic standards at BYU are very high. It is the university of first choice for many young Latter-day Saints, and it is said to be more difficult to secure admission at BYU than at Harvard. BYU is also, notoriously, a socially intense marriage market for LDS students.

19. See Givens, *By the Hand*, 89–155.

20. The present-day Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints grew out of the multiple religious revivals of the early nineteenth century in the Eastern states of the US, often known as the burned-over district. Its first Prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr., experienced a theophany in which Christ and God the Father, reccognized as two separate resurrected divine persons, instructed him to restore the full meaning of Christianity lost for many centuries, including additional Scriptures and additional ritual components.

21. For example, Maxine Hanks, *Mormon Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992).

22. Readers will be familiar with conservative Protestant arguments that because Christ was male, God intended headship within both church and family to be held by men;

women's roles were complementary, and in many interpretations included holding men to righteous standards.

23. LDS temples are not to be confused with the local congregation (ward) meeting houses where Saints regularly meet each Sunday for Eucharist and Scripture study.

24. An emphasis on temple attendance and a program of building numerous smaller and more local temples is especially associated with the presidency of Gordon B. Hinckley (1995–2008). At other periods in the history of the church, Latter-day Saints normally attend temple ritual rarely, either because of the difficulty of traveling to a temple in some parts of the world or, for Utah Mormons, because of lack of motivation. Many Latter-day Saints still prefer the practical side of Mormonism embodied in the regular Sunday services at the ward meeting houses to the ceremony of the temple.

25. Fenella Cannell, "How Does Ritual Matter?" in *Questions of Anthropology*, ed. R. Astuti, J. Parry, and C. Stafford (LSE Monographs, London: Berg, 2007), 105–36.

26. Margaret Toscano and Paul Toscano, *Strangers in Paradox: Explorations in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1990).

27. Boyd K. Packer, "Devotional Address," address presented to the All-church Coordinating Council, May 18, 1993, accessed date, http://www.lightplanet.com/mormons/priesthood/prophets/packer_coordinating.html.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Janice M. Allred, "White Bird Flying," in *Case Reports of the Mormon Alliance,* vol. 2, ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson and Janice Merrill Allred (Salt Lake City, UT: Mormon Alliance, 1996), 137.

32. A talk written by Janice Allred.

33. Allred, “White Bird Flying,” #.

34. Ibid., 223–24.

35. Ibid., #.

36. In this volume, McGrath suggests the usefulness of comparing theological and anthropological approaches to narrative (chap. 7, #–#)..

37.

38. Allred, “White Bird Flying,” 225.

39.

40. See Maxine Hanks, “Pillars of My Faith 2012,” audio session, August 4, 2012, accessed date, https://www.sunstonemagazine.com/pillars-of-my-faith-2012/.

41. Maxine Hanks, ed., *Mormon Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1992).

42. Non LDS readers may be surprised by the mention of rebaptism, given the contrast with non-LDS understandings of baptism as an irreversible sacrament. I am indebted to Nicholas Adams for drawing my attention to this example of the shift of religious terms across different forms of Christianity.

43. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, one of the most widely read newspapers in Utah.

44. Hanks, “Pillars of My Faith 2012.” My transcription. I set lines on new paragraphs to approximate the pacing and pauses of Maxine Hanks’s delivery.

45. Ibid.

46. Fenella Cannell, “Book of Remembrance: Mormon Kinship in Secular America” (unpublished manuscript).

47. Samuel Morris Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). One corollary of this practice is that ordinary LDS kinship is a lived and narrated means of translating experience

in prophetic registers through a form of intensified typology. See Cannell, "Book of Remembrance."

48. I note convergences with Douglas Davies' interests in implicit theology in this volume and am indebted to him for many helpful comments on this material (chap. 11, #–#). For Davies' explication of the LDS Plan of Salvation as a correlate to Trinitarian theology, see Douglas J. Davies, *Joseph Smith, Jesus and Satanic Opposition; Atonement, Evil and the Mormon Vision* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010)..

49. Sarah Coakley, chap. 20, #–#.

50. This term and many others used in Mormon dissent are clearly derived from contexts outside the LDS scriptures; my argument here is simply that their endeavors are not reducible to or founded on external, secular agendas.

51. Doctrine and Covenants, 121; 33-44.

52. E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 263.

53. See also Mauro Properzi, *Mormonism and the Emotions* (Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickenson University Press, 2015).

54. Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

55. Luke Freeman, "Why Are Some People Powerful?" in *Questions of Anthropology*, ed. Astuti, Parry and Stafford (LSE Monographs, London: Berg, 2007), 281–307.