Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

VOLUME I, NUMBER 4. WINTER, 1966

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is an independent national quarterly established to express Mormon culture and examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Mormons who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to insure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.

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Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought / Vol. I, No. 4 / Winter 1966

ART CREDITS:

Art direction and design: PAUL G. SALISBURY

Dialogue wishes to thank the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, *for the portrait of Sidney Rigdon and the following artists for their original sketches:*

FRANK FERGUSON 6, 7, 9, 11, 12

ALBERT L. CHRISTENSEN 106, 108, 118, 120, 121, 122, 126, 127, 135, 137, 140

DALE BRYNER *(Courtesy University of Utah Press)* 115, 116, 117

ORRIN PORTER ROCKWELL

man OF GOD
son OF THUNDER

BY HAROLD SCHINDLER

University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City 400 pages — $7.50

Please mention *Dialogue* when placing your order

IN THIS ISSUE

As *Dialogue* completes its first year of publication, there is much cause for optimism. The chief dangers facing a new publication, financial difficulty and lack of good material to print, have been, if not wholly conquered, at least held at bay. The enthusiasm of the editors and staff and of authors and readers has remained high; subscriptions have increased until they are approaching 5,000 (five times our original estimate for 1966) and manuscripts of good quality and variety continue to arrive. There have been growing pains — additional expenses, delays in handling the great volume of correspondence, frustration in programming subscription fulfillment for the computer (which is finally being held at bay). We appreciate the patient support of our subscribers and are happy to announce that careful cost analysis and planning allow us to hold our rate increase of $1.00 and to delay it until February 1, 1967, so that present subscribers can give gifts and renew for up to three years at the old rate.

Featured in this issue is Karl Keller's edition of "The Life and Testimony of Sidney Rigdon" by John Wickliffe Rigdon. This manuscript lecture was discovered by Mr. Keller while he was teaching at a small town in New York near where Sidney Rigdon lived and died after he rejected the selection of Brigham Young instead of himself as leader of the Church after the death of Joseph Smith. Given in local colleges near the turn of the century by Rigdon's son as an attempted vindication of his talented father's strangely divided life, it provides the only generally available version of that son's first-hand account of early Mormon history and of the father's old-age witness to his surprised son of the divinity of the Book of Mormon and of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling.

In a review of two new books on the Mormons, Robert Mullen's *The Latter-day Saints* and Wallace Turner's *The Mormon Establishment,* Leonard Arrington reminds us of the two most neglected aspects of the Mormon historical experience — the modern and the international. Two writers in this issue help repair this neglect — Elder G. Benson Whittle with his note on the problems and achievements of missionaries from North America in Brazil and Rao Lindsay with his history of the frustrated dream of a colony for Mormon converts in the Near East.

The issue includes a review essay on Wallace Stegner's writings about the Mormons, a roundtable on the fate of art and religion in a society based on "market-place" values, and a rather optimistic analysis of the condition of both free agency and freedom in a time of the New Morality and the Welfare State. All lively reading.

And for this season, the issue contains a special Christmas sermon by Lowell Bennion on the grace of Jesus Christ.

Letters to the Editors

The sketches in this section are from Renaissance tomb effigies. The artist is Frank Ferguson.

Dear Sirs:

. . . . I borrowed the first two issues and have read each one with a great sense of gratitude. I knew it — I knew you were there somewhere, you people in the church who THINK, but I had begun to despair of finding you and now this very good journal is available to me and I am most appreciative. Here in print are so many of my own thoughts explained and thoroughly investigated. I must admit that I read the "Journal" with a dictionary in one hand. I am not a Ph.D. but an M. Hw. (Mother and Housewife), but I find myself very much in tune with most of the writers of this journal up to this time.

After finishing the two volumes I tried to think of a few words of praise to pass on to you and the first ones that came to mind were "*Dialogue* is as tasty as the food at dinnertime at the end of fast day." (And that is GOOD!) *Dialogue* is refreshing, inspirational, thought-provoking, and so necessary for people who want to commune with other minds about the facts of life, inside and outside the church. I look forward to receiving the future issues. Congratulations to all connected with this journal.

Virginia Peterson
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Sirs:

After reading the moving account in the Autumn 1966 *Dialogue* concerning the intellectual's plight, tears of compassion flowed from the wellspring of my soul. How can the Church give the intellectual his just dues? This is indeed an important question!

Perhaps the Church could hold a day of prayer and fasting, beseeching the Lord to speed up the process of revelation to President McKay. This might enable the Church to reach the high level of achievement and knowledge now held by the intellectuals. (The fact that in the entire history of our Western civilization the so-called intellectual has never produced one satisfactory solution to any of society's great social, moral, or ethical problems should deter no one.) President McKay might even preside over some type of Mormon ecumenical council composed of intellectuals within the Church. Then the world would be treated to the spectacle of Mormons debating basic principles in the vain attempt to reach a consensus; and like the rest of Christendom the Mormons would be "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine."

"Man is the measure of all things,"

is he not? Fortunately, he is not! While the Lord has admonished members of the Church to "seek learning even by study," the Lord has also declared: "the wisdom of their wise men shall perish." The Apostle Paul write, "For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." The Lord has always subordinated the wisdom of this world to reveal truth. This is a true principle no matter how unpalatable it may be to the intellectual.

Faith is the *first principle* of the Gospel. This is a truth so basic and essential that it would be superfluous to elucidate further. The intellectual in the Church would do well, while acquiring mountains of knowledge, to also obtain understanding.

Richard H. Hart
Hillsboro, Oregon

Charles V

Dear Sirs:

"Notes and Comments" in the Autumn, 1966, edition of *Dialogue* provided a stimulating alternative to J. D. Williams' consideration of the Church and state issue. The dialogue between Mr. Williams and Mr. Frame is a vital one for all politically active Latter-day Saints.

The substance of the controversy is the extent of Church authority in the temporal realm. Mr. Frame stresses the 68th section of the Doctrine and Covenants in explaining that whenever our leaders speak under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, their words are scripture. Certainly this is true. But are we to assume that every word coming from a General Authority is inspired? Don't General Authorities often present personal opinions without expressing them as such? No and yes. The Lord certainly hasn't revealed Himself politically when President Brown and Elder Benson have such divergent political opinions.

Nevertheless, a serious dilemma exists for the Mormon political liberal. A significant element within the Church has attempted to link political conservatism with spiritual morality. The liberal is often confronted with the claim that he is either a conservative or an apostate. President Ernest Wilkinson, in his commencement address to the Brigham Young University Class of 1965, demonstrated this movement when he said, "I am going to talk to you, not in my words, but in the language of the prophets themselves. Should you disagree with what the prophets say, it will not be a disagreement with me, but an unwillingness on your part *to follow the counsel of those whom we have sustained as our leaders.*" Dr. Wilkinson then discussed "The Possible Decline and Fall of the American Republic," with liberalism as the cause of the decline.

Jerrald Newquist, in his *Prophets, Principles, and National Survival,* wrote that "the principles of the so-called socialist, collectivist, and welfare-state are *not in harmony with the Gospel standard and should not have our support.*"

Finally, Hyrum Andrus, in *"Liberalism, Conservatism, and Mormonism,"* said that, in his opinion, "Latter-day Saints are *bound* by what they hold *sacred* to support an intelligent, conservative position in social, economic, and political philosophy. . . ."

For the liberal, the sentiment pre-

sents this dilemma: Is it morally possible to be a political liberal and at the same time maintain an active, faithful membership in the Church? Maybe Brigham Young illustrated an answer when he said, in urging political abstinence on the Saints after the martyrdom, "We do not, however, offer this political advice as binding on the consciences of others; we are perfectly willing that every member of this Church should use his own freedom in all political matters; but we give it as our own rule of action, and for the benefit of those who may choose to profit by it." Is it impossible today, in judging and dealing with the political controversy, to maintain this precept?

James S. Olson
Brigham Young University

Marguerite d'Autriche

Dear Sirs:

Permit some observations on Dr. Williams' article in your second issue.

First, I wonder if Dr. Williams has ever cosidered that when he raises his voice in political arenas (and even areas non-political) he does so under the mantle of a church official. Granted this may not be of his own making, the effect is still the same. Witness your own biography as a preface to his article: "a former bishop and presently a member of a high council." These offices have been mentioned as credentials when he has been quoted in *Look* and other periodicals of broad circulation. It seems incongruous that a church official on the "lower level" can have this accrue to his benefit while a general authority must be silent for fear of causing a "schism." If one is to be denied the prerogative of public statement as a private citizen (I agree with Dr. Williams that he should take care to preface his statements) then the other should not be given the benefit of official sanction by mention of his church office.

To assume that the church is in danger of a schism of the making of the John Birch Society is to be less than objective in assessing the situation. I would agree that a schism is indeed a frightening possibility — but the Birch Society has not caused it. I would challenge Dr. Williams or others of his orientation to justify the Welfare State in light of what have always been fundamental tenets of the church. If the Welfare State or Socialism or whatever label you apply to it can indeed be reconciled with the philosophy of the L.D.S. Church, then Dr. Williams deserves credit for calling attention to those who are unable to reconcile the two. But to give credit for an impending schism to a relatively new movement, with a measurable influence of less than 4 years so far as the Utah scene is concerned, is to pay an undeserved compliment — especially since the so-called liberal philosophy has had the benefit of respectability given to it not only by the endorsement of recent (36 years) public officials, but it is rapidly becoming adopted as a national way of life.

If and when a schism should occur, it will be because church members of a liberal political persuasion will not be able to reconcile their allegiances and belief in this area to concepts of thought and belief that have been a part of L.D.S. philosophy since the church was founded. I am assuming,

of course, that the church will not change its basic orientation, which when applied to the issues today places it a majority of the time in the conservative "camp."

Finally, might I suggest that the topic of a future "round table" be "The Welfare State and the Church" (L.D.S., of course). This would seem to me to be at least as worthy of discussion as pornography.

Robert D. Preston
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

It has been brought to my attention that your Summer issue contains an article by J. D. Williams entitled, "Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," in which Mr. Williams asserts that in March, 1966, I sent a " 'Dear Brethren' " letter to L.D.S. Bishops inviting them to hear Robert Welch (Founder of The John Birch Society) during the week of April General Conference.

Mr. Williams is mistaken.

I didn't send such a letter in March, or at any other time. I would appreciate your printing this letter of correction in your next issue.

Garn E. Lewis
Utah Coordinator,
The John Birch Society
Salt Lake City

cc: President David O. McKay
Robert Welch

J. D. Williams replies:

Mr. Lewis is technically correct, and I was technically incorrect in my article saying that the "Dear Brethren" letter of last March had been issued by the local co-ordinator of the Birch Society. Rather, that letter was signed by Dr. J. Reece Hunter, the Dinner Chairman, who is the Chairman of the Utah Forum for the American Idea, the leading front group of the Birch Society in Utah. The obvious link between the Utah Forum and the Birch Society itself is their joint use of the American Opinion Bookstore at 63 E. Second South for the distribution of pamphlets, tape recordings, films and the like.

Dear Sirs:

The article by J. D. Williams on Church and State in the Summer 1966 issue, and the response by R. M. Frame in the Autumn 1966 issue, are concerned with a problem of great importance to the Church today. If the Church takes too many stands on political issues, it becomes a quasi-political organization whose membership must conform to a political persuasion in addition to a set of religious beliefs. To my knowledge the founder of Christianity was concerned principally with personal faith and love, and never took a stand on the political issues of the day. When the Church intrudes into politics, prospective converts of opposing political beliefs will be shut out, not because of their religious disbelief, but because of their political disbelief. Some Church policies already make it difficult to attract certain races, and it would be undesirable to extend this exclusiveness to political affiliations also.

Curtis C. Johnson
University of Utah

Dear Sirs:

. . . . Having married a convert to the church who, by the act of baptism, did not, for some reason, automatically acquire all of my background, understanding and prejudices, I often find my views on my gospel subjects challenged at home even without the aid of your magazine. Having shared an office for the

past three years with a Jewish agnostic whose philosophy of life was almost wholly alien to my own, and having had a most enjoyable and compatible relationship in the office during that period, I have discovered that it is often possible to accept with equanimity the totally different point of view of one with whom we do not expect to agree while a slight disagreement over a minor point of doctrine with one that we expect to hold a similar view may be the cause of endless consternation. I suspect, therefore, that some of the views that you publish may create a greater awareness in your readers that we do not at all times agree with those with whom we think we are in agreement, from which, it may be hoped, we will be stimulated to more carefully examine our own views, as well as those of others, to determine just what we do think and why. . . .

Gerald S. Fish and
Lona Mae Fish
Alexandria, Virginia

Henry II

Dear Sirs:

This is intended not so much a critique of James Allen's "The Significance of Joseph Smith's First Vision in Mormon Thought" in the autumn issue of *Dialogue* as a commendation. Generally Mr. Allen has been forthright and factual in his enumeration and study of source materials relating to this subject. To those in the L.D.S. Church nurtured on the familiar words of the Vision as found in the Pearl of Great Price and various other Church annals, the additional information here presented may be surprising, and to some disturbing. However, many of *Dialogue's* readers are likely to agree with the thought expressed by P. A. M. Taylor on page 110: "secrecy does more harm to the Church's reputation than could result from any disclosures from the archives".

Mr. Allen is evidently not seeking to impose a dogmatic interpretation of the Vision but rather to juxtapose the accounts for easy comparison and analysis. He rightly notes that belief in the Vision is cardinal in the faith of the Saints, that it is the fulcrum upon which modern-day revelation rests. This being so it is the more important that nothing pertinent be omitted.

In the editors' preface to the autumn issue it states that portions of two early accounts by Joseph Smith of his First Vision are here printed "for the first time." This is an error. Modern Microfilm Company of Salt Lake City, Jerald and Sandra Tanner proprietors, published one of these accounts (the one referred to by Mr. Allen on page 39 as having been written "about 1833") more than a year ago in a work entitled *Joseph Smith's Strange Account of the First Vision*. . . .

On page 34 Mr. Allen says: "Perhaps the closest one may come to seeing a contemporary diarist's account of the story is in the journal of Alexander Neibaur, which is located in the L.D.S. Church Historian's office." It should be noted that such journals are not open for public inspection. Several researchers have been denied access to this particular journal, including the donor. . . .

LaMar Petersen
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

Orchids to James B. Allen for his fine article on Joseph Smith's first vision. The accounts taken from Paul Cheesman's thesis furnish the key to a reference to the vision thus far overlooked by scholars. In the *Pearl of Great Price* Joseph tells of seeing his vision, then falling into foolish errors and later being visited by the angel Moroni. This is the 1938 account in brief. In the Doctrine and Covenants 20:5-6 we read, "After it was truly manifested unto his first elder that he had received a remission of his sins, he was entangled again in the vanities of the world; but after repenting and humbling himself sincerely through faith, God ministered unto him by an holy angel. . . ." The sequence is the same in both versions except that, in the second, remission of sins replaces the vision. Does this refer to the first vision experience? From the accounts in Allen's article (pp. 40-41) it does indeed.

This revelation was published, though not circulated, in 1833 in the *Book of Commandments* and again in 1835 in the Doctrine and Covenants. Further, the revelation was made public in 1830. The abbreviated form would indicate either a deliberate vagueness or, more likely, that the group for which it was intended was so familiar with the events as to need only a brief reminder of their occurrence. This is not in conflict with Allen's conclusion on the extent of early knowledge of the vision, but it is another bit of evidence that the story was not merely a product of Joseph's designing imagination later in the 1830's.

Vance W. Rollins
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Sirs:

The name of your journal has induced me to respond to the review of my book, *Truth by Reason and by Revelation,* written in your summer issue by Joseph R. Murphy of the Zoology Department at Brigham Young University.

I cannot take issue with the general feelings and opinions expressed by the reviewer. Of course, they were his opinions, and all I can do is react to them with various degrees of satisfaction, consternation, or regret for not having taken a different course. I must even admit that it is not difficult to feel sympathetic towards some of his most negative comments. I believe the book would indeed have made a much better appeal to some of my non-Mormon friends if I could have left out certain deeply personal experiences and opinions. But if the book must fail because it tried to talk to members and non-members, then *Dialogue* will probably fail for the same reason. I detect much attempt to accommodate our non-member friends with explanations such as ". . . their ward MIA, the LDS youth auxiliary." At the same time, I detect some of the same deeply personal expression of testimony which ended up in my book.

I can explain these elements in my book, but I can hardly apologize for them. Remembering the final year of work, writing the book was surely the most intensely personal, and even spiritual experience of my life. I wrote in the preface my desire to speak to my fellow non-member scientists while sitting in Austria by the bedside of a six-year-old son who had suffered a nearly-fatal brain injury. It was a time of deep emotional feeling which had begun several months before with the writing of the book. I look back on the writing experience with the feelings of immense joy

which come from spending a period of one's life in deep contemplation of the important things. It is easy for me, then, to see how I could, on another occasion, write a more scholastic, objective, academically correct work, but I can hardly apologize for the approach that I took in my initial attempt to speak in print of science and testimony.

I would like to discuss certain points brought up in Professor Murphy's review relating to the question of organic evolution and the origin of life. To begin with, I believe his fears that my book will be utilized as an anti-evolutionary tract are far from grounded. Another review castigates me for "leaving the door open for a Darwinian-type evolution." It has been my experience that the reader of the book sees in it the arguments for the viewpoints which are opposite to his own. This is gratifying, to say the least, and certainly well born out by Professor Murphy's review! . . .

Valentine Balbiani

As Professor Murphy did recognize, I was not trying by my argument to eliminate natural selection as the ultimate answer for evolution. I don't feel that my argument is conclusive enough for that. Nevertheless, the argument has raised grave questions in my mind, and this is what I was hoping to do in the minds of those who accept the evolutionary approach without any serious questions (while Professor Murphy's experience may have been different, many people whom I know do accept the theory almost without question, although they certainly could recite the "tried and true" evidences).

I am extremely happy that men such as Professor Murphy and his office neighbors can maintain an active faith in the Gospel while accepting the evolutionary mechanism as the means of creation. I am especially happy that an outstanding person such as B. F. Harrison (whom I have long respected as a personal friend) can publish these ideas in a church publication such as the *Instructor*. He thereby served notice to the youth of the church who are interested in such matters that they, too, can maintain their testimonies of the gospel without being afraid to study topics of science such as organic evolution. In my opinion, this is one of the most significant events in the recent history of the church. My book was written before this happened, and consequently it was written from a very defensive position.

In spite of the fact that I am happy that Bertrand Harrison can live with evolution in the manner which he described in his article, I must state that I cannot. To begin with, I find real difficulty in fitting the current concepts of a chance-directed evolution with a very careful study of the Books of Abraham and Moses, yet I accept these books as inspired. The two principle scientific reasons for my inability to accept Professor Harrison's approach were stated at length in my book but obviously not convincingly to people such as Professor Murphy. They are, first, as stated above, that I cannot see an available mechanism for the production of suf-

ficient "positive" genetic variability, and second, that I cannot extrapolate from the changes that occur in natural populations such as the British moths with their industrial melanism to the entire evolutionary story. Professor Harrison in his article argued that evolution must work in the broad sense because his neighbor is able to apply it in the restricted practice of cattle breeding. To me this is a logically invalid extrapolation. Clearly the selection process operates in nature (optimizing the genetic composition of a population in terms of its environment), but its ability to over-step the boundaries of certain taxonomic groups (and I haven't any idea whether these are species, genera, or even families) would seem to me to be strongly limited by the source of available "positive" mutations. In my present thinking, this source appears insufficient to allow natural selection to account for evolution in the broad sense.

I am quite ready to concede that a few new discoveries could easily change this whole argument. The stand of Professors Murphy and Harrison would seem to illustrate clearly how independent testimony can be of such problems. Nevertheless, I don't believe my arguments can be dismissed simply by stating that authorities such as Stebbins are willing to accept statements which I could only accept once the arguments have been conclusively laid to rest. . . .

Frank B. Salisbury
Utah State University

Dear Sirs:

. . . . It is evident from the statement of Christ in John 10:26-27 that it was never intended that all men should be induced to follow Christ. That doctrine would be more in accord with the plan of opposition. There are many voices in the world and different people respond to different voices. Those who are Christ's respond to His call.

Does *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* issue the voice of Christ, or some other voice? I perceive many voices.

A prophet of the Lord now lives on the earth. Through him comes the voice of the Lord. *Dialogue* offers the public a variety of other voices, intermingled with truth. Is it more of the Lord than Unitarianism, Catholicism, or any other *ism*, each of which contains good and truth? John Taylor said that we want to embrace

Maria del Caretto

all truth. The prophet Joseph quoted, "We believe all things." But we believe all things only in their proper relation. This relation or perspective comes not by debate, but through the words of a living prophet, a legal administrator, and through the power of the Holy Ghost to individuals.

And by the power of the Holy Ghost ye may know the truth of all things. (Moroni 10:5)

Our unaided minds can only fill our lamps with water and fool us into thinking that they will last the night, and by our exclusion of the aid of revelation in a dialogue with an impoverished world we may only succeed in impoverishing ourselves.

To paraphrase William James, "Exclusion becomes denial with the passage of time. . . ."

Doyle P. Buchanan
Brigham Young University

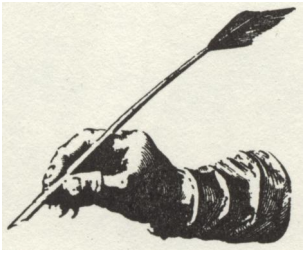
Dear Sirs:

. . . . While there are three Mormons, including myself, on the letterhead of this Foundation, our interests are in telling the Story of America . . . and in interpreting our heritage through the physical evidences of our scientific, historic, natural and cultural inheritance. Your journal is an important contribution to this understanding.

For those born in the Church, any discussion of ideas and "problems" apart from official organs might well seem unnecessary, profitless and even a bit suspect. But I can assure you those who have been trained to analyze and probe all aspects of knowledge are not afraid of the truth and believe, in fact, that a full understanding of events and forces which help shape our Church does contribute to faith. I am a convert to the Church and I studied every document and evidence I could find for seven years before I finally ventured to accept the Church on faith. If *Dialogue* had been available then, I would have saved those wasted years.

The intellectual evidences to the Mormon Doctrine, which *Dialogue* so powerfully presents, have been an important contribution to the strength of my testimony. *Dialogue* can't help but strengthen the Church.

Carlos S. Whiting
Executive Director,
Foundation of America
Washington, D.C.



Sidney Rigdon.

Dialogue: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

"I NEVER KNEW A TIME WHEN I DID NOT KNOW JOSEPH SMITH":

A SON'S RECORD OF THE LIFE AND TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY RIGDON

Edited by Karl Keller

From time to time we plan to publish in DIALOGUE *original documents or little-known writings that speak with a personal voice from the Mormon cultural heritage and historical experience. Karl Keller, who has edited the following manuscript lecture by Sidney Rigdon's son, is a frequent contributor to* DIALOGUE *and a member of the Board of Editors; he has recently taken a position as Assistant Professor of English at San Diego State College, has just published an article on Emerson in* AMERICAN LITERATURE, *and has a book on Emerson and an anthology of Mormon literature in preparation.*

Not very long after the death of Sidney Rigdon, the influential preacher and compatriate to Joseph Smith in the first years of the Church, his son, John Wickliffe Rigdon, wrote an apology for his father. He delivered it at Alfred University and other colleges and communities in the Central New York area around the turn of the century, in an attempt to revive interest in his almost entirely forgotten famous family and in an attempt to clear his father's name once and for all of criticisms connected with the founding of Mormonism.

The son, who moved in his last years to New York City after losing all his holdings in the oil refinery business and meeting with only small success as a lawyer, wrote the lecture obviously out of pride for his father. But he appears to have written it also as a way

of explaining his father to himself. His main emphasis in the lecture, as the reader will detect, is the great fame and fortune that Sidney Rigdon might have achieved had he been able to adapt his abilities and his personality fully to any one philosophy — Baptist, Campbellite, or Mormon. He sees his father as a tragic figure and is perhaps trying to account for the family's decline through an exploration of that tragedy. Yet the son's main point is that his father did much for the Church, and, though he was rejected by it and became bitter, he kept his faith — and that, to the son, transcends the tragedy. As an "outsider" he is obsessed with that transcendence.

The son is no great writer (it is difficult to see how he, with all his redundancy and verbiage and, to his New York listeners, minute detail, could have kept an audience's attention), yet the affection with which he remembers people and incidents and the effort at dramatizing events make his lecture worth reading. "I was there, I saw the makings of things, I watched a great man rise and fall," he seems to be saying. He senses well that through his father he has played a small and possibly significant role in history. He does not have much verve of language, yet his pride in his father's heroism and his efforts to understand his father's tragedy keep his narrative alive.

According to the few remaining relatives of the Rigdon family in the area of Friendship, New York, where Rigdon went with his family after the death of Joseph Smith, all of the other personal records written by Sidney Rigdon and his family have been destroyed. (A granddaughter and the only remaining descendant of Sidney Rigdon — a woman now residing in Florida and wishing to remain anonymous — reports that after returning to New York Rigdon wrote "novels and other books," but, she says, these have all been destroyed by the family.) And so these lecture notes of John Wickliffe Rigdon become the most intimate report of Rigdon extant. Yet the lecture has, as far as I can find, never been published or known widely outside of the quiet little town where he lived his last years and where he died in 1876.

Also in the late 1890's after he had rejoined the Church, the son took the time to write out these lecture notes in a longer form. He called his manuscript the "Life Story of Sidney Rigdon." That work was never published and is now in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. Although permission has never been granted anyone to publish or to quote extensively from that version,* I have gained permission from President Joseph Fielding Smith to collate the text of the manuscript printed here with the one in the Historian's Office. They are very similar in form and approach, though the Salt Lake

manuscript has more detail and relates several additional events in the life of Sidney Rigdon.

In September, 1900, John W. Rigdon visited the First Presidency of the Church and offered to sell the "Life Story" of his father to the Church. It was purchased at that time but was never published, though I think the son assumed that the Church would print and distribute it. The style is the same as the manuscript printed here, but it is considerably less dramatic and more redundant, without being much more explicit. In expanding his narrative for the version that he gave the First Presidency, he has in some instances drawn at length upon sources already in print (for instance, some of Sidney Rigdon's sermons from Joseph Smith's *History* and from the *Times and Seasons* are included complete).

In the "Life Story" the son makes himself out to be much more favorable toward the Church than he does in this lecture. He makes no mention of the Spaulding Theory and does not call into question the authority of the Reorganized Church, as he does in the version printed here. And he makes his purpose more explicit; it is, he says, to correct "some of the erroneous beliefs that have heretofore been entertained of the character and purposes of Sidney Rigdon." The version printed here is altogether much more succinct and readable, however, than the "Life Story." I have referred in my footnotes to significant differences between the two manuscripts.

As long as John W. Rigdon's other "Life" remains under the protective custody of the Church Historian, the version printed here remains the only available primary source of the final testimony of Sidney Rigdon.

In editing the manuscript, I have regularized the spelling, punctuation, and grammar, and have made sentences and paragraphs out of the writer's sometimes incoherent notes, in order to facilitate reading. I have also added connecting words and articles where they are needed, but have noted all otherwise significant changes with brackets or in footnotes wherever there is likely to be controversy over the writer's intent. Yet I have left the manuscript intact so that the reader might sense the style for himself.

The lecture was written out in longhand in a rambling style that made informal delivery easy and additional commentary possible. The manuscript has yellowed slightly with time but is kept for anyone to see by a distant cousin of the author (again a relative who asked to remain anonymous) at her farm home near Cuba Lake where the Rigdon family once lived for a short time. I am indebted to Mrs. Sam Hess of Friendship, New York, for obtaining the manuscript for me to edit for publication in *Dialogue*.

In July, 1965, the town of Friendship, near where I lived at the time, held a Sesqui-Centennial commemoration and celebrated Sidney Rigdon as one of the town's most famous sons, even though few in the area had ever heard of the man and his influence on early Mormonism. Mrs. Hess, a Roman Catholic, was largely responsible for the revival of interest in Rigdon at the time. The site of the Rigdon-Robinson farm on Jackson Hill, the later Rigdon house on Main Street in Friendship, and the Rigdon family graves outside of town were made points of interest, largely through the influence of Mrs. Hess. It was during this commemoration that I first became acquainted with the Rigdon history in the area and became aware of the existence of this manuscript.

During this celebration, a commemorative service was conducted by President H. Lester Petersen of the Cumorah Mission and President H. H. Christensen of the Susquehanna District of the Church at the local Baptist church, a building that Rigdon was forbidden to enter all the days of his life in Friendship, New York. That event was symbolic; for Sidney Rigdon, if only in a small way, came thus into some of the fame that he so passionately desired. With the publication of this manuscript by his son, he perhaps comes into a little more.

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* B. H. Roberts included two paragraphs from the last pages of the Salt Lake manuscript in a footnote in his *Comprehensive History of the Church* (I, 234-5) and again in a footnote in his edition of Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* (I, 122-3). Francis W. Kirkham, in *A New Witness for Christ in America* (I, 327-9), quoted the same section from the manuscript, and Daryl Chase made use of the son's facts and point of view in his unpublished thesis, "Sidney Rigdon, Early Mormon" (University of Chicago, 1931). Others have made passing reference to the son's account of the father's life and testimony. Otherwise the son's work has gone unpublished and unknown.

THE LIFE AND TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY RIGDON

John Wickliffe Rigdon

I am the only living child of Sidney Rigdon, who died in the town of Friendship, Allegany County, New York, in the summer of 1876, and who was at the time of his death almost 83 years old. There were twelve children in my father's family; they are all dead except myself. Sidney Rigdon joined the Mormon Church in the year of 1830 at Kirtland, Ohio, and in the year 1833 was ordained Joseph Smith's first counselor, which position he retained up to the time of Joseph Smith's death at Carthage, Ill. (He was killed by a mob on the 27th day of June 1844.)

I never knew a time when I did not know Joseph Smith. I knew him from my earliest recollections up to the time of his assassination at Carthage in the State of Illinois. I was as familiar with him as I was with my own father. I used to see him almost every day of my life. My father and his family almost always lived very close to him. I used to see him every day and sometimes much oftener.

When my father and mother joined the Mormon Church at Kirtland, Ohio, he, my father, was living at a little town called Mentor in the State of Ohio about five miles from Kirtland. He was, at the time he joined the Mormon Church, preaching what was then Campbellitism, now called Christian, and soon after he joined the Mormon Church, he was charged with having written the Book of Mormon. He always denied the same to friend and foe alike, but they would not believe him. The world claimed that he stole one Solomon Spaulding's manuscript and from that concocted out of the said manuscript the Book of Mormon.[1] He used to tell them he never saw Spaulding's [manuscript] in his life, but the people of the world would not believe him and continued to assert that he did write the Book of Mormon and gave it to Joseph Smith to introduce to the world. The religions of the world were determined to prove, if they could, that the Book of Mormon was not obtained as Joseph Smith claimed (i.e., that an angel from heaven appeared to him and told him where to go and find that which was buried in a hill near Palmyra, N.Y.). The fact [is] that Joseph Smith had the book, all that knew him said he did not know enough to have written it, and somebody else must be found who they thought could have written it; for to admit that an angel appeared to Joseph Smith and told him where to go to find it was a reflection on their religion, and their religion must be maintained at all hazards, and therefore they selected Sidney Rigdon as the man.

Perhaps it might be well enough for me to tell you what kind of a man Sidney Rigdon was and then you will see why the world claimed he was the author of the book. Sidney Rigdon was born in the year of 1793 in Washington County, Pennsylvania.[2] His father, William Rigdon, was a farmer living on a farm ten miles from Pittsburg, being then a city of about 10,000 inhabitants. His father, William Rigdon, married a wife by the name of Nancy Gallaher. They had four children. Sidney Rigdon was the youngest. He had two brothers and one sister. His oldest brother, Carvel Rigdon, married and moved on a farm near to the old homestead. The second brother, Loami Rigdon, was a sickly boy and unable to work on the farm. His sister, Lucy Rigdon, married one Peter Boyer, who owned a farm near the old homestead, and moved with her husband to his farm, leaving Loami Rigdon and Sidney Rigdon on the old homestead with their father and mother.

It was the rule in the country that when a boy was too feeble to work on a farm, they would send him to school and give him an education. Loami Rigdon was too sickly and feeble to labor on a farm, and his parents decided to send him to school and give him an education. Sidney Rigdon wanted to

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[1] The reference is to *Manuscript Found*, an historical novel by Solomon Spaulding, an ex-preacher in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The theory that Spaulding's manuscript (recently discovered in the Oberlin College Library) was Joseph Smith's source for the Book of Mormon gained some currency between 1833 and 1900. It is a romance supposedly translated from twenty-four rolls of parchment covered with stories in Latin. The rolls were supposedly found in a cave on the banks of Conneaut Creek in Ohio. Written in modern English and about one-sixth the length of the Book of Mormon, Spaulding's story is the adventure narrative of some Romans blown off course to the American shore sometime before Christ. There is no resemblance whatever to the Book of Mormon. But to account for Joseph Smith's authorship, the theory was conceived that Sidney Rigdon somehow got the Spaulding novel into Joseph Smith's hands. John W. is defending his father against the alleged complicity of his father in the making of the Book of Mormon.

[2] Now Allegheny County.

go to school, and pleaded with his father and mother to let him go with his brother to school, but they would not consent to let him go, saying to him that he was able to work on the farm and he could not go. At last finding they would not let him go to school, he said to them in anger that he would have as good an education as his brother got and they could not prevent it. So his brother Loami was sent to school; he went to Lexington, Kentucky, and studied medicine and became a physician. He never returned to the old homestead to live but went to Hamilton in the State of Ohio and there practiced medicine for over forty years, leaving Sidney Rigdon and his father and mother on the farm to live.

Sidney Rigdon, after his brother Loami Rigdon had gone to Lexington, borrowed all the histories he could get and began to read them. His parents would not let him have a candle to read by night; he therefore gathered hickory bark (there was plenty of it around the old farm), and he used to get it and at night throw it on the old fireplace and then lie with his face and head towards the fire and read history till near morning unless his parents got up and drove him to bed before that time. In this way, he became a great historian, the best I ever saw. He seemed to have the history of the world on his tongue's end and he got to be a great biblical scholar as well. He was as familiar with the Bible as a child is with his spelling book. He was never known to play with the boys; reading books was the greatest pleasure he could get. He studied English grammar alone and became a very fine grammarian. He was very precise in his language.

At length his father, William Rigdon, died, leaving Sidney Rigdon and his mother alone on the farm. At length they got tired of living alone on the farm. It was lonesome and they sold the farm and his mother went to live with her daughter, Mrs. Peter Boyer, and Sidney Rigdon went to study theology under a Baptist minister by the name of Peters who belonged to what was called the straight Baptists.[3] (I do not know what straight Baptist means, unless it is those Baptists who believe in infant damnation, and that, it would seem to me, to be straight enough for almost anyone.) After getting his license to preach, he went to Pittsburg and preached a short time there and then went to the town of Warren, Trumbull County, in Ohio, and remained there about two years.[4] He did not have any particular charge of a church, but whenever a vacancy occurred in the country, he always filled it, and in that way got a reputation of being a very eloquent preacher.

Nature made him an orator and his great knowledge of history of the Bible gave him the knowledge so he was able to talk on almost any subject. He was of a natural religious turn of mind and he delighted in preaching the gospel.

At length he got married.[5] He married a daughter of Jeremiah Brooks, who was also a great Baptist. Soon after his marriage he and his wife started on their wedding tour to go to Pittsburg to visit his brother, his mother, and his sister, who resided ten miles from Pittsburg. They went on horseback; that is the way they rode in those days. They reached Pittsburg on Saturday night and stayed there overnight. One of the members of the Baptist church

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[3] A fundamentalist sect that referred to themselves as Regular Baptists.

[4] May 1819 to November 1821.

[5] June 12, 1820, to Phebe Brooks of Bridgetown, New Jersey.

who had heard my father preach came to see him and wanted to know if he would not come to the Baptist church and preach to them Sunday morning. He said they had one of the largest churches in the city of Pittsburg, but the church had become divided and they had no minister and had no preaching in the church, and he would be much pleased if he would come and preach to them Sunday morning. He told the brother he would. The brother gave notice that night that there would be preaching in the church.

The next morning quite a little congregation gathered at the church to hear him preach. After his discourse was ended and the congregation were dismissed, he told the congregation that he was going out into the country about ten miles from the city to visit his brother and mother and sister and should remain out there about four weeks, and if they wished him to come into the city and preach to them every Sunday morning during the time he remained out in the country, he would do so, as he could ride into the city every Sunday morning and preach to them and then go back in the afternoon. This offer they gladly accepted and my father preached in the church for four Sundays in succession. When he got ready to go home, he and his wife again came to Pittsburg and stayed overnight, and quite a number of the members of the church called to see them and wanted to know if he would not, when he got back home, come back and take charge of the church and be their pastor. They said to him that they had the largest congregation in Pittsburg when they were united and they thought from what they had heard of his preaching that he could unite them and they would be much pleased to have him come back and be their minister. He said to them that he would take the matter under advisement and when he got home he would consider the matter and let them know.

When he got home, he told his father-in-law of the offer the church at Pittsburg had made him, and he, being a great Baptist, urged him by all means to accept it, as it was not very often a young minister received such an offer. It might be the making of him and give him a great reputation. He therefore informed the members of the church at Pittsburg that he accepted their offer and would soon come to Pittsburg and become their pastor. Soon after informing them of his acceptance, he returned to Pittsburg with his wife and became the pastor of the Baptist church.[6] It was not long after he took charge of the church until he united the church, and he had the largest congregation in the city, and in less than one year he had the reputation of being one of the most eloquent preachers in the city. Everything went smoothly along; fame and fortune seemed to be within his grasp.

At length[7] an old Scotch divine came to Pittsburg and wanted to know of my father if he preached and taught the Baptist confession of faith [regarding] infant damnation. He told him that he did not, as he did not believe it and would not teach it. The Scotch divine replied to him that he would have to teach it, as it was part of the Baptist confession of faith. My father replied to him that he did not care if it was a part of the Baptist confession of faith. It was to him too horrible a doctrine for him to teach and he would have nothing to do with it. His refusal to teach the Baptist confession of faith occasioned quite a stir among the congregation. The older members of

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[6] In February 1822.

[7] August 1824.

the church thought he ought to teach it, as it was a part of their confession of faith, while the younger members thought he acted wisely in refusing to teach the doctrine. My father, seeing there was to be a division in the church, tendered his resignation and the church got another minister.

After resigning the pastorship of the Baptist church, he remained in Pittsburg about two years.[8] After that [he worked] in a tan yard with his brother-in-law, Richard Brooks, who was a tanner and conyer [?] by trade who started a tannery in Pittsburg. My father contributed some money to the business. At the end of two years they sold the tannery.

Soon after that Sidney Rigdon became acquainted with Alexander Campbell, who was a very learned man but not much of an orator.[9] He and Campbell got their heads together and started what was then called the Campbellite Church, now called Christian.[10] Sidney Rigdon baptized Campbell and Campbell baptized him, and the church was started. There was not much to their confession of faith. It was to believe on the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, be baptized for the remission of your sins, and take the Bible for your guide was all there was of it. Its simplicity recommended itself to the general public, and Sidney Rigdon went to Mentor, Ohio, and commenced to preach the doctrine.[11] He soon had quite a large congregation.[12] They built him a church and he again seemed to be on the high road to fame and fortune.

One day the congregation asked him what he was going to charge them per year for his preaching. He said, nothing; he said the apostles asked nothing for their preaching and he was not a-going to charge anything. They said to

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[8] 1824-26.

[9] 1788-1866. A native of Ireland, a Presbyterian and Baptist preacher, and the founder of the Disciples of Christ and the Churches of Christ, Campbell came from West Virginia to Pennsylvania and Ohio in the 1820's preaching Christian unity and a simple faith devoid of speculative theology and emotional revivalism.

[10] The Campbellites actually called themselves The Disciples of Christ, or The Church of Christ.

[11] Rigdon went first to Mantua, Ohio, to preach and later went to Mentor when a wealthy group of ruffled Baptists asked him to lead the congregation. "The doctrines which he advanced were new but were elucidated with such clearness and eloquence which was superior to what they had heard before that those whose prejudices were not too deeply rooted became his willing converts to the doctrines which he taught. . . . His reputation as a pulpit orator and deep reasoner had spread far and wide and he soon gained a popularity and an elevation which has fallen to the lot of but few men." (MS. "Life Story," pp. 15-16.)

[12] 1826. Andrew Jenson writes of him: "He devoted himself to the work of the ministry, confining himself to no special creed, but holding the Bible as his rule of faith and advocating repentance and baptism for the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost — doctrines which he and Alexander Campbell had been investigating. He labored in that vicinity [Bainbridge, Ohio] one year with much success, and built up a large and respectable church at Mantua, Portage County, Ohio. His doctrines were new, and crowded houses assembled to hear him, though some opposed and ridiculed his doctrines. He was then pressingly invited to remove to Mentor, an enterprising town, about thirty miles from Bainbridge, and near Lake Erie, which he did soon afterwards. At this place there were remnants of a Baptist church, the members of which became interested in his doctrines. But many of the citizens were jealous of him, and slanderous reports were circulated concerning him. By continuing his labors, however, the opposition weakened, prejudice gave way and he became very popular. Calls came from every direction for him to preach, and his fame increased and spread abroad. Both rich and poor crowded his churches. Many became convinced and were baptized, whole churches became converted and he soon had large and flourishing societies throughout that region." — *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1901), pp. 31-2.

him in reply that he had been giving them the gospel and now they were a-going to give him something. They bought him a little farm coming right up to the edge of the village and built him a house.

It was almost ready for him to move into when along came Parley Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, and one Ziba Peterson with the Book of Mormon.[13] It was a bound volume and it was the first time Sidney Rigdon ever saw it or ever heard of the man called Joseph Smith.[14] Parley Pratt presented the book to my father in the presence of my mother and my oldest sister, Athalia Rigdon Robinson, who was a young girl of ten years of age. Parley Pratt used to be a Baptist minister and was somewhat acquainted with Sidney Rigdon.

In presenting the Book of Mormon, he said, "Brother Rigdon, here is a book which is a revelation from God. One Joseph Smith, a young boy, had an angel appear to him who told him where to go to find the plates upon which the book was engraved. They were gold plates. Joseph Smith went as directed by the angel and found the plates in a hill near Palmyra, N. Y., and brought them to his home and there by the power of God translated them, and it was the everlasting gospel given to the children of men."

My sister and mother told me that my father replied to Parley Pratt, "You need not argue the case with me. I have one bible which I claim to have some knowledge [of] and which I believe to be a revelation of God. But as to this book, I have some doubts, but you can leave it with me when you go away in the morning and I will read it, and when you come again I will tell you what I think about it."

Pratt said he would do it. "But," said he, "will you let us preach in your church tonight?" My father hesitated for a moment and finally said it would probably do no harm and they might preach in the church if they wished to do so.

Quite a little congregation gathered at the church to hear the strangers preach their strange doctrines about an angel appearing to a young boy who told him where to go to find a book engraved upon gold plates hid up in a hill near Palmyra, N. Y., which had the everlasting gospel to preach to the children of men engraved upon it. Oliver Cowdery and Parley Pratt preached. Peterson did not say anything. Pratt spoke last. At the conclusion of his remarks, Pratt asked my father if he had any remarks to make. If so he should be pleased to hear him.

Sidney Rigdon arose and said, "Brethren, we have listened to strange doctrines tonight but we are commanded to prove all things and to hold fast to that which is good. I would caution you not to be too hasty in giving your opinion upon what you have heard, but give this matter your careful consideration and then you will be better prepared to tell whether it is true or not."

The meeting was dismissed and Cowdery, Pratt, and Peterson went home with my father and stayed over night. And in the morning when they went

[13] In the fall of 1830, Joseph Smith asked Oliver Cowdery, Ziba Peterson, Orson Pratt, and Parley P. Pratt to preach the gospel as missionaries. They proselytized in Buffalo and among the Catteraugus Indians and then found their way into Ohio. Parley P. Pratt had lived in Ohio previous to 1830, had been a missionary for Alexander Campbell there, and had been acquainted with Sidney Rigdon. Pratt led the other missionaries into Ohio because he was convinced that many of the Campbellites would accept the same ideas he had come to believe in. The first place they stopped at was the home of the Rigdons. (In his "Life Story," Rigdon says that Peter Whitmer was with them.)

[14] Again, John W. is trying to defend his father against the "Spaulding theory."

away, they left him the Book of Mormon, telling him that they were going to the town of Kirtland about five miles from there and would be back in about two or three weeks.

My father, immediately after the strangers had gone away, commenced to read the book. He got so engaged in it that it was hard for him to quit long enough to eat his meals. He read it both day and night. At last he had read it through and pondered and thought over it.

At length Pratt and his two companions got back. My father asked them who this Joseph Smith was and how much education he had. They said he was a man about 22 years old and had hardly a common school education.[15] My father replied if that was all the education he had, he never wrote the book. Pratt told my father that they had converted some people at Kirtland while they were gone and were a-going to baptize some of them the coming week and would be pleased to have him and his wife come down and see them at the time that the baptism took place. My father promised that they would and did so, and while there and before they left for Mentor, they were both baptized into the Mormon Church.[16]

When they got back and his congregation heard of what he had done, they were furious at him and said to him that if he had remained a Campbellite and continued to preach the gospel which he had helped to create, he might [have] gone down to the grave as one of the great divines of the age, but now he had gone and thrown it all away and was a-going to follow a fool of a boy who claimed an angel had appeared to him and told him where to go to find some plates of gold upon which there was engraved the Book of Mormon, which was to be the foundation of the Mormon Church. It was nonsense and a man of his knowledge ought to have known better than to have had anything to do with such impostures. He ought not to have let them preach in their church, should not have let them stay overnight in his house, and should have refused to have anything to do with them. My father replied to them that they could talk to him as they pleased [but] he was convinced in reading the Book of Mormon that the doctrine preached by the Mormons was true and he was a-going to preach the doctrine, let the consequences be what they may.

He was not permitted to move into the little house which they finished for him to live in, and the Campbellite Church refused to have anything more to do with him. Therefore, he took his family and his little belongings and went to a little town called Hiram, about two and a half miles from Kirtland, and then lived with those people who had been baptized by Parley Pratt and his associates at Kirtland.[17]

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[15] In the "Life Story" John W. Rigdon adds that while "reading the Book of Mormon and praying to the Lord for light and meditating upon the things he had read, after some few weeks from the time he received the book he became fully convinced of the truth of the work and was satisfied that it was a revelation from God." (p. 22.)

[16] November 14, 1830.

[17] In his *Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints . . .* (St. Louis, 1839), John Corrill writes of these incidents: "I shortly heard that these messengers had stopped in Kirtland, about thirty miles distant, among a society of people called Campbellites, at whose head stood Elder Sidney Rigdon, a noted preacher of that order. With this news I was at first much pleased; for, from my former acquaintances with that society, I knew that they were well versed in the scriptures, and I supposed that, without fail, they would con-

When he had got there with his family, they wished him to go to Palmyra to see Joseph Smith, and he went and saw Joseph at that time,[18] being the first time he ever had seen or met him, and he never saw the Book of Mormon until Parley Pratt presented it to him at Mentor, Ohio. He did not see the plates from which Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon, but he talked with him and also the witnesses who saw the plates and helped to write the book as translated by Joseph Smith from the plates. After spending a few days with Joseph Smith, he came back to Hiram firmly convinced that he had found the everlasting gospel to preach to the children of men.[19] In 1833 he was ordained to be Joseph Smith's first counselor, which position he held up to the time that Joseph was killed at Carthage, Ill., in the month of June 1844.[20]

Not long after he had moved to Hiram, Ohio, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were taken out of bed one morning before daylight and tarred and feathered by a mob. The mob came and got Rigdon first. He was a man weighing about 225. They dragged him some distance over the frozen ground

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found the impostors, convince them of their folly, and send them home again. But, to my astonishment, in a short time I heard that they had converted a majority of the society, together with Elder Rigdon, to their faith. What does this mean, thought I. Are Elder Rigdon and these men such fools as to be duped by those impostors? I became much excited in my feelings; for in that society were several men for whom I had formed the most favorable opinion, and for whom I felt the greatest veneration and respect. By the advice of a neighbor whose feelings were similar to mine, I concluded to pay them a visit, with a determination, if I could, to persuade Elder Rigdon to go home with me, on a preaching visit; for I thought, if I could get him away from them until his mind became settled, he might be saved from their imposition. But before I arrived at his residence, I heard that he had embraced their faith, and had been baptized by them. On receiving this news, my feelings became much embittered, and I felt more and more determined in my opposition. . . . I was invited to see Elder Rigdon. I requested to converse with him on the subject of his new religion. He observed to me that he was now beyond the land of contention, and had got into the land of peace." (pp. 16-18.)

[18] This was in December of 1830.

[19] Between 1830 and 1833, there are significant events in Rigdon's life which the son does not mention. In 1831 he became a kind of literary secretary and editor to Joseph Smith, assisting him in transcribing his translation of the Bible and other theonomous works. A revelation of Joseph Smith's commanded Rigdon to "watch over him [Joseph Smith] that his faith fail not. . . . and . . . write for him; and the scriptures shall be given. . . .Tarry with him, and he shall journey with you; forsake him not, and surely these things shall be fulfilled. . . . Keep all the commandments and covenants by which ye are bound; and I will cause the heavens to shake for your good, and Satan shall tremble and Zion shall rejoice upon the hills and flourish." (Doctrine and Covenants 35:19-24.) In January 1831 he assisted the removal of Joseph Smith and his family, with others, to Kirtland, and in September to Hiram, Ohio. After ordination as a High Priest in the Church, he wrote articles and letters for the members of the Church and preached prolifically. However, some of his writings were not found "acceptable to the Lord" (Doctrine and Covenants 63:56) because he was too "proud" to receive counsel about them. During these years, Rigdon had several visions with Joseph Smith which the son does not feel it important enough to mention in his account of his father. In one of these he saw God the Father and Jesus Christ and saw into the realms of the universe. Rigdon also assisted Joseph Smith in organizing an adult education program for male members of the Church, The School of the Prophets, and went on a preaching mission with him to Canada.

[20] A relevation of Joseph Smith's on March 8 commanded as much: "And again, verily I say unto thy brethren, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, their sins are forgiven them also, and they are accounted as equal with thee in holding the keys of this last kingdom." (Doctrine and Covenants 90:6.) As his son emphasizes, Rigdon never forgot the promise of equal status with Joseph Smith.

by his heels, bumping the back of his head, so that when they got him to the place where they were to put the tar and feathers on him, he was insensible. They covered him with tar and feathers and pounded him till they thought he was dead and then went to get Joseph Smith. He found them,[21] but they got hold of him at last and carried him out, and they took him where Rigdon lay, and Joseph thought he was dead. The mob covered him with tar and feathers and pounded him till they got tired and left them both on the ground. Soon after the mob left, Joseph Smith got up and went home, not very badly hurt. He was bruised some about the head. My father must have lain on the ground for some time where the mob left him. At last he got up in a dazed condition and did not know where he was nor where to go, but at last he got his face turned toward his home, more by accident than design, and went reeling along the road not knowing where he was; he would have passed his house but my mother was out the door watching for him and went out as he came along and got him in the house. She got the tar and feathers off from him as best she could and got him to bed. In the morning Joseph Smith came over to see him, but he was crazy. He wanted him to get him his razor. Joseph Smith wanted to know what he wanted it for. He said that he wanted to kill his wife. Joseph Smith soothed him as best he could and left him. In a few days my father regained his mind.

Soon after getting over the effects of the tar and feathers, they took their horses and started for Jackson County, Missouri, a distance of about 1000 miles.[22] They laid out the town of Independence in Jackson County and selected a site for a temple and came home. They left a few Mormons in Independence, Missouri. Among the number was W. W. Phelps. He was publishing a little paper at Independence which was published once a month.[23]

But the few members of the church at Independence got to quarrelling with the Missourians and they drove them out of Jackson County and they went into Clay County, and there they got into trouble again with the Missourians.[24] Philo Dibble was shot. Dibble told me he was shooting at the Missouri mob and went to load his gun after shooting at them but found that the end of his powder horn had been shot off and powder spilled. He saw a hole through his coat and unbuttoning it found a hole through the vest. He did not examine any farther since he then was in no pain. He remained there looking at the boys shooting at the Missouri mob for nearly an hour. At last pain came on and he was in dreadful agony. After the fight was over he was attended by his brethren and got well and lived to be about 83 years of age and was buried at Salt Lake, and the ball that wounded him in the fight in Clay County, Missouri, remained in the body when it was carried to his grave.

The Missouri mob drove the few saints from Clay County, but told them if they would go into Caldwell County, Missouri, they might stay there. They would not be disturbed. So they moved into Caldwell County and founded the town of Far West. Joseph Smith and Rigdon, after returning again to Ohio, concluded that as the Missouri mob was acting so badly, they would make the gathering place Kirtland, Ohio, about two and a half miles from

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[21] That is, eluded them.

[22] This was in April and May of 1832.

[23] The official Church periodical, *The Evening and Morning Star.*

[24] April to July 1832.

Hiram. They accordingly moved their families to Kirtland.[25] There was where my first recollections began.

There they began the erection of a temple. I remember well while they were building the temple. It was finished in 1836 and was dedicated. Sidney Rigdon preached the sermon.[26] How the Mormons succeeded in building the temple I could never understand. They had no money but somehow contrived to get the lumber. And the members of the church worked from early morning till ten or twelve at night. Some got board, some didn't, so at the end of three years it was finished and was one of the largest houses then in the State of Ohio.

On the day when the temple was to be dedicated, there was a great time of rejoicing by the members of the Church.[27] They could not all get into church the first day, so the ceremony was continued on a second day. My father preached the sermon on the first day. He took for his text Psalm 8 of the Savior:[28] Foxes have holes and the birds have nests, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head. He said that this was the first temple that had ever been erected and dedicated to the service of the living God in modern times that he had any knowledge of. This sermon was said to be one of the great efforts of his life.[29]

What glorious times the Saints had when the temple was dedicated and what shouts of Hosannah have I heard from the old temple while the Mormons were permitted to worship God within its walls! The people came to church every Sunday because they wanted to come. You could not keep them away. A great many strangers came to hear the Mormons preach. My father usually preached on Sunday morning and great crowds, both members and strangers, came to hear him.

The upper story of the temple was used for schools. I went to school the last year we remained at Kirtland. Elias Smith, who was probate judge of Salt Lake in 1863, was my teacher.

It seemed, however, that Mormons were not permitted to remain at Kirtland a great length of time after completion of the temple. In less than two years from its completion Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were forced to leave Kirtland on account of their starting of the Kirtland Bank.[30] My father

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[25] Joseph Smith wrote of Rigdon at about this time: "Brother Sidney is a man whom I love, but he is not capable of that pure and steadfast love for those who are his benefactors, as should possess the breast of a president of the Church of Christ. This, with some other little things, such as selfishness and independence of mind, which, too often manifested, destroy the confidence of those who would lay down their lives for him. But, notwithstanding these things, he is a very great and good man — a man of great power of words, and can gain the friendship of his hearers very quickly. He is a man whom God will uphold, if he will continue to his calling." —Jenson, p. 33.

[26] The manuscript has a marginal note: "Did Rigdon dedicate the temple?" He didn't.

[27] March 27, 1836.

[28] St. Matthew, chapter 8.

[29] Joseph Smith said of the sermon: "He spoke two hours and a half in his usual logical manner. His prayer and address were very forcible and sublime, and well adapted to the occasion. At one time, in the course of his remarks, he was rather pathetic [i.e., emotional], and drew tears from many eyes." —*History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1948), II, 414.

[30] The Kirtland Safety Society Bank, founded in 1836 to assist members of the Church (especially emigrants from Europe) in financing the purchase of property around Kirtland. It failed largely because of the national financial panic of 1837 and the resulting depression,

opposed it. He said it would not be legal as they had no charter. He did not wish to have anything to do with it, but Joseph Smith thought differently and persuaded Father to sign bills as president and Joseph signed them as cashier. They gave their notes for the silver needed to start the bank. It ran but a short time as they could not get the silver to redeem the bills; the bills came back to the bank faster than silver could be gotten to redeem them with. And the bank went down.[81]

The notes which they had given to get hard money to redeem the bills came due. One Warren Parrish, who used to be a good Mormon and who got notes in his possession and had apostatized from Mormonism, got angry with Joseph for some reason unknown to me and told Joseph that he had notes which Joseph and Sidney had given upon which they had borrowed money to start the bank with. And they were about due. And if the notes were not paid at maturity, he would sue them and get judgment against Joseph and Sidney, and if judgment was not paid, he would put them in jail where they would stay until judgment was paid. There was a law in the State of Ohio to the effect that if one got a judgment on a debt against another and it was not paid, he could be thrown into jail and remain there until he paid it. As they could not pay judgment, all they could do was to get out of the state.[82]

Therefore, in the winter of 1837, they and their families started for Caldwell County, Missouri, a distance of about 1000 miles. I was attending school in the upper part of the temple when we left. On coming home from school one day in the afternoon of the day we left, I saw considerable commotion about my father's house. I inquired of Mother what was the reason. She said, nothing that concerned me. In the evening I saw several men come to our house and whisper a time and go away. I wanted to know of Mother what was the trouble, but could get no reply; and was at last ordered to bed. And I and my brother Sidney went to bed.

Along in the night, I was awakened by a man trying a pair of shoes on my feet. I asked what he was doing. He said he had gotten me a new pair of shoes. I said that was all right, but had he not better wait till morning, then I could try them on better. He said, "You go to sleep and don't ask questions." I did so. Not long after that, my brother and I were awakened and told to dress as we were going away. I asked where we were going, and he said to a land flowing with milk and honey that I had heard talked so much about. Well, I thought, if I was going to that land which was flowing

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but also because of the extravagant borrowing of the Church members in 1836 and 1837. An additional burden upon the finances of the Church was the thousands of members being sent to Kirtland for financial help by outlying branches of the Church. B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1930), I, 397-400.

[81] The Ohio State Legislature refused to grant a charter to a group it had not yet recognized as an institutionalized church. Having no legal status, the Society therefore changed its name to The Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company, a Stock Industrial Company, to suggest that it was a private concern. But Oliver Cowdery had already had notes printed with the earlier name on them, and the Church leaders made the mistake of using them, therefore appearing to work under the guise of an unapproved name. The lack of a state charter forced the creditors in New York, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland to refuse payment, and the business activity financed by the Society failed disastrously. Roberts, I, 401-3.

[82] Rigdon and Smith were arrested for violating the banking laws of the state and fined $1000 each. The case was appealed before the Geauga County Court but threats on the lives of both forced them to leave the state before the case was heard. Roberts, I, 403.

with milk and honey, it was a pretty good place for me to go. And I wanted to go. That night about twelve o'clock we started in our open lumber wagon, leaving my brother-in-law, George W. Robinson, behind to sell some property and get two spans of horses, a carriage, and another lumber wagon and meet us at Dublin in the State of Indiana, where we were to wait for him to come up.

We rode all night in the lumber wagon, which we left Kirtland in. Joseph Smith met us with all his family just as we were leaving the village of Kirtland. We stopped the next morning a little after daylight to get breakfast at a hotel and from there went to Akron, Ohio. A short distance from there we stopped at a friend's house and stayed some two days in order to put covers on the wagons so we would be warmer. Then we again started for Dublin, Indiana, and reached there without accident. There we waited three weeks[33] for Robinson to come up. When we came to Dublin, we all started for Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri.

We travelled together for a while and then separated, as it was difficult for us to get accommodations travelling together. Joseph Smith took one half of the party, my father the other. We agreed to meet in Indiana and we did meet there,[34] and then separated again. Joseph Smith was to cross the Mississippi River at Scunedy and we were to cross the Mississippi at Louisiana, twenty miles below.[35]

We left Joseph Smith in Indiana and got along all right till we got to a town called Paris, Illinois, where we stayed overnight. In the morning there was a great snowstorm. It would be called a blizzard now. We had prairie to cross of about ten miles and were cautioned not to attempt to cross it in such a storm. The people said the road was filled up with snow and we would be liable to get lost and, if we did, be frozen to death. But my father thought differently and thought we could get across without trouble. We could see woods on the other side and we started, but we had not been out but a short time when the storm was so great that we could not see across the prairie, and there was no road to be seen. Robinson took the lead and a man by the name of Darrow followed him in an open wagon. I and my brother were in the third wagon. We had lost sight of Robinson and Darrow when one of the four wheels of the wagon I was in came off and let us down in the snow. While trying to fix the wheel on, a man came up and told us to turn back; if we did not we would freeze to death. So I was put in another wagon and we turned around and made our way back to Paris. When we got there inquiries were made where Robinson and Darrow were. It seemed they did not hear the order to turn back. Robinson had in his covered carriage his wife and my mother and my father's mother, who was about 80 years old. I was so nearly frozen to death I could not walk. I had to be carried into the house and there thawed out. But it was getting dark and the storm was at its height and none dared venture out on the prairie in the storm, and Robinson and the women and Darrow had to be left to their fate. There was great excitement that night in house where we stayed.

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[33] Joseph Smith reports that the stay was for only nine days. *History*, III, 2.

[34] At Terre Haute.

[35] These are two points on the Mississippi River not far below Quincy, Illinois, and Hannibal, Missouri.

In the morning the storm was over but it was very cold, but the excitement was so great that we had to start and see if we could find the lost ones. We could see across the prairie but there was no road to be seen. We started, and after about two and a half hours we got across to the timber on the other side. There was a little house standing on the bank of a small stream and we went to inquire if any wagons had come there the day before. We were overjoyed to learn that an open wagon and carriage had stopped to get warm but they had no accommodations to keep them overnight. They had gone to a house about five miles from there and would probably find them. We made haste to the house, and when we got there we found them well, except Darrow, whose sons were badly frozen.

We stayed there that night and in the morning, we all started again. We got out on the prairie in Illinois. Then there was sickness and we had to stop and remained there for three weeks, and it was the happiest three weeks I ever spent. The man whom we stopped with had drawn up a large crop of corn in the shack near his house, and, the snow being deep, the prairie chickens came in large flocks every morning and remained all day. It was said that hunger will tame lions and so it will prairie chickens.

After three weeks the weather moderated and the road became passable and the folks who were sick were well enough to travel. We started again for the Mississippi River. We got opposite Louisiana just two days before the rains had come and the ice on the river had become too weak to cross it with teams or foot. So we had to remain there ten days to wait for the ice to get out before a steam ferry boat could come over to take us across. When we got on the Missouri River, we found that the mud had got very deep and it was hard to travel with loaded wagons. After we had got within 125 miles, our horses were tired out and we got to a Mr. Herrick's house and there stayed two weeks waiting for our horses to get rested and for the mud to dry up, and then started again, and this time we reached the long-looked-for promised land one bright morning in the month of April, 1838.

Joseph Smith heard of us the night before, he having reached Far West about three weeks before we got there, and was much pleased to learn that we would reach Far West the next morning and was on the lookout for us. He met us just as we were coming up into the village. He shook hands with my father and my mother with tears in his eyes and thanked God that we had got to the journey's end. Joseph Smith led us to Thomas Marsh, who was then the President of the Quorum of the Twelve. This was on Saturday. On Sunday they were going to have a meeting and Sidney Rigdon was to preach.

All the Mormons in Far West came to hear him. There was a large schoolhouse outside the village where the meeting was to be held. There was no standing room. They took out the windows, the weather being warm, and got up into the window spaces. Some had to remain outside. He preached for two hours. It was one of his great efforts.

All things continued till the Fourth of July celebration. The village of Far West was built around a square. In the center they had dug a cellar for a temple. The cornerstone was laid on the Fourth of July. My father was to deliver the oration. Colonel Hinckle had one company of uniformed militia. We had a martial band with a bass drum and two small drums, and so a procession was formed to march, the uniform company of militia coming first and then the procession followed. We made quite a showing for a small

town. After marching around the square, the militia came to the cellar and halted. There was erected a stand to speak from. Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and several others took their places.

When a benediction had been given, Sidney Rigdon commenced his oration. The first half of his oration was a Fourth of July oration pure and simple. Not a word was said that could offend the ear of anyone. The next half was devoted to the building that was to be erected. The lower floor was to be devoted for worship. The upper story was to be for school. They were to be so arranged so that they could give any student who might come a college education if he wished it. But in closing up his remarks he made use of this language: "We have provided the world with kindness and have grown weary with well-doing, and if the Missourians shall attack us again, we shall carry the war to these very doors."[36] In my opinion this should not have been said. It only excited the minds of Missourians. It was reprinted that he had threatened to commence a war of extermination against the Missourians, but the little breeze that this remark occasioned soon wore off and all seemed to be well.

In the fall of the year[37] there was a man who was running for Congress and he wanted the Mormons to vote for him.[38] There were a few of the Mormons who were legal voters and they went to the polls to vote. When they got there they found the Missourians outnumbered them nearly two to one.[39] The Missourians said they were not voters and should not vote. The Mormons said they were voters and should vote, and they got into a fight. The Mormons punched the heads of the Missourians quite badly,[40] and the Missourians ran for their guns, and the Mormon voters voted and returned home.[41] That commenced the fight and it never ended till the Mormons were driven from the State of Missouri.

Soon after that we began to hear of the Missourians driving some of the Mormons from their farms and stealing and driving off stock and insulting their wives and daughters, and they [were] obliged to send their families into town for protection. Soon it got so bad that the Mormons began to retaliate and send out men and drive the Missourians off and compel them to let the

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[36] In its entirety, this part of Rigdon's talk sounds more like a declaration of war: "From this day and this hour," he said, "we will suffer [persecutions and violence] no more. We take God and all the holy angels to witness this day that we warn all men in the name of Jesus Christ to come on us no more forever, for from this hour we will bear it no more. Our rights shall no more be trampled on with impunity. The men or the set of men who attempts it does it at the expense of their lives. And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and to their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed." (From James H. Hunt, *Mormonism* (St. Louis, 1844), pp. 167-180.)

[37] This incident took place August 6, 1836.

[38] Probably W. P. Peniston, a candidate for the state legislature from Daviess County, who knew that the members of the Church would not vote for him because of his part in removing them from Clay County, and so he set out to prevent Mormons and Negroes in the area from voting at all.

[39] Joseph Smith says ten to one. *History*, III, 57.

[40] Joseph Smith reports that the Missourians started the fight. *History*, III, 57.

[41] Joseph Smith writes that "Very few of the brethren voted." *History*, III, 58.

Mormons alone. They often got into a fight with them, and wherever they did the Missourians always ran. Things kept getting worse all the time.

David Patten, who used to be called by the Mormons as Captain Fear-Not, was rightly named, for if there was ever a brave man he was one. One night late in the fall he heard that a gang of Missourians under General Lucas that had been robbing some of the Mormons were in camp on what was called Cracker River, a distance from Far West of about 25 miles. He got up a company of Mormons and went after them. I was out of the square when they started. Patten did not know where on the river he could find them. On his way out he ran across a young man about eighteen years old by the name of Patrick O'Banion who knew where he could find them, and he compelled O'Banion to go with them and show them the way. When he got in the vicinity the Mormons hitched their horses in a grove of trees nearby and prepared to make attack on foot. When they got into an opening on the bank of the river, one of the Missouri sentinels called out, "Who comes there," and without waiting for a reply, quite a number of Missourians fired into the Mormons. David Patten fell, shot through the body, and Patrick O'Banion, who stood beside him, fell also, shot in the back, and one Gideon Carter, who was farther back, fell, shot through the neck.

Then the Missourians ran and crossed the river and formed their company on the other side. There not being much water in the river at that time, they all commenced a hasty retreat. They left all of their horses and camp equipment and started to climb up a steep bank when the Mormons fired a volley into them. One of their number came tumbling down the bank, shot in the back dead. The rest got away. Then Patten was shot. He said, "Boys go ahead; never mind me."

The Mormons crossed the river and took their horse blankets and what guns they could find and the clothing they left behind, and took up the bodies of Patten and O'Banion and started for Far West. [They] did not know that Carter had been shot as it was dark. They got a few miles way, when the pains of Patten were so bad they had to stop to the house of a friend and leave him, and they sent for his wife. She got there just before he died. When she came into the house, he told her he was a-going to die but whatever she did, not to deny the fact. In less than an hour he was dead. They brought young Patrick O'Banion to my father's house where he lingered in great agony for two days and then died. He was not a Mormon, nor was his father or mother. They came and took the body away. The next day they brought David Patten's body, and also that of Gideon Carter, to Far West, whom they found lying dead on the field. He was shot through the neck and the Mormons did not know he was hurt till the next morning after Patten's death. I was at Patten's house when his body was brought there. I looked into the wagon box and there lay David Patten's body silent in death; he lay on his back, his lips tightly closed and no indication of fear on his countenance. He was a brave man and we all deeply mourned his loss.

The next day we buried both David Patten and Gideon Carter in military order. Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon rode at the head of the procession on horseback. Then came the martial band and after that the bodies of David Patten and Gideon Carter and then quite a little procession followed. After, we took them out to a little burying ground just outside of the village and there we buried them.

A very short time after that [42] came that horrible massacre at Hauns Mill, about 25 miles from Far West. One afternoon a band of Missourians rode into a little grove just outside of the settlement at Hauns Mill, hitched their horses, and then came out of the woods with their guns and shot every man they could find. The people at Hauns Mill were not thinking that anyone would attack them. The men were out in the fields to work, not being armed. There was not even a suspicion of any harm being done them. They were taken by surprise as the Missourians began to shoot them. Then they ran for their houses to get their guns in order to defend themselves and were almost all shot down and killed before they reached their houses. The Missourians killed fifteen men and one little baby and shot his little brother in the hip, but he got well.

A man by the name of Smith who was a blacksmith had a shop at the settlement and had two little boys. He took the boys and put them under the bellows and then took his gun and went out to see what could be done to defend the people. While out of the shop he got his death wound and came back to his shop and lay down near where his boys were hiding and died. While Smith lay there dead, two of the mob came into the shop and seeing Smith dead and seeing the boys, one of them put the muzzle of his gun against the head of one of the boys and fired, blowing the top of his head off, and his brains were blown over the head of his brother. The other ruffian shot the other little boy in the hip and then went away.

After they had shot every man they could find, they mounted their horses and rode away, as if the devils were after them. The Mormons were digging a well for drinking water at Hauns Mill but had not got it deep enough. The women took the fifteen men that were killed and the little boy and carried them to the well, put them in, and covered them up and left them.[43]

After getting their goods the best they could, they came to Far West. The town was crowded with farmers and their families who had been driven from their farms. Room was found for all but there was little to eat and they were reduced to eating parched corn.

Not long after the massacre at Hauns Mill, Governor Boggs of the State of Missouri ordered out the militia to the number of 10,000 with orders to go to Far West and exterminate the Mormons or drive them from the state.[44] In that number there was a brigade commanded by General [Alexander W.]

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[42] This is October 30, 1838.

[43] In his account, Joseph Smith adds, "The number killed and mortally wounded in this wanton slaughter was eighteen or nineteen. . . . To finish their work of destruction, this band of murderers, composed of men from Daviess, Livingston, Ray, Carroll, and Chariton counties, led by some of the principal men of that section of the upper country . . . proceeded to rob the houses, wagons, and tents of bedding and clothing; drove off horses and wagons, leaving widows and orphans destitute of the necessaries of life; and even stripped the clothing from the bodies of the slain. According to their own account, they fired seven rounds in this awful butchery, making upwards of sixteen hundred shots at a little company of men, about thirty in number." *History of the Church,* III, 185-6.

[44] "I have received . . . information of the most appalling nature," Governor L. W. Boggs wrote in his military order of October 27, 1838, "which places the Mormons in the attitude of an open and avowed defiance of the laws. . . . The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated, or driven from the State if necessary for public peace." *Murder of an American Prophet,* ed. Keith Huntress (San Francisco, 1960), pp. 59-60.

Doniphan over whom General Lucas was commander. The said militia had not authority.[45]

Along in the afternoon late in the fall of 1838,[46] a large number of persons came riding into town telling us that a multitude was coming for the purpose of massacring us, and in a short time after we got the news, we saw them coming over the hills and coming down onto what was called Goose Creek. When they got on the banks of the creek they turned to the left and went in a large grove. All was great excitement in Far West. The women were greatly excited and the men showed great fear as to what might happen.

The first time I saw Joseph Smith[47] was in front of Father's house (the house fronted the square on which the cellar for the temple was dug). He was loading a gun and was surrounded by about forty or fifty men who appeared badly frightened, and well they might be. Joseph told them to go and get their guns and he would lead them down as near as possible to the camp of the Missourians and see what they intended to do. "Perhaps," he said, "they may be intending to attack us in the night." He wanted them to know that if [they were] going to wait till morning, they would not get hurt by doing down with him.

They got their guns and started down. I, with several other boys, went along, as we were anxious to see what was to be done. Joseph took the lead and the men followed. He went down within about half a mile of the Missourians' camp, drew his men up in line, and there watched them for some time. At last he said he did not think they intended to attack them that night as they appeared to be making preparations to go into camp for the night. He said, "Brethren, we, I think, will go back."

About that time my father came running down, and when he saw me and my brother, he asked us what we were doing. I told him we had come down to see what was going to be done. He said, "You and your brother go home. You may get killed here." I said that we were in no more danger of getting killed than he was. He replied in anger for us to go home at once and we started. We did not travel very fast and did not get back till he did.

That night the Mormons barricaded the town. We worked all night in doing so. It was not much of a barricade but it was better than none. The house my father lived in was a double two-story long house on the edge of the square. The upper story had nothing in it and that was packed as full of women and children as could get into it. We all sat on the floor as close as we could get and there we sat all night. In the morning we came down about sunrise and stood looking at the Missourians' camp on Goose Creek, about one and a half miles from us, when Seymour Brownson came running up; he took command after David Patten's death. He called out, "Every man to his post."

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[45] No right, I assume he means, to slaughter the Mormons. In the other manuscript, John W. Rigdon lays the blame more directly on "the notorious General Lucas," who, he says, was determined to wreak his vengeance on the Mormons and offered his services to Governor Boggs to rid the state of these aliens. Lucas mistook a defensive action of the Mormons against antagonistic people from Carroll County as offensive warfare and used this false information to get Boggs to issue his extermination order. (pp. 128-32.)

[46] The first day of November.

[47] That is, during this incident.

The Missourians started out to see what we would do, and when they saw us looking over the breastworks prepared to fight, they turned around and went back. That maneuver on the part of the Missourians was repeated three times, and the fourth time they marched toward us, they had a flag of truce hitched on the end of a gun. Seymour Brownson, with three or four others, jumped over the breastworks and went down to meet them. It was General Lucas with about 250 of his men whom Brownson met there.

He halted his men and Brownson said, "General Lucas, what do you want?"

He said he had come to talk with him.

Brownson said, "Talk away; I am here to listen."

Lucas said, "Brownson, you need not put any airs on with me. We can whip you."

Brownson said, "I do not know but you can, but you can't do it so long as there is a man alive who can fire a gun. Some of your men will never go home."

Lucas said he wanted to fix matters up if it could be done without fighting.

Brownson said, "What is your offer?"

Lucas said, "If you will surrender up all your arms and surrender some of the head men of the Church as hostages for your promise, they shall be kindly treated and well kept, and agree to leave the state in ten months, we will settle the matter and we will go home."

Brownson said, "General Lucas, I cannot make any such agreement with you, but I will tell you what I will do. You stay where you are and I will go up into the village and see some of the head men of the church and what they will agree to do. I will come back and let you know."

Lucas said, "All right, but hurry up."

Brownson went immediately up to the village. He saw Joseph and Hyrum, my father and Lyman Wight and several others. Lyman Wight said, "Brethren, we can kill some of those men but they will kill us, and what is to become of the women and children that we leave behind us? I think discretion the better part of valor."

It was agreed to accept Lucas' offer, and Brownson went back and told General Lucas that they would accept his offer. Lucas and his men came up to the breast-works and took the guns out of the hands of the men, and then about 200 men rode into town and visited every house and took every gun they could find, and they pretended to be mad to think such an agreement had been made.[48] Lucas came and took Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, George Robinson (my brother-in-law), Alexander McRae, and several others and took them down into camp. As soon as they were into camp they were put under guard and in less than an hour after they arrived in camp, a drumhead court-martial was called and they were all sentenced to be shot on the public square the next morning, and this decision would have been carried out if it had not been for General Doniphan.

He told General Lucas that if those men were shot in accordance with the

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[48] Joseph Smith adds these details in his account: "After depriving these of their arms the mob continued to hunt the brethren like wild beasts, and shot several, ravished the women, and killed one near the city. No saint was permitted to go in or out of the city; and meantime the Saints lived on parched corn." *History*, III, 202.

decision of the court-martial, he would order his brigade to march, as it was nothing more than murder and he would have nothing to do with it. He said to General Lucas, "You have got those men into your possession by promising them protection and fair treatment and now you are going to shoot them in the presence of their families," and looking General Lucas square in the eye, he said, "You hurt one of these men if you dare and I will hold you personally responsible for it, and at some other time you and I will meet again when in mortal combat and we will see who is the better man."

Lucas replied to Doniphan, "If that is the way you feel about it, they shall not be shot."

The next morning they brought them all into town for the purpose of giving them an opportunity to bid their wives and children goodbye. Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith were taken to their house under guard. My father and Robinson were brought to my father's house. Robinson and his wife were then living with my father and while they were bidding their families goodbye, the house was crowded with Missourians with guns, so that it was almost impossible to get in or out of the house, and they were laughing at the scene being enacted. After they had bid their families goodbye, they got into a wagon. Joseph and Hyrum having returned and being in the wagon, General Lucas gave the order to march and they all went away. We suppose it was the last time we should ever see them. They were taken to Clay County in Missouri and again court-martialed and again sentenced to be shot, but what prevented [it] I never knew.

After a time they sent Robinson and several others home and took Joseph Smith, Hyrum, my father, Alexander McRae, Lyman Wight, and others, whose names I have forgotten, and put them into Liberty Jail, about 25 miles from Far West, where I went to see them.

Dr. Madisib[49] of Terre Haute, Indiana came to Far West to see what had become of Thomas Marsh's wife. Marsh and his wife had left the Church at this time. Madisib, I think, was a rich man. He came to Far West in a covered two-seated carriage drawn by a beautiful span of cream-colored horses, and he tendered this carriage and horses to my mother and Joe Smith's wife for the purpose of going to see their husbands imprisoned in Liberty Jail, if they could get someone who would drive the horses.

Joe Smith's wife took her oldest son along (now President of the Reorganized Church) and my mother took me. We started rather late in the morning and did not get to the jail till after dark, and they would not let us go in till the next morning. After taking breakfast at the hotel, we were taken to the jail and there remained for three days, and that is the time and place where young Joseph Smith claims, or did claim, that his father Joseph Smith ordained him to be the leader of the church at his father's death.[50]

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[49] I have been unable to identify this name.

[50] The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints holds to the view that Joseph Smith III (1832-1914), eldest surviving son of Joseph Smith, Jr., was designated and blessed (not ordained) publicly on at least two occasions, between 1839 and 1844, by his father, some day to be his successor in the prophetic office. This claim is based in part upon the sworn testimony of three eye witnesses, given in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri, in litigation between the Reorganized Church and the Church of Christ in 1893. (See Complainants' Abstract of Pleading and Evidence, pp. 27, 28, 33, 40, 41, 180.)

Joseph Smith III writes: "There is a memory of accompanying my mother on another

I was there and was with young Joe Smith all the time while we were at the jail. When the jailer let me out to go around to see the town, Joseph Smith went with me, and when I went back he always went with me, as he was a little afraid to play out alone, thinking there might be danger; and I say no such ordination ever took place while we were at Liberty Jail. If it had, I should have remembered it. Young Joe Smith, the prophet's son, and I are the only ones who are alive that were in the jail at that time. I know the ordination which he claims never took place. I was only at Liberty Jail once, nor neither was young Joe Smith.[51] We went out in the same carriage and came back together. I understand that he now claims that his father blessed him, but he cannot remember whether he was ordained or not.

I say his father did not bless him either when we bade him goodbye. The turnkey stood at the door with the key in his hand. His father might have put his hand on his son's head and said, "Goodbye, my son." I do not say he did, but he might have done so. It is strange that when he was ordained by William Marks and a man by the name of [Zenas H.] Gurley and Mr. [William W.] Blair fourteen years after his father's death,[52] he had not thought of his ordination in Liberty Jail and told them about it. But he was silent about the matter till he was questioned about his authority to lead the church, and then he suddenly remembered that he had been ordained by his father in Liberty Jail when he was nearly eleven years old. Marks and Gurley were once members of the Mormon Church and Mr. Blair was never a member of the Church. Marks and Gurley had been cut off from the Church some years before Joseph Smith [III] was ordained, and none of those who did ordain him had any authority to do so. A man authorized by the Mormon Church must be ordained by someone who has this priesthood to confer or else it is good for nothing and Marks and Gurley and Blair did not have the priesthood to confer on anyone.

I understand now that Smith claims that his father appointed him to the position, but when or where no one knows but himself. He has no claim to be leader of the Mormon Church except that he is the son of his father Joseph Smith, and that of itself gives him no authority.

My father, Sidney Rigdon, was taken out of Liberty Jail to be tried.[53]

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visit to the [Liberty] jail, and it was upon the occasion of one or the other of these visits that my father, with another, laid hands upon my head and blessed me, as his eldest son, to the blessings which had come down to him through the blessings of his progenitors. It could not be expected that I, a child of but six years, should remember the phraseology used by Father upon that occasion, but the circumstance itself was indelibly fastened upon my memory. . . . On two of these occasions I was with my mother, according to my memory."

It was later, in 1842, that he was blessed again, according to his own account: "Elder [James] Whitehead stated that he was present at a meeting in the Brick Store when a number of prominent elders, including Bishop Whitney, Uncle Hyrum, and Willard Richards, were with my father, and that I was called into the room. There, with one of the brethren holding the bottle of oil used in the simple ceremony, my father anointed my head, laid hands on me and blessed me as his son, pronouncing upon me the calling of being successor as Prophet and Seer. He said the scene was solemn and impressive, and that he seemed to recognize it as an ordination of a sort, as designating me as the successor to Father in the presidency of the church." *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration,* eds. Mary A. S. Anderson and Bertha A. A. Hulmes (Independence, Missouri, 1952), pp. 13-14; 318.

[51] That is, and so was young Joe Smith.

[52] It was actually in April 1860 at Amboy, Illinois, when the ordination took place.

[53] About the end of January 1839.

Ben Riggs stated that he told him that Rigdon had killed a man and hid his body in the bushes. The judge told Ben Riggs that he could not try a man for murder on that statement; he must show the man he killed. Riggs replied that was all he knew about it. The judge said, "If that is all you know, I shall discharge the man," and he did so. The Missourians said to father after he was discharged that he could not get away. They had him and they were going to kill him, and he was taken back to jail. He remained there for a few days.

One night[54] a friend of Father's came riding to the back door of the jail with a horse all saddled. The man having charge of the jail, being friendly, helped him get away. He bade his fellow prisoners goodbye, got on the horse, and with his guide got safely to Quincy, Illinois. His family, knowing he had left the jail, went to Quincy and joined him.

Joseph Smith and Hyrum and the other prisoners were soon after taken from the jail, as the people of the county were tired of keeping them, and a party of men were to take them to Daviess County, but the people of Daviess County would not take them. They were told not to bring them back but to dispose of them as they might deem proper. They started with the prisoners for Daviess County and they did not feel like killing them. They got whisky and got drunk, and while they were in that condition the prisoners escaped on their horses. They reached Quincy, Illinois, and were free.

After Father got to Quincy, he and his family remained four weeks and then went to what was called Big Neck Prairie and rented a farm with Robinson and were preparing to raise crops, when father heard of Dr. [Isaac] Galland, who used to be an Indian agent who had a place to sell near the little town of Commerce on the Mississippi. He went to see Galland. He had a two-story stone house with porch above, and below a fine grove of locus trees growing in front of the house, which was near the river bank. He bought the place. Father did not come back to Big Neck Prairie, but wrote Robinson what he had done and Galland was willing to give immediate possession. A man named Herrick, a Mormon who was driven out of Missouri, was in search of a farm to rent and Robinson let him have the one he had rented and he packed up and moved to Commerce. It was only about fifty miles away. Galland took his family to St. Louis. We found Commerce very sickly. We all got well except Father's mother, who was 81.[55]

We had not been at Commerce, or what was afterwards called Nauvoo, but a short time till Joseph Smith, Hyrum, Vinson Knight and a few others came to see us. Joseph and Hyrum went about one half mile below us and bought out [Hugh] White, who had a fine place.[56] Joe and Hyrum laid out land in village lots and offered them for sale. Joe and Hyrum moved on the White farm that fall. Hence came the city of Nauvoo. It is a Hebrew name.

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[54] February 14, 1839.

[55] In Joseph Smith's history of the Church, the discovery of Commerce as a possible settling place for the Mormons is attributed to Israel Barlow in the fall of 1839, not to the Rigdons and Robinsons. The brief account in the *Dictionary of American Biography* has it that the Rigdons were actually reluctant to settle at Nauvoo, yet did so at Joseph Smith's urging. (XV, 601.)

[56] For $9000. The Nauvoo property was deeded to George W. Robinson, Rigdon's son-in-law, with the express understanding that it should later be deeded to the Church when the Church had paid for it in full.

Robinson selected the name, he being quite a Hebrew scholar. It means beautiful.

Sometime in the winter of 1839 or 1840 immigration commenced very fast and by the spring of 1840 there was quite a large settlement. The town gained so fast that by 1844 it was to number 20,000.[57]

In the spring of 1844, Joe Smith sent Father to the city of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, to take charge of a little Mormon Church and in June, 1844, he and his family started. Ebenezer Robinson, who was a church printer, was to go with him to print a paper. We took a steamboat as far as St. Louis. Joe Smith and all the dignitaries came to the boat to bid us goodbye, and the day before we reached Pittsburg, Joe Smith and Hyrum were shot to death by a mob at Carthage Jail, seventeen miles from Nauvoo.

My father went back to Nauvoo and the Quorum of the Twelve placed the leadership of the church on Brigham Young. This hurt Father's feelings. He claimed he was the man [on] whom the leadership of the Church should have been placed. He said he had done more to establish the Church than any member of it. He had spent the best years of his life in preaching the gospel and had sacrificed fame and fortune to do it, and now to be turned down and asked to take a subordinate place under Young or any other man, he could not do it. He left Nauvoo, never to return.[58]

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[57] Some significant events in the life of Rigdon between 1839 and 1844 which the son does not mention: In December 1839, Rigdon set out with Joseph Smith to Washington to assist in pleading with President Martin Van Buren for protection for the Church members in Missouri and Illinois. In April 1841, on the twelfth anniversary of the organization of the Church, he gave the dedicatory address at the laying of the cornerstone of the temple at Nauvoo, Illinois. Between 1841 and 1844, Rigdon had several fallings out with Joseph Smith, but was always reconciled to his authority. In May of 1844 he was nominated as Vice President to run with Joseph Smith for the Presidency of the United States to represent the Mormons. One interesting event mentioned in the "Life Story" but not included here is the occasion when Joseph Smith proposed "spiritual marriage" to Rigdon's daughter Nancy in 1843, "promising her great exaltation in the world to come," the brother reports. She "resented" the proposal and "utterly refused" him. Sidney Rigdon was "very indignant at Joseph Smith to think he should make such a proposal . . . [for] it caused considerable talk among the neighbors and acquaintances of the Rigdon family." This was the first the Rigdon family had heard of the doctrine of plural marriage. The son reports that Joseph Smith denied having proposed to the daughter, but Rigdon claims that he later got him to confess that it was true. Sidney Rigdon never could stomach polygamy. (pp. 164-6.)

[58] By 1844 the split between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon was wide. There is evidence that when Rigdon left Nauvoo in June of 1844, he had no intention of returning. When Joseph Smith was killed, he rushed back, expecting to be made President of the Church. His claim to the position was based in part on a vision he said he had had at Pittsburgh and in part on his claim that the Twelve Apostles of the Church had no such right while one of the First Presidency was still in office. He said he "had received at the hands of Joseph Smith an ordination higher than that of Brigham Young or any member of the Twelve. . . . He could not and would not submit to acknowledge Brigham Young as President." (Rigdon MS p. 180.) After Brigham Young was chosen President, Rigdon was excommunicated for his antagonism. He was given a trial before the councils of the Church and found guilty of heresy and insubordination. The Church court declared him "cut off from the communion of the faithful, and delivered to the devil, to be buffeted in the flesh for a thousand years." ("The Trial of Sidney Rigdon," *Times and Seasons*, pp. 649-50.) Rigdon then made his way back to Pittsburg, where he organized a group of disgruntled Mormons in April, 1845, into what he called The Church of Christ. As their president, he gave them revelations and prophecies, and he encouraged complete dissociation from the Mormons in the Midwest. Within a few years, however, he became too arbitrary a leader

I do not think the Church made any mistake in placing the leadership on Brigham Young. He, in my opinion, was the best man for the place that the Church could have selected. Sidney Rigdon had no executive ability, was broken down with sickness, and could not have taken charge of the Church at that time. The Church had to leave Nauvoo and seek a place farther west. The task would have been too great for Father. I have no fault to find with the Church with doing what they did. It was the best thing they could have done under the circumstances.

I was baptized in the Mormon Church in 1839 at Nauvoo. I was very sick. My father said I would have to be baptized. That day in the month of June, Joe Smith and Hyrum came to the house and Hyrum took me in his arms and carried me to the river and waded out a short distance and was going to set me down, but Joe Smith said, "Do not set him down; hold him in your arms." He baptized me, with Joseph Smith and Father as the only witnesses. I was taken back and put in bed but I was never confirmed into the Church and there are no minutes on the Church books that I was ever baptized, and there would not be unless I was confirmed after being baptized. I got up, sometime after Joseph Smith and Hyrum and Father had gone to Washington to present grievances of the Church against the Missourians to the general government. My father did not get back till the next summer, so I presume my confirmation was forgotten. Therefore, I am not an apostate from the Church, for I never belonged to it till two years ago and then I was baptized by J. M. McFarland in the Hudson River at New York City.

My father, after leaving Nauvoo, came to Pittsburg.[59] The little church that was there concluded to follow him, but he was so extreme in his ideas that they left him. He was at times so perfectly wild that he could not control himself, but still he claimed he ought to have been placed at the head of the Church at Nauvoo. His daughter Eliza, about nineteen years old, died in Pittsburg. That affected him very much and he never was the man he once was.

After that he went from Pittsburg to Green Castle, Pennsylvania, but did not remain long there, and from there he went to Cuba, Allegany County, New York, and joined George Robinson, who had traded some property at Nauvoo for a farm in Allegany County. The farm was on Jackson Hill, and from there he moved to Friendship in the same county and there in 1876 he died.

He never preached after he came to Allegany County; his family would not let him. He seemed sane upon every other subject except religion. When he got on that subject, he seemed to lose himself and his family would not permit him to talk on that subject, especially with strangers. I could talk to him on religion and he would not get excited but would talk as rational as he ever did and seemed in full possession of his faculties. He used to lecture to the students in the Academy at Friendship, deliver Fourth of July orations, make political speeches, and was posted well on the history of general gov-

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and too visionary, and the group dwindled and disappeared. He began to purchase a settlement near Greencastle in the Cumberland Valley for his followers but could not raise the necessary funds. Together with his people he prayed for money "from on high," but did not get it. (Daryl Chase, "Sidney Rigdon, Early Mormon," unpublished thesis, University of Chicago, 1931.)

[59] In the fall of 1844.

ernment. He was always a Democrat; his first, and his last vote at 83, was for a Democrat.

I was admitted to the bar in 1859, and in 1863 health failed me and I went west with my brother and a company. In the fall, my health not being good at Omaha, I did not believe I could stand the winter and proposed to my brother to go to Salt Lake, which we did with a man coming with cattle, and we rode with mule teams.

Brigham Young sent for us. He seemed glad to see us. He wanted to know if my father and mother would come to Salt Lake if he would send for them. He said he would send a mule train after them in the spring and he would bring them across the plains in a carriage in comfort and take care of them during life. I told them I did not think they would come. I wrote to my father and told him of President Young's offer, and in about 35 days an answer came declining the offer.

In the spring, after staying about 23 miles south of Salt Lake, my brother went back to the mines and I came to Salt Lake for the purpose of going home. While in Utah I saw a great many things among the members that seemed so different from what they were. They would swear, use tobacco, were vulgar in habits, drank whisky and get drunk. They did not preach the gospel when they went to church. They would tell about drawing wood, how to raise wheat and corn, and not a word said about the gospel. [They] came to meetings in everyday clothes and did not seem to care anything about religion. Mormonism seemed a humbug and I said when I got home I would find out from my father how the Book of Mormon came into existence. I made up my mind he should tell me all he knew. He had not seen a Mormon in 25 years.

Soon after I got home, I told him the state of affairs in Salt Lake and, as it was all a humbug, I wanted to know how the Book of Mormon came into existence, for he owed it to his family to tell all he knew about it and should not go down to his grave with any such grave secrets.

He said, "My son, I will swear before God that what I have told you about the Book of Mormon is true. I did not write or have anything to do with its production, and if Joseph Smith ever got that [i.e., the Book of Mormon], other [than] from that which he always told me ([that is,] that an angel appeared and told him where to go to find the plates upon which the book was engraved in a hill near Palmyra), Smith guarded his secret well, for he never let me know by word or action that he got them differently, and I believe he did find them as he said, and that Joe Smith was a prophet, and this world will find it out some day."

I was surprised, [for he was] smarting under what he thought was the ingratitude of the Church for turning him down and not having been with them for over 25 years. I must believe he thought he was telling the truth. He was at this time in full possession of his faculties. What object had he in concealing the fact any longer if he did write it? My father died in 1876 at the age of 83, a firm believer in the Mormon Church.

After my father's death, I told Mother what my father had told me about the Book of Mormon. She said, "Your father told you the truth. He did not write it, and I know, as he could not have written it without my knowing it, for we were married several years before the book was published, and if he wrote it, it must have been since our marriage. I was present and so was your

sister Athalia Rigdon, who was a girl of about ten years old when the book was presented to your father, and she remembers the circumstances as well as any recollections of her life."

When Joe Smith and Hyrum were killed at Carthage in June, 1844, their bodies were put into an oak box and sent to Nauvoo, and Brigham Young took the box and had it made up into walking canes. He sent one to Father in Pittsburg and this cane was his constant companion for about thirty years. When he died, my mother kept the cane, and when she died, several years after, it was given to me. When I came to Salt Lake the last time, I brought it with me and gave it to President Joe [Joseph F.] Smith to be placed in the [Church] Museum.[60]

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[60] John W. Rigdon's other manuscript provides a better note to end on: "The religious world did not know him, simply because he taught a doctrine that they did not believe, and for that have condemned him to a place among the unbelievers in the world beyond. But when God shall come to make up his jewels, Sidney Rigdon, who they profess to despise, may stand brighter and more glorious than they in the Kingdom." (pp. 198-9.)

But the longer I live, the more obvious it is to me that the most sacred act of a man's life is to say and to feel, "I believe such and such to be true." All the greatest rewards and all the heaviest penalties of existence cling about that act.

Thomas Huxley

FREE AGENCY AND FREEDOM — SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

Garth L. Mangum

This essay relates a central principle of Mormon thought to crucial issues of our time which involve the author personally. Garth Mangum did his doctoral study at Harvard University in economics, then taught at Harvard and at Brigham Young University, and then went to Washington, where he served in succession as Research Director for the Senate Labor Committee, Executive Secretary for the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, and Executive Director of the President's Committee on Manpower; he is now doing research, which is financed by the Ford Foundation and published in reports and books, such as his recent AUTOMATION AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS, *into the nature of human labor as an economic resource and ways of assisting the disadvantaged in our society to compete economically.*

Free agency is a fundamental theological principle of the Mormon religion. Freedom is a basic goal of the American political system. But they are not the same thing, and Mormons damage both principles through a tendency to confuse them. Statements in which the action of our own or a foreign government is characterized as "taking away free agency" or "pursuing the goals for which Satan fought in the war in heaven" are too familiar to require documen-

tation. This essay defines free agency and freedom and gives one observer's assessment of the present condition of each.

Free agency is the right and responsibility of moral choice: the right because it is the source of all spiritual progress; the responsibility because we cannot avoid the consequence of choice. Free agency was perhaps best defined by Lehi:

> Wherefore the Lord God gave unto man that he should act for himself. Wherefore man could not act for himself save it be that he should be enticed by [good and evil]. . . . Because [men] are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon . . . and they are free to choose liberty and eternal life through the great mediation of all men, or to choose captivity and death. . . . (2 Nephi 2:16, 26, 27)

On the other hand, freedom, according to Webster, is "the absence of necessity, coercion or constraint in choice or action." Freedom is a relative concept, best measured operationally by the range of choice available to the individual, while free agency is eternal and absolute in duration and range of application. The principles are related in that each implies liberal views about the nature of man. Free agency is a characteristic of potential gods; freedom is a reasonable principle only when most men at most times have the capacity to choose wisely.

One searches the scriptures in vain for warnings that free agency might be taken away by forces external to the individual. Section 101 of the Doctrine and Covenants stresses the contribution of the U. S. Constitution to both religious and political freedom but does not imply that without it Americans would be limited in their moral choices or relieved of responsibility for them. Judging from the *Journal of Discourses,* early Church leaders appear to have decried "interference with free agency" only in reference to government actions which increased the real cost of obedience to the principle of plural marriage. It is interesting that we have no record of Christ criticizing the Romans for interference with Jewish free agency (or even their freedom). The truth was enough to make them morally free. Free agency was "given unto man" and he is "free forever" to act for himself and take the consequences. In that sense, the War in Heaven was definitive. "Satan . . . came before me, saying . . . I will redeem all mankind, that one soul shall not be lost. . . . Wherefore because that Satan rebelled against me, and sought to destroy the agency of man, . . . I caused that he should be cast down; and he became Satan, . . . to deceive and blind men, and to lead them captive at his will, even as many as would not hearken unto my voice." Given his goal to "bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of

man" God had no other choice. Satan's plan was not only presumptuous; it was also inoperable. With or without freedom man might be exalted; without free agency he could not. Satan could be allowed no more than the chance to entice man to use his free agency to choose evil rather than good.

If not Satan, can any person or institution deny us our free agency? External forces may be able to increase the temporal costs of moral decisions but not prevent the choice. Both the right and responsibility of free agency are inherent in the knowledge of good and evil. Therefore, denial of the knowledge upon which moral choice can be based is the only effective limitation on the ability to choose.

Knowledge of good and evil is the most troublesome concept involved in the doctrine of free agency. Man is a creation of God, but he is also a creature of his environment. While he may be born with a natural affinity for truth, by and large he will believe to be right and wrong what his environment has taught him to accept and reject. The willingness of the Gospel plan to excuse, though not reward, those "blinded by the cunning craftiness of men" (Doctrine and Covenants 76:75) or deluded by "the tradition of their fathers" (Doctrine and Covenants 93:39) is recognition of this fact.

There is an analogous problem within the Church which is reflected in a basic division in attitudes toward instruction of youth. Should they be taught what to think or how to think? Both the Pavlovian dog salivating on signal and the rat obtaining food by manipulating a maze are obedient, but they are not free agents. Does one who has been similarly conditioned to unquestioning obedience make progress in his eternal character-building quest equal to one whose obedience is a matter of deliberate choice? Alma's impressive discourse on the pragmatic approach to faith (Alma 32:26-34) is a case in point. One plants in his bosom seeds he has reason to believe will be productive, but he is prepared to root them out should they prove unfruitful. This does not preclude following authority when the terrain is uncertain and one has evidence of the trustworthiness of the guide. But to deny man knowledge that the choice is his does not differ significantly from denial of the choice itself.

However, the more serious threats to free agency are within each of us. One can so bind himself to the animal level of existence by pandering to the lusts of his flesh that he can no longer exercise that moral choice which is the distinctive mark of man. Surrendering the ability, however, does not include surrender of the responsibility for the choices made nor the responsibility to choose. Moral choice

between good and evil, once known and clearly conceived, is unconstrained.

Freedom, on the other hand, can be won or lost, expanded or contracted. Historically, freedom to Americans has meant political freedom. Those who created our free institutions were selected by events from among the most aggressive of other lands. They found themselves confronted by a vast, unexploited continent and believed the major restraint upon their range of choice to be the arbitrary actions of European governments. They strove to remove political limitations upon their range of choice and they wrought well, so well that much of our subsequent political history has involved attempts to unshackle government to make it a useful tool by which a people could pursue its collective goals. Many who, because of the fortunes of birth or their laudatory efforts, have been relieved of other constraints on their range of choice would convince us that government is still the primary enemy of freedom. Arbitrary government is a danger never to be ignored, but it appears well down any realistic list of restraints upon choice in our country in our day. More immediate threats are immorality, ignorance, poverty, and disease. They impose *de facto* restraints which can make an empty promise of a *de jure* grant of political rights.

What, then is the state of freedom? Is it growing or waning in the United States and the world? The question is a complex one, the answer depending as it does on a balancing of political, economic, and social trends, some rising while others decline and each moving at a different pace. The yardstick is the range of choice available to the individual. The impact of any particular development is the sum of positive and negative influences. The measures are subjective ones and opinions of observers will differ. It is my judgment that the net effect of developments of the past few decades has been to broaden the range of choice and therefore the freedom available to most Americans.

A people as well as individuals can shackle themselves with immoral practices and restrict their range of choices. Trends in national morality are difficult to determine. We have no good measure of present morality nor of the past to compare with the present. Data on crime and similar phenomena are as likely to indicate improvement in statistical techniques as increased incidence. Urbanization not only increases opportunity for antisocial activity but makes behavior unacceptable which might have been ignored in a rural environment. The rapid growth of crime-prone age groups explains a lot. But though increased immorality cannot be proven, improvement is even more difficult to substantiate.

Other shackles upon the range of choice are more clearly loosening. The exercise of choice requires knowledge of the existence and implications of alternatives. Not only has available knowledge undergone a dramatic explosion, but the increase in dissemination has been equally impressive. Mass communications media are the major pipelines for the raw material of knowledge; education, hopefully, is responsible for providing the analytical tools. Our present concern for the plight of the undereducated is not that they are so numerous. In reality, it is because they are so few and so far behind that they cannot compete in a society that is lunging forward so rapidly.

In a modern industrial society, command over material goods is exercised by the purchasing power of income or wealth. In that sense, the range of choice is measurable in dollars. The average real per capita disposable personal income of Americans has doubled since 1939. Present efforts to reduce poverty do not indicate a worsening situation. We now talk of the poor one-fifth rather than the one-third of a generation ago. What is new is a nation so wealthy that abolition of poverty can be considered as real alternative. Between $15 billion and $20 billion per year would be required to bring every American family above present rule of thumb definitions of poverty income. In contrast, the output of the U.S. economy was $47 billion greater in 1965 than in 1964. For the first time in history, it is possible to abolish poverty without reducing affluence. The relative economic freedom available to Americans is starkly illustrated by an international comparison of average per capita national incomes: $2800 per year in the United States; the equivalent of $100 per year in China and India.

Ill health, whether physical or mental, is another constraint upon individual choice. The increase in life expectancy from sixty-three to seventy years over the past thirty-five years is sufficient indication for present purposes of the conquest of disease.

This, however, is the positive side and there are important offsets. The freedom provided by the knowledge of alternatives is no guarantee that wise choices will be made. Industrialization, urbanization, and population growth are the prevailing influences on modern life. Industrialization, with its economic specialization and interdependence and its technological multiplications of the physical and mental powers of man, is a source of wealth but also of insecurity and of environmental pollution. Urbanization is both cause and consequence of industrialization; its price is congestion and strife. Because the technology of death control has outstripped the technology of birth control, we have learned to save lives to

some extent at the expense of the quality of life. The mass media which expand the knowledge of alternatives also inform the disadvantaged here and abroad of their relative deprivation. This "revolution of rising expectations" has in turn been the root of most international and domestic unrest.

The great paradox of American economic history is that government, once considered the enemy of freedom, has become its foremost protector. Its influence on morality has probably been neutral; its role in the reduction of ignorance, poverty, and disease has been positive. There have been costs. The difference is primarily in the changed nature of the opportunities and threats. Government regulations impede the freedom of the regulated but prevent their unwarranted infringement upon the freedoms of others. Taxes restrict the choices available to the income receiver, but if, as is probably the case, before-tax incomes are enlarged by effective policies, who is to say that the net result is negative, even for the wealthy?

All government decisions are not wise, many are clearly irrational. Summing the political pressures of interest groups provides workable compromises, not optimum solutions. The inefficiencies and arbitrariness of bureaucracies are inherent in all large organizations. But the net result for the society as a whole has almost certainly been an increase in the sum total of freedom.

If there is a sickness in America, it is not our lack of freedom but our apparent inability to identify our choices or to choose wisely among them. Most of us in the United States are freer than ever before, but many are still left behind in ignorance, poverty, and disease. It is the duty of the Church to inveigh against immorality. As a people, if we are interested in the expansion of freedom, we must be equally aggresive in opposition to intellectual, economic, and physical constraints.

Similar analyses could be made for other nations. Freedom measured in these terms is clearly on the increase in Western Europe. The Russian people traded one harsh political system for another, but found in increased material wealth a range of choice never before experienced in their history. China, too, experienced revolution without freedom but has yet to demonstrate loosening of the constraints of ignorance, poverty, and disease. India, despite political freedom, is no less captive.

All of this is one man's opinion. The point of this essay is that, regardless of what happens to freedom, free agency is not in danger, though the choices we make with our free agency always are. Confusing free agency and freedom confronts us with several dangers. We may fail to prepare our youth intellectually for the necessity of

moral choice. We may, by looking outward in defense of free agency, forget that the threat to this divine principle lies in our own souls. We may as citizens deny ourselves and others access to the collective power of government — a force which, in a free nation, is available to do the will of the people, and which can be used to expand as well as limit our freedoms. But whether governments do or do not protect or restrain choice, they influence freedom, not free agency.

We believe firmly that the basis upon which world peace may be permanently obtained is not by sowing seeds of distrust and suspicion in people's minds; . . . not by individuals or nations arrogating to themselves the claim of possessing all wisdom, or the only culture worth having. . . ."

David O. McKay
IMPROVEMENT ERA, *LVIII (1955)*

THE DREAM OF A MORMON COLONY IN THE NEAR EAST

Rao H. Lindsay

The two areas most neglected in the writing of Mormon history are the modern and the non-American experience of the Church; this essay enters both of these realms in tracing the efforts to establish a colony for Mormon converts in the Near East. Rao Lindsay, Assistant Professor in the College of Education at the University of Maryland, gained personal interest in his subject as one of the last L. D. S. missionaries in Palestine: he returned to do a thesis at Brigham Young University on missionary activities in the Near East, and his doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan, NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN SCHOOLS IN THE LEVANT — A STUDY OF PURPOSES, *was published in 1965.*

For almost 130 years, Mormon missionaries have been going to foreign lands. Most of this activity has been in Western European countries where the culture and the political and social institutions were quite similar to those in America. Some attempts however have been made in non-Western areas. Proselyting in a culturally different country raises a number of questions about the responsibility of the evangelizing church to the new converts. How much of the native culture should be left intact? How "American" must the new members become? When conversion means political estrangement or severance from social services, what is the new church's responsibility? Should the church engage in social, welfare, and economic activities,

or should the converts be left to trust in God? The experience of the Mormon Church in the Near East can shed some light on the last question and can illustrate one specific scheme initiated by missionaries and the reception given to it by the Church leadership.

The Mormon missionaries envisioned a colony in Palestine for their Near Eastern converts. This aspiration occupied the thoughts and labors of the Near Eastern missionaries for almost forty years and became an important thread running throughout the history of the Turkish and Armenian Missions.

The colony dream grew into a vision of an organized stake or even stakes of Zion that would be an important contributing factor in the return of Judah to Palestine and in the temporal redemption of the entire Near East. The idea took an Apostle, a university president, and two other special investigators to the Holy Land. For the members of the Church in the Near East, it was a source of hope for relief from temporal bondage — but also of disappointment, for the scheme never materialized.

THE BIRTH OF THE COLONY DREAM

When Mormon missionaries began their labors in the Near East in 1884, they found in the rubble of the decaying Ottoman Empire, traditions, political regulations, social institutions, customs, and social restrictions which not only hindered their proselyting but also hampered the spiritual development of the converts. Although Turkish law provided for religious freedom, under the "millet system" the government only dealt with individual citizens through heads of the recognized religious organizations. The role of the church in the Ottoman Empire was much larger than in the West, because it acted as the government's agent to collect taxes and provide social services such as education and cemeteries as well as to devise and administer personal laws concerning such matters as marriage and divorce. Unless a church received official recognition by the Ottoman Sultan, it could not publish religious literature, hold public meetings, operate schools, or freely move its ministers from city to city. The Protestants as a single group had obtained such recognition in 1850.

This political arrangement contributed to the many hardships faced by the new converts. By the end of the nineteenth century, Mormonism, with its American origins (especially when contrasted with the Greek and Armenian Orthodox or the Maronite Churches of the Ottoman Empire), maintained that religion was a private matter and that legal and social services should be the concern of the political state. Consequently, when an Ottoman subject became a

Mormon, he was immediately subjected to all kinds of annoyances, being still at the mercy of the head of his former church since Mormonism was not recognized. His taxes were usually increased; he sometimes suffered the loss of his job; he was liable to imprisonment and even banishment; and very often he was the recipient of hatred and persecution by his former friends and neighbors. Thus when Ferdinand F. Hintze, the first of the Mormon missionaries to work with the native people, succeeded in making a few converts among the Armenians, he felt that to obtain official recognition for the Church was the best solution to the members' plight. After working unsuccessfully for a full year at Constantinople against impossible political and diplomatic obstacles, whose difficulty he could not have fully appreciated, he concluded that the Church must do something to aid the converts.

In many other missions of the Church, emigration was the usual solution to similar problems, but Ottoman law made it virtually impossible for any except the wealthy with sufficient "baksheesh" to bribe their way out of the country past a host of corrupt officials. These conditions prevented Mormon converts from even considering gathering to Utah with the other members, because they were very poor. Moreover, the polygamy controversy in the 1880's in the United States had generated a growing resentment against Mormon immigration. Commencing extensive emigration from the Near East, where polygamy had been a traditional practice among the Muslims, would certainly not have improved the position of the harassed Church in the opinion of the race-conscious American people at that time.

As Hintze pondered the many facets of this problem, he visited the German members of the Church who had been converted from among Palestinian colonists. These Germans, who believed that Christ's second coming was imminent, came to Palestine, purchased land, and established prosperous colonies. With this example fresh in mind, Hintze returned to central Asia Minor, where he found a very receptive group of Armenians at Aintab. It was there on May 11, 1889, that he first made written mention of his idea of a colony for the Near Eastern Mormons. In his diary he mentioned writing a letter to Franklin D. Richards, of the Council of the Twelve, suggesting that it might be "a good plan for us to settle in Palestine and make a colony there."[1] According to Hintze, the idea came with much force to his mind.

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[1] "Ferdinand F. Hintze's Journal," May 11, 1889 (Original five volumes at Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah).

In Utah, Hintze's colony idea met with a favorable reception in an editorial by Apostle George Q. Cannon, embodying Hintze's ideas.

> It appears that the time must soon come when a gathering place for those who obey the gospel in those regions [speaking of Palestine and Turkey] must be appointed, so that they can be taught the principles of righteousness in a body and not be left in their scattered condition. The disposition manifested in the United States against our emigration which comes from Europe would be greatly manifested, no doubt, if we were to bring the people of the Orient to our land. The cry which has been raised against polygamy would, it is probable, be much stronger against such a movement, and we would be accused of bringing in polygamous hordes from Turkey and from adjacent regions, to perpetuate our system of marriage and to fasten it upon the United States. It is probable, in view of this, that when the converts in the Orient become sufficiently numerous to make it necessary for them to gather together, a place will have to be selected probably in Palestine itself, that will be suitable for this grand purpose, and a Stake or Stakes of Zion be organized there. It may be necessary, in the progress of events, for experienced elders, with their families, to go from Zion to the land of Jerusalem to help lay the foundation of the work there in teaching these people the arts of true civilization, from which they have fallen through the transgressions of their fathers.[2]

As Hintze thought more and more about the colonization scheme, it grew to larger proportions. He saw it not only as a means of preaching the message of Mormonism to the great Asian nations but also of bringing about their temporal reformation by teaching them the arts and sciences of life, "thereby effecting the true restoration of man."[3] He visualized that "should it be adopted, it would solve our troubles and place us in direct and proper communication with the continent of Asia and its people, and also right among the Jews themselves while they gather."[4] Hintze felt that the Mormon people would be the means of restoring and redeeming Palestine prior to the gathering of the Jews. The establishment of the colony would be the beginning. This association of the colony with the gathering of the Jews developed into one of the most interest-rousing arguments in subsequent years. Hintze concluded that the gathering of the members of the Turkish Mission would be "the key to the salvation of the honest of the Oriental nations."[5] As for the new converts, a colony

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[2] George Q. Cannon, "Topic of our Times," *Juvenile Instructor,* XXIV (August 15, 1889), 390-91.

[3] Hintze to *Deseret Weekly,* December 13, 1888, printed in *Deseret Weekly,* January 26, 1889, p. 139.

[4] Hintze to Teasdale, August 1, 1889, *Millennial Star,* LI (August 1, 1889), 139.

[5] "Hintze's Journal," September 6, 1889.

would bring them together where they could sustain each other in living righteous lives and relieve them from the suppression of an "ignorant government and a priest-ridden people."[6] At the conclusion of his mission in December, 1889, Hintze returned to his Utah home where he continued his campaign for the colony through conversations, written articles, and visits with the General Authorities of the Church.

Frederick Stauffer, who succeded Hintze as president of the Turkish Mission, fully concurred with the colony plan and wrote occasionally to encourage it. He saw the colony mostly as a spiritual haven for the new members of the Church as he wrote, "I am encouraged to hear of the idea of having a gathering place, where we could teach and strengthen those who are willing to accept the Gospel."[7] He mentioned that "the idea of having a gathering place in Asia Minor or Palestine is very pleasing to the Saints, because they are anxious to gather to one place where they can be more fully instructed in the ways of God."[8] Later he felt that the only way to successfully carry on missionary work in Turkey would be to have a colony.[9]

There was little further mention of the colony until after the Turkish Mission had been closed because of the massacres in 1896, except in Utah where Hintze was busy at work trying to educate and convince the Church authorities of its necessity and importance. Typical of his efforts is the following from an article appearing in the *Deseret Evening News*.

> . . . . But when the day comes that we shall have a gathering point somewhere in the land, the Saints will have a chance to look after their own and also do something for the thousands of honest souls who are scattered throughout that part of Asia.
>
> It would not take much to begin work there. . . . The people are used to getting along with little and if a location can be decided upon, they would quickly gather and in many instances perform most of the work themselves. What is necessary is a sprinkling of good, sound, faithful Latter-day Saints who would work for the exclusive benefit of a fallen race. . . . And when the day comes that the servants of the Lord shall feel moved upon to take the initiative steps in that direction, I have no doubt that a great work will be done.[10]

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[6] Ibid., July 26, 1889.

[7] Stauffer to *Deseret Evening News*, n.d., *Deseret Evening News*, September 26, 1890.

[8] Stauffer to Teasdale, May 17, 1890, *Millennial Star*, LII (December 4, 1890), 395.

[9] Stauffer to Brigham Young, October 30, 1890, *Millennial Star*, LII (June 16, 1890), 764.

[10] Ferdinand F. Hintze, "Proselyting in the East," *Deseret Evening News*, January 31, 1891, p. 5.

THE LUND-HINTZE MISSION CENTER

On October 13, 1897, just two months after Philip S. Maycock and Andrew L. Larson had been sent to reopen the Turkish Mission, Hintze called on the First Presidency to discuss the welfare of the Armenian saints in Turkey. After considering the tax that had to be paid by the churches and the need for recognition, Hintze stated that "the best way to get a footing in Turkey was to purchase land and colonize it with the native members of our church" and to send eight or eleven families from Zion to settle there and regulate the work. He figured that $1,000 would be sufficient to purchase the necessary land to begin the colony.[11] On November 16 the First Presidency decided that Apostle Anthon H. Lund and Hintze should go to Palestine to seek a suitable place for the gathering of the "Oriental Saints."[12]

According to the newspaper account a great deal of interest was created as soon as this mission was announced. When two special missionaries left Salt Lake City on December 30, 1897, the *Deseret Evening News* announced the purpose and significance of their mission:

> The Saints in Turkey, as in other parts of the world, have a strong desire to gather with their co-religionists, but as it is understood that emigration is virtually prohibited by the Turkish authorities . . . it has been deemed best to send a special messenger to the Armenian Saints to see what can be done to obtain the Turkish Government's permission to select a place within the Turkish empire for a gathering place. . . .[13]

After explaining how this was being done at the solicitation of the Armenian members, who wished to be loyal and "more useful subjects of the Sultan," the article further explains the colony:

> It is in full accord with the views of the Saints to establish a gathering place in the land of promise. For the word of the Lord shall go forth from Jerusalem and the Law from Zion. Probably the time for accomplishment of this still belongs to a distant future, unless indeed it is consistent with the plans of the Almighty to intervene in a special way before long and hasten the latter-day work on. But the mission of Elder A. H. Lund, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, may be looked upon as one of the stages in the great work of gathering Israel and Judah and the coming restoration to pre-eminence of the country where once dwelt the glory of the Lord. . . .[14]

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[11] Journal History, October 13, 1897, p. 2 (Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah).

[12] "A Mission to Palestine," *Deseret Evening News*, December 29, 1897, p. 4.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

The Lund-Hintze party reached Jaffa, Palestine, February 17 and traveled to Haifa where they visited some of the Jewish colonies and obtained considerable information in regard to the work and activities these colonists had accomplished as well as the resources of the country. At the Jewish colony of El Khedera, where they stayed one night, Hintze and Lund found that the colony site of 7,000 acres had cost $126,000 or about $18 per acre. This seemed to be very expensive when compared with $1,000 Hintze had felt would purchase a colony site. After a brief visit to effectively organize the branches throughout the Turkish Mission, Lund and Hintze, along with Maycock, Larson, and a local member, Nishan Shirinian, traveled to Palestine to investigate further possible locations for the colony. Maycock and Larson were taken along because, according to Lund, "I feel the matter in hand is important and I would like their opinion also."[15] He mentioned that they had traveled overland from Aleppo to Damascus and added, "When a stake of Zion shall be established here that will be the route over which the Saints will travel."[16]

The group concentrated their investigation in the Haifa area and after several weeks decided that they would recommend to the Church authorities at Salt Lake City a piece of property called "El Kire," owned by Selim Khory. It was on the banks of the Kishon River, consisted of about 6,000 acres, and was priced at $120,000, including "all good rights desired."[17]

After the departure of Apostle Lund, Hintze, who had been set apart as Pastor to the Turkish Mission, continued his travels throughout the entire Near East, preaching, investigating and writing prolifically to the periodicals in Salt Lake City, describing in detail the land, its potentialities, and the aims of the colony. His published correspondence portrays Palestine as having unlimited opportunities for the hard-working Mormon colonists.

Hintze noted how the Germans had turned acres of the "hardest looking country ever laid out doors" into beautiful, cultivated gardens.[18] He felt that if the Germans could achieve such great success, then the Mormons, with the inspiration of God, would do still better. He continued: "We are not here to arraign them for such [faults and

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[15] Anthon H. Lund to Franklin D. Richards, April 20, 1898, *Improvement Era,* I (July, 1898), 684.

[16] Ibid.

[17] See Anthon H. Lund, "More from the Turkish Mission," *Millennial Star,* LX (May 5, 1898), 278-79; "Editorial Note," *Millennial Star,* LXII (February 1, 1900), 73-75; Hintze to *Deseret Evening News,* June 11, 1889, p. 15; and "Hintze's Journal," April 23 and May 15, 1898.

[18] Hintze to *Deseret Evening News,* May 11, 17, 1898, printed in *Deseret Evening News,* June 18, 1898, p. 15.

mistakes of the Germans] but rather to profit by their example and do better when our turn comes. . . . One of the great points made by these Germans is the possibility of turning the barren wastes into a fruitful vineyard or field."[19] The purpose of this regeneration of Palestine by the Mormon colony was to prepare the land for the return of the Jews. After refuting an expected argument that the task of reclaiming the Holy Land would require too much work and expense, Hintze wrote:

> And when we contemplate that deliverance from the barren waste is at hand and that God is about to gather a second time His chosen people to this promised land, and that we have a mission looking toward the immediate future (i.e., in this generation) of these promises when one of the Stakes of Zion will be planted here, our hearts have swelled with joy and thankfulness to God for His goodness.[20]

It is not fully known to what lofty heights Hintze's dreams soared as he trudged by foot over the deserts of Palestine seeking, investigating, dreaming, and writing of the Palestine colony.

The Church authorities in Salt Lake City could not feel so certain that Hintze's dream would immediately crystalize into reality. On August 7, 1898, Hintze noted in his journal that he had learned by letter that the First Presidency had acted upon the Lund-Hintze report. The Church could not buy the colony site at that time because it had no money. Hintze had more or less expected that the Church would not be able to afford it and had himself recognized that the site offered no opportunity for expansion. He did not give up, however, for he declared after receiving the news, "I am now here in Constantinople for the purpose of trying to do something & I will see what I can do. I know that land & home is necessary for these people. They must gather or we can do little or nothing and I feel to continue to labor in this direction."[21]

At Church headquarters in Salt Lake City, on November 9, 1898, after a long letter was read "from Elder F. F. Hintze in Palestine, who is still engaged in looking for a cheap and suitable tract of land for colonization purposes," President Lorenzo Snow stated that "the Church was not prepared to go into that business at the present time."[22] This ended the most intensive and lofty phase of the Palestine colony scheme.

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid. See also Hintze to *Deseret Evening News,* May 9, 1898, *Deseret Evening News,* June 4, 1898, p. 15; and Hintze to *Deseret Evening News,* September 28, 1898, *Deseret Evening News,* October 29, 1898, p. 11.

[21] "Hintze's Journal," August 7, 1898.

[22] Journal History, November 9, 1898, p. 2.

BOOTH WORKS FOR THE COLONY

Hintze received an associate in his battle for a colony when Joseph Wilford Booth was called to Turkey as a missionary in 1899. During the seventeen years Booth spent as a missionary in the Near East, he worked tirelessly, trying to bring the colony dream into reality. He was converted to the idea early in his mission; only a year after the Lund-Hintze mission, he wrote: "It seems to me the colonization movement cannot be too rapidly pushed."[23] On October 10, 1899, Booth wrote to Hintze at Constantinople telling him that if he would go to Utah and work up the colony scheme and return with fifteen or twenty families and call at Alpine, Utah, and bring Sister Booth, then Booth promised he would stay in the Turkish Mission five more years. He also suggested the names of John Maybe, J. H. Beck, Joseph A. Stubbs, J. M. Jensen and James Clove as men with their families who would make good colonizers.[24]

During the following years Booth made many requests to the Church authorities for the immediate establishment of the colony. In March, 1904, he wrote to President Heber J. Grant of the European Mission requesting a colony.[25] In May of the same year he recorded in his diary, "The poverty this month is touching. More pleas were made for the establishment of something better for temporal aid among the Saints."[26] He later stated that the three wishes of his heart were to get recognition, obtain the Book of Mormon in Turkish, and see the establishment of a colony. If these things were done, then he had great hopes for substantial progress in the Turkish Mission.[27]

Booth's earnest solicitations for a colony received their impetus from the heart-rendering poverty of the members. Following the ruinous massacres of 1894 and 1896, the economic conditions of the members became worse. With the rejection of the colony proposal in 1898, some temporary relief was extended to the members by the Church in the form of cash for food and loans for establishment of some weaving businesses. As the years passed, many of the members became more and more dependent upon welfare given by the Church. There were many factors that produced this condition of continual destitution. The economy of decaying Turkey, with the absence of

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[23] Booth to Francis M. Lyman, *Millennial Star*, LXI (May 25, 1899) 330.

[24] "Booth's Journal," October 3, 1899 (Orignal thirteen volumes at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah).

[25] Ibid., March 22, 1904.

[26] Ibid., May, 1904.

[27] Joseph Wilford Booth, "Turkish Saints Celebrate — Progress in Syria," *Millennial Star*, LXVII (August 24, 1905), 541.

any industrialization, allowed foreign exploitation of native markets. The Armenians as a people were not given equal social or economic opportunities and lived in constant fear of the Turks. To a certain extent, the members lacked drive, ingenuity, and consistency.

Booth's main reasons for the colony related to the desire to help place the poverty-stricken members, who were demoralized from being on relief, on a more self-supporting basis financially. The overtones of Stakes of Zion and the redemption of the Near East are missing from Booth's diaries and correspondence. To him the colony had become a temporal expedient that would allow the members free spiritual growth and development while striving for economic self-sufficiency.

Between the years 1904 and 1907 Booth spent much time investigating problems connected with the establishment of a colony. During this time the idea of renting a village in which the members could live and work together evolved. He discussed the establishment of a colony with several American Consuls and with the American Ambassador, Leishman, at Constantinople. They all promised their support and offered their "well wishes and much advice."[28] He investigated many potential sites and the problem was continually on his mind as he explored every possibility.[29] He spent all of July, 1907, examining available sites, both those for rent and those for sale. One night he went with the United States Consul, Pache, to examine a few large tracts of land. Although they were stony and the water was scarce, he thought wells could be dug and profits could exceed expenses during one year's operation by $2,368. On July 31 a long letter was written to the First Presidency laying the matter before them.[30]

The years 1908 and 1909 brought a new peak in the development of the colony scheme. A letter came from the European Mission instructing Booth to purchase a house for mission headquarters if proper title and deeds could be obtained. Upon inquiry, he was informed by Ambassador Leishman that he could purchase property in Turkey as an individual but not for an institution.[31] No suitable place was found, for every time an agreement was near culmination some deficiency was discovered, such as no water rights, conflicting deeds, or major physical defects in the house.

On February 1, 1908, Booth wrote a strong letter to the First

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[28] "Booth's Journal," September 26, 1905 and March 18, 1904.

[29] Ibid., July 20, 1904.

[30] Ibid., July 24, 31, 1907.

[31] Ibid., March 30 and May 13, 1907.

Presidency in Salt Lake City concerning the condition of the mission and again he suggested a colony and official recognition even if it "cost $50,000."[32] A few days later a letter came from Salt Lake City instructing Booth not to purchase any land for the present. Again in May Booth sent a letter to the authorities and this time his efforts brought a favorable reply, dated at Salt Lake City, July 2, 1908:

> Dear Brother,
>
> Your letter of May 23rd has been read and considered as we improve the present opportunity of replying to that particular part of it in which you state that the Mayor of Aintab has suggested that it would be a good thing for us to start up work in agriculture for our people. . . .
>
> In connection with this suggestion we have referred to your communication of July 31, 1907, and have considered the proposition therein contained about renting a tract of farming land consisting of from 800 to 1200 acres belonging to Mr. Frederick Pache, the Consular Agent at Aleppo; and we have concluded to authorize you to rent this property for such time as you & the elders with you think best.
>
> It is not clear to our mind that we ought to purchase land, to any great extent at least, in Syria, but we consent to your resorting to this renting proposition as a means of ascertaining what, if anything, can be done by way of assisting the poorer class of our Armenian Saints to make an independent living which, if successful, will no doubt lead to our effort on our part to colonize there. But as to the idea of colonization we particularly desire you to make no promise whatsoever in this direction to our Armenian brethren & sisters. . . .[33]

The authorities did not want the members to be disappointed if the colony never materialized. Various other details concerning the importation of machinery and rental agreements were included in the letter. Upon receiving the letter, Booth commented:

> I hope that is a beginning of a realization of one of my long cherished hopes in favor of the Armenian Saints. May the Lord give us wisdom and prosper us in the undertaking if He sees fit to have us begin.[34]

When the letter reached Booth he was in France assisting three Armenian families to emigrate to America. He was very concerned about his absence from Turkey where he felt he ought to be "looking after the matter of starting up an Agricultural Industry."[35] He hurried to Turkey as fast as ships and horse-drawn carriages could take him; but upon his arrival at Aintab, he found a letter from the First

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[32] Ibid., February 1, 1908.

[33] Anthon H. Lund for the First Presidency to Booth, "Booth's Journal," August 11, 1908.

[34] "Booth's Journal," August 11, 1908.

[35] Ibid., August 14, 1908.

Presidency asking him to defer negotiations for the present regarding the leasing of a farm, since some changes had taken place recently.[86]

THE PAGE MISSION

Subsequent correspondence brought the news that Thomas P. Page, a former Turkish missionary who returned home because of illness, was being sent by the Church officials at Salt Lake City to make an investigation of the various sites of land that were available for a colony. President Booth met the Page party on March 2, 1909, at Adana, Turkey. The group consisted of Page and three companions who were tourists. Booth's disappointment is recorded in his diary:

> I talked with Bro Page much concerning his visit and the object of the same. I had supposed that he would be authorized to act in regards to a farming proposition but it seems that he is only to investigate & report at Salt Lake City.[87]

Traveling extensively throughout Turkey, Syria, and Palestine, Booth and Page investigated various tracts of land. They paid special attention to the Jewish colonies in Palestine and found conditions generally very favorable for agriculture. After the completion of these investigations, which lasted about six weeks, Page returned to Utah to report and Booth returned to Aleppo to await further developments.

Four days later the developments came, with the attempt of Sultan Abdul Hamid II to regain the reins of government from the Young Turks. He was deposed by the National Assembly and his brother established as a puppet sultan. This *coup d'etat* resulted in more Armenian massacres. It was at Adana, where, only a few weeks previously, Booth had met the Page party, that the worst massacres occurred. Confusion and terror reigned among the members although the missionaries were not harmed.

The Church officials were considering the Page report when a letter in which Booth described the upset conditions reached them. Booth inquired whether it would be possible to bring the two hundred Church members to Utah while they still had liberty to leave their native land under the new constitution. With the members taken care of, it would be possible to close the mission until the people should more readily manifest a willingness to receive Mormonism. Under the circumstances, the Church authorities decided that the best thing to do was to honorably release the missionaries

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[86] Ibid., September 21, 1908.

[87] Ibid., October 18, 1922.

laboring in Turkey to return home and let the members get along the best they could without missionary aid from America.[88] In accordance with these instructions, on October 1, 1909, Booth and his wife, and the remaining missionaries, bade farewell to the poverty-stricken members, now left alone to face the horrors of World War I and the wanton destruction which always followed unsettled political conditions in Turkey.

With the closing of the mission, the colony plan was reduced from an imminent reality to a longing hope buried within the souls of the missionaries and the destitute members in Turkey.

A NEW MISSION AND A NEW HOPE

The autumn of 1921 found Joseph W. Booth returning to the Near East for the third and final mission. The entire seven year period of this mission was spent almost exclusively in relief and charity work, including the distribution of goods that relatives and friends as well as the Church had sent to the destitute refugees who had been gathered at Aleppo, Syria, in two large houses rented by the Church. From these trying circumstances, constant appeals were made for a colony by Booth. New United States immigration laws practically excluded all the people born in Turkey from entrance into the United States, so that it appeared hopeless to make any attempt to emigrate the members of the Turkish Mission.

In the latter part of 1922, an investigation was made of the possibility of moving the Armenian members to Cyprus, at the suggestion of the European Mission Office. A prompt negative reply from the British Consul killed the suggestion. More pleas were sent to Utah for definite action leading to a colony, while more investigations were made in Syria for suitable land. To ascertain the possibility of growing various crops in the Syrian climate, seeds sent to Booth by his brother in Utah were planted in the courtyard of the refugee home. Both grains and vegetables grew very well, according to Booth, who blistered his hands planting potatoes.[89]

In January, 1924, the Armenian Mission was visited by David O. McKay, European Mission President, who accompanied Booth on a short but active tour of several available colonization sites. They visited many relief institutions supported by the Near East Relief Agency and examined their facilities. Several farms in the Beirut-Damascus area were investigated. During the six months following the departure of Elder McKay, Booth was very active trying to locate suitable facilities for an agricultural colony.

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[88] "Journal History," June 23, 1909, 7-8.

[89] Ibid., May 4, 1923.

While busy with this intensive research, Booth wrote often to Church President Heber J. Grant, including in one letter a suggestion for "a general big drive to collect enough money to cut off further expenses of the Armenian Mission."[40] Although there were unfavorable replies to these suggestions, still investigations continued. Elder McKay offered to come again to the Near East, if needed, to assist in locating a tract of land for rent. He was released shortly after making this offer; consequently all talk and investigation ceased until the new European Mission President, James E. Talmage, could be informed of the purpose and needs for a colony.[41]

The following year Booth expressed his feelings about the colony and the status of the long-cherished dream, first to his diary and then in an historical report:

> For 25 years I have been hoping and longing and urging and praying for the establishment of a colony for the Armenian Saints but so far it has not materialized. We meet with objections and difficulties here and there. A suitable location where land and water and wood, building materials and climate etc. as well as safety from the ignorant and malicious who might be in the neighborhood — all of these must be considered and also something reasonably cheap.[42]

> For the past 25 years there has been talk of establishing a colony for these Armenian Saints where they might be taught agricultural pursuits, stock raising, fruit growing, bee keeping, poultry, etc. Favorable decisions have been made and unfavorable conditions have intervened. Until to this date no action has been taken to bring about this much desired condition. The authorities at home have wisely considered the matter from many angles, and until greater safety is in sight, the scheme has been postponed for at least another year. Yet the purchase of a tract of land either in Palestine or Southern Syria is still recommended at as early a date as possible while land is comparatively cheap.[43]

Thus there was, over the years, a shift in emphasis from a colony to serve as a sanctuary from political and social persecution, as well as aid in the redemption of Palestine for the returning Jews, to a colony that would be a means of agricultural employment for refugee members.[44]

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[40] Ibid., April 16, 1924.

[41] About September, 1924.

[42] "Booth's Journal," May 1, 1925.

[43] Badwagan Piranian, "The Palestine-Syrian Mission," p. 13 (A typewritten history compiled from papers left by Booth in the Haifa Mission Office in 1928, possessed by Piranian at residence in Salt Lake City, Utah).

[44] "Development of Armenian Mission Shown in Report," *Deseret News*, August 15, 1925, p. 10.

HARRIS'S VISIT ENDS THE COLONY DREAM

New hopes were aroused in March, 1926, when Booth received a letter from Heber J. Grant stating that "the Armenian Mission is being considered, and the question of a colony for the Saints here has been talked of. Someone may be sent to see about it."[45] Word was received May 11 from President Grant that Franklin S. Harris, president of Brigham Young University, was expected to take a trip around the world and that he had been requested to "make it his business to spend some little time" in the Armenian Mission to look over the situation.[46] Grant stated further that his personal desire was to have the colony in Palestine rather than in Syria.

When this news was received, Booth, at the suggestion of the American Consul, Paul H. Alling, submitted a report to the Consulate, listing the desires and aims of the proposed colony. This request was favorably received by General Billotte, the French Military Officer (under the mandate from the Treaty of Paris which attempted to settle the problems of World War I), who returned typewritten copies which were forwarded to the First Presidency.[47]

Franklin S. Harris arrived in Beirut from Haifa on February 2, 1927. He and Booth visited with the members of the Church, as well as the American Consulate officials and educators in the American University of Beirut. When they reached Aleppo, Harris spent six days investigating conditions, talking with the members of the Church, inquiring into conditions from government officials, and writing his report to the First Presidency. It was a thorough investigation, and the report brought forth new factors concerning the difficulties of a colony. According to Booth, the ten page report contained the information necessary for the First Presidency to decide on the future of the Armenian Mission.[48]

The comprehensive and objective evaluation demonstrated the advantages and disadvantages of any kind of colony scheme. Harris lists several reasons for the proposed colonization: The East is basically different from the West and, in the Orient, church-membership is not so much a matter of individual conversion through the intellect as it is accepting a system of leadership in social, financial, and religious activities. Hence a different missionary system is required in the Near East than in America or Western Europe. A few long-term missionaries would be far more effective than many short-term

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[45] "Booth's Journal," March 21, 1926.

[46] Piranian, op. cit., 16.

[47] "Booth's Journal," June 18, 1926.

[48] Piranian, op. cit., 18-20 contains copy of report.

elders, and if the new converts are to live the high standards of the Church they must be brought out of the old environment and put under special leadership. Moreover, a colony would be of particular benefit to the Armenian members since they have recently been driven from their homes and are destitute. In addition a colony would make possible an educational program for the children, and it would also attract the attention and interest of many people and could be an effective method of proselyting.

Possible locations for the colony were given, such as Haifa, Jaffa, or Jerusalem in Palestine. Syria also possessed several sites, which were cheaper; however, governmental stability was lacking there. From $100,000 to $200,000 was the estimated cost, with an additional $25,000 to $50,000 necessary for equipment, plus enough more to pay expenses until the project came into full production.

The report showed that only twenty of the 173 members were self-sustaining; all the rest, which included many women and children, were receiving aid. Since investigation disclosed that most of the members had an industrial rather than an agricultural background, the interests could best be utilized in an industrial colony in which good supervision and collective buying and marketing could benefit the members.

The final alternative was to continue giving hand-to-mouth help to alleviate the most extreme poverty, as had been done for the past seven years. This would be much cheaper and the expenses would gradually diminish as the members became better assimilated into their environment. A special suggestion recommended that a respectable mission headquarters be established in Haifa and missionary work be concentrated among the Europeans.[49]

The report got directly to the core of the colony problem. The most significant new recommendation was for the industrial colony, which pointed to the fallacy of hoping for success with an agricultural colony when the prospective members were almost unanimously of an industrial inclination.

As President Booth read and copied the report he foresaw the decision that would be made. He wrote to the First Presidency expressing the joy that the Harris visit had brought to them. Then he resigned himself and the future of the colony into their hands:

> With such a splendid report as Brother Harris has submitted to you for your consideration, we can only await your pleasure in the disposal of the questions involved, and I feel sure that what you do will be for the best interest of the mission in this land.[50]

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[49] Entire summary is from the Harris report, ibid.

[50] Booth to First Presidency, February 16, 1927, in Piranian, op. cit., p. 21.

But his feelings of disappointment and heartbreak slip out in his concluding paragraph:

> You are well aware of the sincere efforts I have made for the last 28 years and of the hopes and dreams and aspirations and anxieties to see a colony of Latter-Day-Saints established in these old Bible lands, founded on gospel principles and to be a living example of light and life and salvation for and to this people so long in the thralls of the blighted customs and traditions and superstitions which have prevailed here for so many centuries, but even after all my fond anticipations, and fervent prayers and earnest longings and at last with a possibility of a crushing of my hopes for such a blessing, I think I have never in all these long years felt more reconciled to willingly and cheerfully and thankfully acquiesce in any decision that the authorities might see fit to make on the report now sent to you by our recent visitor Dr. F. S. Harris. . . .
>
> My greatest desire is to see the work of God prosper and triumph in the Earth.[51]

When a letter arrived on April 10, 1927, from the First Presidency informing Booth that James E. Talmage would soon visit the mission to help secure a mission home in Haifa, Booth knew that his fears and forebodings, so evident in the preceding letter, had been justified. When Talmage arrived he told Booth that "it seems the Church is not ready to secure any great holdings in Syria."[52]

Again the decision was not a violent death blow to the long-cherished Palestine colony dream, but rather a crippling, fatal suffocation. This final, indefinite postponement pushed the colony scheme into the oblivion of historical archives.

One year later, Booth, having moved the mission headquarters to Haifa, died while on a visit with his beloved saints in Aleppo. There in a sandy, desolate cemetery, he was buried along with his hopes, dreams and yearnings of twenty-nine years for a colony in the Near East.

Subsequently, when the mission was reopened in 1933 by Badwagan Piranian, an Armenian who had lived most of his life in Switzerland, no further serious consideration was given to the colony scheme. During his four and a half year presidency, headquarters were maintained at Haifa, and proselyting was carried on thereabouts, with frequent visits made to the Armenian members in Syria. In the course of reorganizing the branches, almost half of the members were excommunicated when Piranian became convinced that "most of the members had joined the Church only for financial

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[51] Ibid.

[52] "Booth's Journal," October 11, 1927.

help"[58] and very few had real testimonies. He regarded welfare with skepticism, stressing individual self-sufficiency. Personally he sought to aid the members to find markets in Switzerland and other countries for their rugs and other woven products. Instructions from the Church specified that money should not be used for marketing the goods. A few missionaries served under Piranian and under his successor, Joseph Jacobs, until the threat of world war closed the mission and again left the members on their own.

Piranian re-opened the mission in 1947, with headquarters established at Beirut, Lebanon, due to the political turmoil in Palestine incident to the creation of Israel. The twenty-odd missionaries who served in the mission during the postwar period found the few (less than a hundred) who were still members in a poor but vastly improved economic condition, as the entire Near East had prospered very much during World War II. Proselyting was carried on chiefly in Beirut among the Christian Arabs, many of whom were refugees from Palestine. The mission gained very few converts. Due to the alleged reasons, among others, that the "people were not ready" and the "unsettled political conditions," the 17 missionaries were transferred to various European missions and the Piranians to California at the end of 1950, the author being the last missionary to leave. The members were attached to the Swiss-Austrian Mission, whose missionaries visited them periodically.

Although the colony never materialized, some of its important objectives have been realized independent of the Mormon Church. Stronger political control has brought economic reform, which together with technological progress, oil, and international trade have resulted in financial independence of the Armenian members, the most important objective of the colony. Furthermore, the millions of dollars collected from world Jewry by Zionist organizations have been poured into Palestine, and along with world technology and talent are beginning to "redeem" the land from its desolate condition. Immigration has brought many of the members to America. Thus the passage of time, with the progress and developments of the world as they have converged on the Near East, have fulfilled the important objectives of the colonial aspirations of the Mormons in that area.

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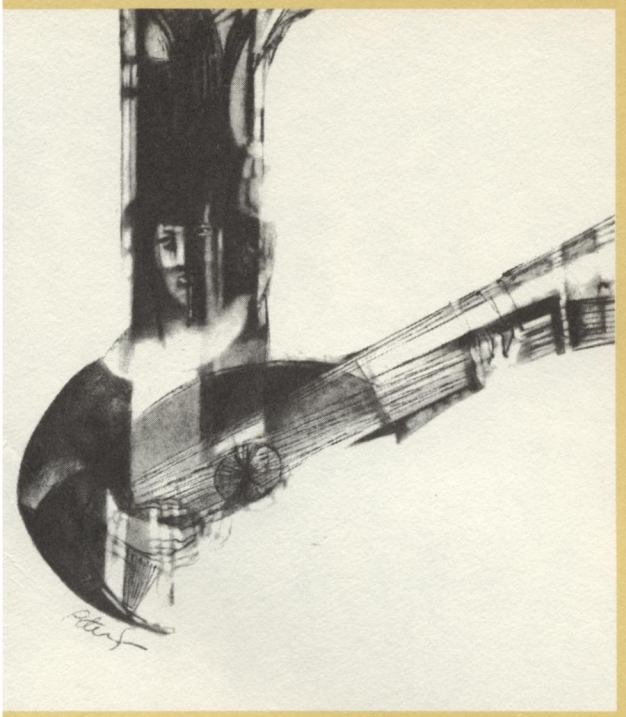
[58] Piranian, op. cit., 42.

The Church is, or should be, a fellowship of those who believe in God as he is made known to us in Jesus Christ — or at least a fellowship of those who now and then believe in God and, believing, catch a glimpse of His deep concern for humanity, and then endeavor — at least intermittently endeavor — to emulate Him. The Church exists not for its own sake, but for the world's sake, and not just for the sake of the believing world — especially not just for the sake of the believing world — but rather for the sake of the confused, dispirited, and aggressive world of unfaith to which it was sent and which stands now as always in great need of the true Church for its redemption.

Today the world of unbelief is all about us—in ourselves, our homes and our societies. It is indeed peculiarly the world of our time, and it needs help. The Reverend Henry Bellows said that the men of his day — about a hundred years ago — were excessively "luminous in their doubts." How much more characteristic this has been, and continues to be, of us! It is of course obvious that we cannot win faith by wanting it, neither by intellection or by volition. Nor is salvation to be found in the study of theology. But can we not now, when occasionally we sense the Holy Spirit — and I believe that most of us, at times, do sense it — undertake to be a little less luminous in our doubts, to be a little more ready to receive than to resist and then, letting it help us to put off doubt, show more confidence in response than has always latterly fitted our mood? Can we who have erred in spirit not come to understanding? Can we who have murmured not learn doctrine? If we cannot do this ourselves, or let it happen in us, how can we hope to influence others toward this end?

Nathan M. Pusey
Memorial Church, Harvard University
September 28, 1966

Guest Artist



Harold Petersen

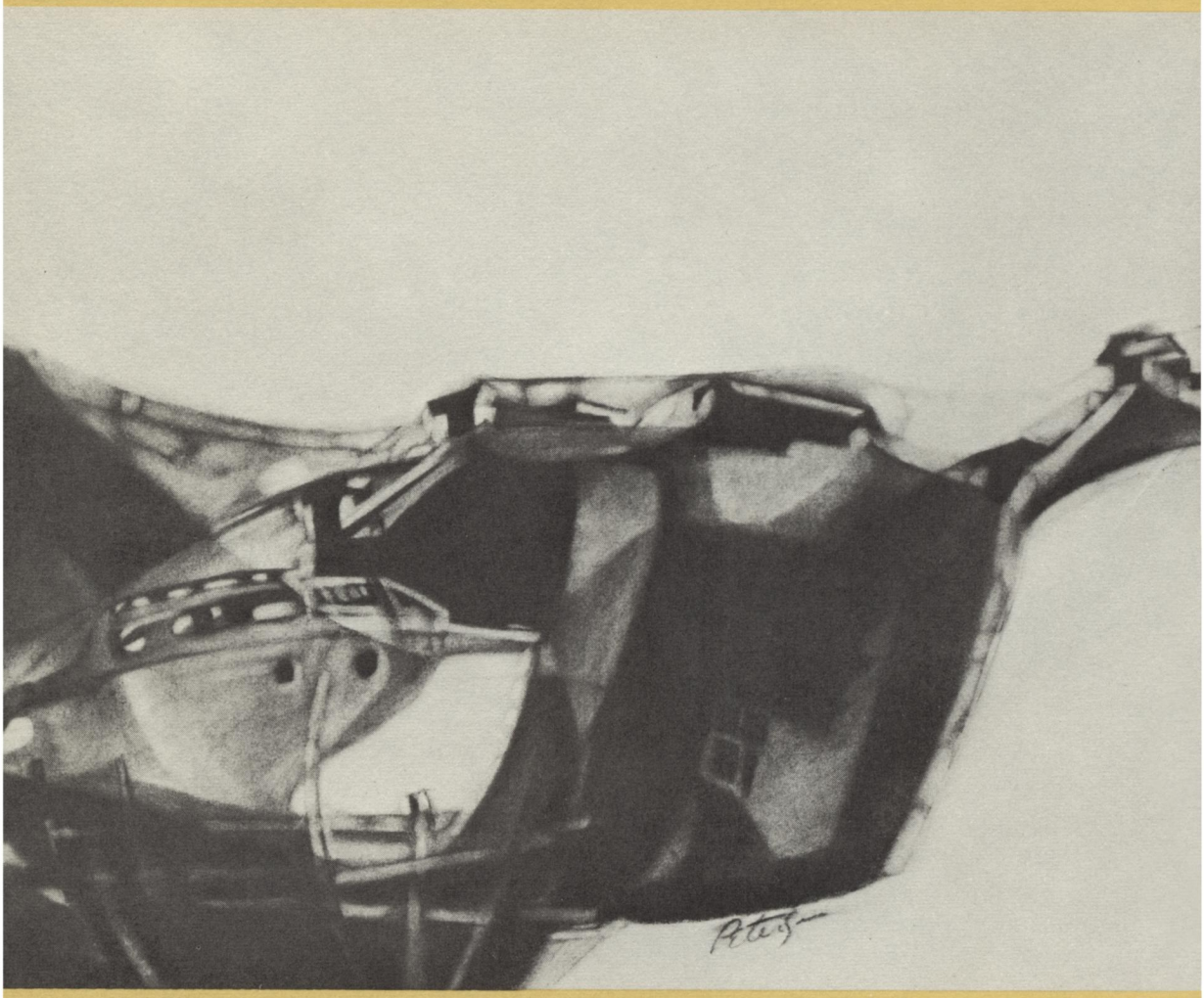
A prominent Utah artist and educator, Harold Petersen has won many art awards, including a recent "Best of Show" for the troubador shown on this page. His academic training includes a BA from Utah State University and an MFA at the University of Utah.

His own philosophy of art and the artist is indicated by the words and works presented here.

" ' . . . to every man is given a gift by the Spirit of God'. D&C 46:11. To those creatively endowed is given a special responsibility to develop their gift, use it and share it with others. Art is merely one form of creative expression . . . the one best suited to me.

"The stimuli that set my mind in motion come first from a deep need within me to express myself as a painter. Beyond that point that need is implimented primarily by things I see. The eyes are the avenue but the mind that directs them is very selective.

"I personally believe that the great artist does not set out to be different. Whether it be in a real 'beatnik' world or in the world of his mind, he projects into his art a depth that no amount of 'stamped on' atmosphere can produce. An artist's way of life is not a reliable way of determining whether or not he is going to be great. What is important is that he be himself."



THIS PAGE: *DRY DOCK*
OPPOSITE: *PRESS BOX*
FOLLOWING PAGE
TOP: *OUT OF BUSINESS*
BELOW: *PARK CITY — WINTER*


DRINK

Roundtable

ART, RELIGION, AND THE MARKET PLACE

Participants: *Marden Clark*
R. A. Christmas
Gary H. Driggs

The subject of this Roundtable is the impact of commercial interests and practices — "the marketplace" — on art and religion. The original essay, asserting common goals for art and religion and a common enemy in marketplace values, was written by Marden J. Clark, Professor of English at Brigham Young University, who has published poems and articles in Brigham Young University Studies. *Professor Clark is responded to by two men with quite different evaluations of the interrelationship of art, religion, and the marketplace: Robert Christmas, a young poet now teaching English at the University of Southern California, and Gary Driggs, former lecturer in the Indiana University Graduate School of Business and presently an economist and business executive in Phoenix, Arizona.*

ART, RELIGION, AND THE MARKET PLACE

Marden Clark

Art and religion share a common end and a common enemy. The common end is the enrichment of the life of the spirit; the common enemy is the market place. That the end, or at least the highest end, of religion is the enrichment of the life of the spirit I take as axiomatic, though, unhappily, religion has not always sought this end. Too often it has sought intimidation of the spirit, in the process belittling both the spirit and the body that houses it. Too often it has sought only its own self-aggrandizement, in the process belittling both itself and its source. Too often it has sought only efficiency of organization and power through organization, in the process denying the dignity and value of what it was trying to organize. But I aim here at another false end of religion.

That the highest end of art is the enrichment of the life of the spirit may not be quite so axiomatic, though I think it should be.

But in a world of art still in the process of emerging from the depths of naturalistic pessimism, and emerging, it sometimes seems, only into the more disturbing depths of certain kinds of existentialism — in such a world art, too, must often seem to have lost its concern for the life of the spirit.

Art has generally proclaimed as its province the whole of experience. Hence we should be little surprised that not all art seems concerned with the spirit, nor that much of it does. But if we broaden, as I think we must, the concept of the spirit to include truth and beauty, which the voice of Keats's urn assures us are already one, then surely most of what we have accepted as art must have its relevance to the life of the spirit. We have no trouble seeing the relevance in *The Divine Comedy* or *Paradise Lost,* in the Sistine Chapel or "The Last Supper," or in Bach's *Magnificat* or Handel's *Messiah.* We should have little trouble seeing it in the intense probings and ironies of a *King Lear* or a *Moby Dick.*

But what about such awesome studies in human degeneration as *Medea* and *Macbeth*? What about that wry satirical questioning of all values, *Vanity Fair,* or all those profoundly questioning novels of Thomas Hardy and Joseph Conrad? Or what about the devastating pictures of a sterile modern society in *The Waste Land* or *The Sound and the Fury*? What about such works, to say nothing of significant works such as *Topic of Cancer* that on the surface, at least, seem even antipathetic to the life of the spirit. I would have, of course, an impossible task to defend in any detail even the few I have listed. The defense would probably start with what I've called "awesome studies in human degeneration," *Medea* and *Macbeth.* For with both I suspect I would have nearly everyone on my side. The point here: what we see degenerating in both is precisely that human spirit which it is the end of art and religion to enrich. But degeneration is the wrong word. Only if we think of its root can we approach the sense I want. For both are studies, really, in *generation,* but in generation seeking after the wrong things, in generation gone horribly awry. In some such direction would the defense move for most of the rest.

That the enemy of religion is the market place we have on high authority: in that whip falling on the money changers; in those soft but ringing words that echo from a hundred of the passages of the gospels — "Take no thought of what ye should wear . . . ," "For what is a man profited . . . ," "Ye cannot serve both God and Mammon . . ."; in the wrath that hurled the first tablets of stone to destruction at the sight of the golden calf. Surely we must sense more than the usual significance that the calf was gold; gold as the

essence of the market place but also gold as the demonic incarnation of all things of the spirit made flesh and then worshipped; gold, in modern terms, as the positivistic proof that God is — and can be — only our own creation. I here consciously, and a little bit unfairly, both limit and extend the meaning of "market place." I limit it to exclude the legitimate function of supplying and distributing human needs. With this function I have no quarrel — only with the exploitation of those needs, or of religion and art. I extend the meaning to include materialism in all of its various manifestations — the money changers in the temple, the trust in things and gadgets, the belief in a totally materialistic universe in philosophy or economics or history (i.e., Marxist economics and history) or religion. Against all these religion stands opposed.

And so, I think, does art. But here I must tread gingerly. For many great works of art have come out of philosophical beliefs in materialism, mechanism, naturalistic determinism. I do not want to give up *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* or *A Shropshire Lad*. But these, like much great art, have sprung not from the belief itself but from intense wrestling with the problems posed by the belief: the insult to human dignity — to the human spirit — posed by the evidence that finally pictured man as caught in a mechanistic universe both outside and inside himself, in both his physical and social and economic environment, in both his physiology and his psychology. Even the workings of the human mind posited as a matter of the balance between positive and negative charges of electricity. We can hardly wonder that the artist should wrestle.

ART VERSUS THE MARKET PLACE IN THE PAST

That the most persistent enemy of art is the market place I can document simply by reference to the running battle art has fought. I do not want to over-simplify here. Most of my examples involve more than that battle. But they do involve the battle. Medea horrifies us with her terrible jealousy and revenge. But in some ways Jason horrifies us even worse with his dull market-place justification: By marrying the king's daughter, he can secure his position in the kingdom! Dante reserves one of the choice spots in his *Inferno* for his usurers, who make sterile money breed. And he himself gets his vision of the Light that is God only after purging himself of everything that could be associated with the market place — and of much besides. Chaucer's Miller who well knew how to "tollen thryce" and his Friar who could tell the state of a man's soul by the size of his gift, these and many more dramatize the battle. Macbeth's ambition is for power, position. But both involve the market. And all the

way from the casket scene and Shylock to the grasping brother of Prospero, Shakespeare explores the problem. Note especially the kingdom divided which sets off the action in Lear. Milton's Christ must resist both bread and the kingdom. And so it goes, to reach a kind of climax with the romantics. The errant son of Wordsworth's Michael never returns from the market place. The mystic experience above Tintern Abbey can come only with the denial of all market-place concerns. Whitman may try to reconcile *every* thing in his "I," but his mystic experience is a union of body and soul, not body and market place. Walden is one long denial of the market place and one long hymn to the life of the spirit. Mark Twain's sharp satire aimed about as often at the market place as any other one thing — though he himself was obviously attracted to the market and almost ruined in it. Huck Finn finds that Miss Watson's market-place version of prayer won't really give a body anything he wants — won't even supply a fishing outfit complete. Note the cupidity that, along with self-righteousness and mere negative innocence, corrupted — and saved — Hadleyburg. Or note the delightfully devastating "Letter from the Recording Angel" in which Twain satirizes the cupidity of Livy's uncle. Even James, so often considered above such considerations, looks sharply at the market place over and over again: in that almost literal market place run by Mrs. Medwin, in which social position and talent are bartered for money; in the using of his *Lady* by Madame Merle and Osmond; in the "values" of Woolett, Massachusetts, juxtaposed against those of the Paris that Lambert Strether is supposed to rescue Chad from; and so forth.

The attack continues, perhaps even with increasing sharpness, into the twentieth century, from Ezra Pound's polemics against usury to Eliot's *Prufrock* caught in his sophisticated but meaningless social market place; from Sinclair Lewis's satiric denunciations of Main Street and Babbittry to Faulkner's Popeye and Flem Snopes, who between them embody practically everything Faulkner sees as evil about the market place: its cold self-seeking, its mechanistic, inhuman sterility, its vicious depthless quality like stamped tin; from the attacks against the modern abstract impersonality of finance banking in Steinbeck or Robert Penn Warren to, even, the revolt of the beatniks against convention and materialism. For the literary artist so persistently thus to define the enemy may not mean that the market place consciously opposes art. But it must mean that artists see the distorted market-place emphasis as the enemy to the life of the spirit.

But if art and religion share a common end and a common enemy,

they also share a mutual distrust — of each other. True, each may use the materials and techniques of the other, but each looks with a suspicious eye at the other. Not in Dante, not in Milton, not even in Swift or Doctor Johnson. But beginning perhaps in the romantic identification of nature or the inner self with God, our poets have been increasingly suspicious of organized religion — though still insisting on the validity, even the supremacy, of inner religion. And organized religion has generally responded as we would expect: by counter-attack. The artist is apt to consider the man of religion narrow, authoritarian, self-righteous, prudish, positive, or just mystic. The man of religion is apt to consider the artist dangerous, irresponsible, impractical, hypersensitive, immoral, or just mystic. For documentation here I trust to common experience. I need hardly point further than the kind of undeclared hostility we all sometimes sense between various departments in our universities. Yes, the dichotomy between art and religion exists. It exists in America. It exists in our churches. It exists on our campuses.

I am uncomfortable with the dichotomy. I am more uncomfortable, though, with what I sense as an almost wholesale sell-out in both camps to the enemy. Neither art nor religion but the market place is winning, and this in spite of the highly publicized revival of interest and activity in both art and religion. Both are making their peace with Mammon.

In the nation at large I need only point to the vast popularity of the Norman Vincent Peale brand of religion to indicate what I mean by the sell-out of religion, Peale abetted by such as *Life, Time,* and *The Reader's Digest.* I can find a great deal of meaning in the "partnership with God" concept until the Bible becomes a how-to-do-it manual and prayer a part of the pitch to sell vacuum cleaners or bonds. Then Madison Avenue and Wall Street have taken over Trinity Church; the sell-out is complete. And the result makes Sinclair Lewis's world of business-become-religion and religion-turned-business seem pure and undefiled.

By documenting broadly the fundamental enmities and by picking out the Reverend Peale to epitomize market-place religion, I have hardly intended to leave Mormons complacent. Surely we have our own popularizers who see religion nearly always in market-place terms, our mission presidents who can speak of baptism — so significant a spiritual event — as "moving a paper," our stake presidents and bishops who judge spiritual welfare by the monthly statistical report. The Reverend Peale's books make only a trickle in the flow — almost now a deluge — of popularized books on religion, and Mormons contribute more than their share. Many of these

books must deserve their popular success. Some certainly do. But I fear that too many of them trade on the embarrassing trait dramatized for Mormons so forcefully — and exploited so fighteningly — by *These Amazing Mormons*: our desire to read good things about ourselves. And it is among Mormons that we hear so often the tale of the tithing that returns many fold in the hour of need, the talk of tithing as our best buy in insurance, or the distasteful joke about it as personal fire insurance; that we hear the strange market-place emphasis given the repeated philosophy of history, "Inasmuch as ye keep my commandments ye shall prosper in the land"; that we hear so much talk of individual awards and see so much display of statistics. Perhaps their connection with the market place is what makes me suspicious of these devices for efficiency.

And what about art? In spite of our lip service to it and in spite of many very fine creative achievements, I fear that much of art, too, has sold out. In one of the fine ironies of history, *treasures* of art have become also treasures of the market place. Not that the market place has gone esthetic, but that it has discovered art treasures as one of the highest paying and safest of all investments. Hence the strange incongruity of a speculative market in painting and sculptures almost as wild as that in uranium. I comment on this not to deplore, though I have some misgivings about the prospect of a $200,000 bonus-baby artist. I comment to take the fact as symbol for the market-place control, via Hollywood or Madison Avenue or television, of so much of the country's artistic talent.

Perhaps "sell-out" is too strong a word. But surely serious art is on the defensive. Not, though, against genuine religion, not against the Master's dictum that we love our neighbor and our God. Not against the Mormon dictum that we seek knowledge out of the best books. But against a market-place psychology that encourages widespread apathy or distrust or promotion of mediocrity, that too often swallows up the aspiring artist or drives him out of church activity because he finds neither understanding nor audience.

Yes, the market place has been able to purchase far too much of both art and religion. And where it has been able to purchase both at once — that is, where both exactly meet in the market place — then Michelangelo's David becomes a gimmick to sell larger burial plots with a better view of the city, and the Ten Commandments become the basis for super-colossals that make us think we have been participating in religious art when we have only been witnessing orgies. Surely there is a higher destiny for both.

Partly, I fancy, the market place has succeeded so well in its exploitation of art and religion just because of the mistrust with

which art and religion have come to view each other. And here I do deplore. I deplore the results, far-reaching and deep as they seem to me. The world is reaping the fruits of market-place religion and market-place art and of the divorce between religion and art. This may be loading things too heavily. Perhaps no amount of mutual trust and support, perhaps not even the strictest denial of the market place by both religion and art, could have prevented the present division of the world. But surely at least part of the cause for it lies in market-place approaches to world politics, at least part in the positivistic philosophy that Moscow shouts as a "barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world" and that we publicly deny and may not even consciously understand as our own.

Regardless, while I am aware of at least some valid reasons for the mutual distrust, I feel certain of the much greater validity in the reasons for a mutual trust and support between art and religion, and for their mutual distrust of the common enemy. That enemy is brash, brassy, subtle and seductive — and convinced of its own righteousness. It can seduce, if it were possible, even the very elect. It can shout to the world, "Think big," or whisper to each of us, "Come, eat, and know." It can tell our young business majors, "The secret of all selling is to learn to love people, really love people; then you can sell bonds unlimited." It will require the combined effort of art and religion to defeat.

They should make that effort. For art is essentially religious. And religion is itself an art in the highest sense, or perhaps a combination of all arts. And each can know more of itself, its own deepest nature, through the other. Religion an art? Not exactly. Not the kind that concentrates on statistics and awards. Not, I believe, the kind that seeks to make God a business partner. But to love God with all one's being and one's neighbor as oneself, to live the life implied in The Good Samaritan, to understand the miracle of the Word made Flesh, to make the word we have flesh in our own lives, to know and make viable in our lives the paradox of the denial of self that only can save — no one can convince me that these do not involve, even require art. Nearly all of us, I suspect, can testify to the sense of artistic and religious identity involved in our deepest religious experiences and more so to our sense of failure in both art and religion because we experience neither more deeply than we do. If my original assertion will stand, that the common end is the enrichment of the life of the spirit, then that common end proclaims a relationship — if not of identity, then at least of fraternity. The support that religion has always found in symbol, in ritual, in music and painting and sculpture and liturgy defines that fraternity, as

does the inspiration that artists have always found in religious event and meditation.

Art is religious? No, again, not often the market-place variety, though it often has religious subject matter, often thinks itself religious. Again I am thinking of the life of the spirit: no enrichment, no art. And again I may be playing a bit loosely with meanings. But in a very real sense, even the simplest kind of imagist poem or of harmony or of design in color has its relevance to the spirit:

So much depends
upon

a red wheel
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens

—William Carlos Williams

If nothing more, just the touch of magic is relevant, the touch that sends the mind in quest of what depends.

PLUMBING THE GREATER DEPTHS

I need not rely too heavily on what is perhaps a tenuous relationship, not with so much of our great art explicitly religious. It is hardly mere accident that so many of our greatest works have grown from conscious celebration of religious event or concept or truth. Hardly mere accident that so many others have grown from the profoundest kind of struggling with problems posed by religion. Hardly mere accident that the western world's two great ages of drama grew, independently, out of religious ritual. And whether we consider tragedy as the highest expression of religious yearnings or as "religious paradox," we can hadly deny that great tragedy speaks to our deepest religious senses.

Or, to look at it differently, if art can help religion defeat the common enemy it can also help to deepen and strengthen our religious experience. Here the relationship becomes very complex. The depth of any experience, artistic or religious, depends largely on the depth of our awareness. Quantity alone can bring depth to neither water nor experience. Both need focus, control, a container. Yes, prayer, my friends from the College of Religion will say. But not only prayer, fundamental though that is. At our best, and using every resource available to us, our experience is able to encompass only a fraction of total experience, to plumb deep enough only to

suggest the greater depths. Any resource that can help deepen and broaden that experience we should be grateful for. We should contemplate the "Sistine Madonna" or "The Last Supper." We should listen to Handel and Bach. We should read *The Divine Comedy* and *Paradise Lost.* With their explicitly religious subject matter they can deepen our own religious experience. We read *The Brothers Karamazov,* especially "The Grand Inquisitor" section, and "free agency" means something different — and more — than it had meant. We read it along with *Paradise Regained* and our understanding, our response, to the temptations of Christ broadens and deepens. No longer just "the world, the flesh, and the devil," they must become the most subtle and profound appeals to all that was best and deepest in His nature, to the very God in Him. We trace Raskolnikov's crime — and the punishment that begins even before the crime — through the windings of his consciousness, we see both crime and punishment become the agents of an eventual salvation, and the concept of "opposition in all things" grows richer and more profound. We live with Wordsworth or Whitman through the emotion of a mystic experience, and we recognize qualities that not even a Prophet's description of the experience has caught.

I should hate to give up many of the experiences in art that deepen my experiences with religion: the fourteen-line cry of Milton to God that He avenge His "slaughtered saints" in Piedmont, or the softer response to the blindness that had lodged with him useless the "one Talent which is death to hide"; the meditations of Donne that tell me "no man is an island"; Hopkins's wonderful comparison of Christ to a windhover or his earlier cry that assures the Lord that He is indeed just, but asks, "Wert thou my enemy, O thou my friend,/ How wouldst thou worse, I wonder, than thou dost / Defeat, thwart me?" and ends, "Mine, O thou lord of life, send my roots rain"; Eliot's *Four Quartets* with their remarkably complex combination of meditation, lyricism, and symbolic development that culminate in a symbolic vision of beatitude. Even the two lines with which Eliot defines beatitude — "A condition of complete simplicity / (Costing not less than everything)" — repay the cost of knowing these poems.

Such explicitly religious poems try to give answers. But the artist may not give us answers at all. He is more likely to give us difficult questions. Or he may send a Captain Ahab around all the oceans seeking to destroy a certain white whale which, at least for Ahab, embodies all evil or brute force or inscrutable malice that lies at the lees of things. He may finally give us a morally ordered universe— as I think Shakespeare does. But in the twentieth century he may

give us only the disintegration, the distortion, that he senses in that universe. But our very awareness of that disintegration or distortion must prelude the search back toward order — if we have lost it. The vicarious experience of the tragedy of being caught in an amoral or inimical, mechanistic universe that a Hardy or Dreiser gives can surely deepen our sense of gratitude, if nothing more, for our own awareness of meaning. It ought, among many other things, also to deepen our compassion, just as creating the novels surely did for both Hardy and Dreiser. We may feel uncomfortable with Kafka's K. as he searches for a way to communicate with the castle. But both our understanding of the complexities of our relationship with Deity and our compassion for K. in his hopeless, mad, humorous quest — both must deepen. And after we watch the piles of documents get thrown around the room in the mayor's office or hear of the stacks of papers that come crashing to the floor of Sordini's office in the castle as he works through them at feverish rate, we may find ourselves a little less willing to be judged out of the books — too often, I fear, a market-place concept of judgment.

But again I'm out where the footing may not be quite firm. I want to retreat — or advance — to perhaps my safest position, to where art and religion exactly meet, to where literature and scripture are one: to those brief but mighty parables, to the psalms, to the Book of Job. All three taught us long ago that religion cannot be a market-place venture. All three combine the finest in both religion and art. All three enrich the spirit. Job's mighty *NO* hurled at the market-place accusation that his plight results from God's punishment and that he need only repent, and God's mighty rhetoric hurled back at Job from the whirlwind — both assure us that it *is* possible to serve God for naught, that is, without thought of personal gain. Both assure us of depths beyond our own experience. And both assure us of the supreme value of the life of the spirit. Job, God assures him, has spoken more truly of God than have the comforters.

Such assurances make me want peace between art and religion. I am ready to proffer the olive branch. Not, however, to the market place. The money-changers defile the temple of arts just as they defile the temple of religion. I want to argue for more than just peace. To borrow a metaphor from the market place, I want a merger — or more accurately a re-merger. I would like to see all of us who are deeply concerned about art or religion or both struggling together toward common goals, not fighting each other. If my analysis of the distrust of art and religion has been accurate, then in a large measure we ourselves are at fault, we as lovers, as students, as creators, as professors of art and of religion. We have accepted too easily our

role on the defensive. We have fallen too comfortably into the position of snipers, satisfied to keep to cover except when the field can be obviously ours.

The first goal of my suggested merger is, of course, the rescue of both art and religion from the market place. Neither is at home there. Neither should be. But the defeat of the market place is not enough. Such a defeat, at least in our personal lives, must precede both religious and artistic depth. What we must work for is the positive enrichment that both art and religion can provide — work for it in both our personal and public lives, both in our studying and teaching and in our own efforts at creativity.

I must hasten to assure that all this is not a plea for didacticism in art. The more I ponder this problem the more I feel that mere didacticism, the kind so often found in our church publications, is foredoomed to failure. Art here takes its own revenge. For to teach meaningfully art must validate its lesson in both our emotion and our intellect. And this the merely didactic in art can do only at the lowest level. Nor am I suggesting Matthew Arnold's substitution of Culture or Art for religion, nor the refuge of art in religion that T. S. Eliot has too often been accused of seeking. Nor, finally, do I want Shelley's apotheosis of the poet. Merger implies the pooling of resources, not the swallowing of one by the other.

We can expect no easy victory. But I find comfort in a perhaps naive faith that the widespread ferment, in the Church and out, of seeking, yearning, and striving for what is of good report will not stop with mere market-place art or market-place religion. I find deep comfort in the power of good art, like the power of truth and of good religion, to emerge — to stand by itself, to withstand time and people and even the market place.

We need such a re-merger of art and religion. Each goes its way alone at peril to itself but at peril to the other, too. But I say it wrongly. Each cannot go its way alone. For whether the man of religion likes it or not he needs and uses the resources of art to arrive at, to define, and to communicate his deepest insights. And whether the artist likes it or not his deepest insights ring with religious overtones — if they are not explicitly religious. For those deepest insights of both spring from what Philip Wheelwright calls "the original and essentially unchangeable conditions of human insight and human blessedness."

The longer I try to live in both worlds, the more convinced I become that the spirit must feed in more than mere breadth, must seek its enrichment in those nether parts of the soul where only the venturesome artist or spiritual man seeks, or in those airy heights

which may require an even more venturesome and spiritual man to reach: the heights of that vision of pure light, which Dante reaches, or of those muted, lovely scenes of rebirth which Shakespeare dramatizes in the final plays, or of that similar scene in which after "some natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon," Adam and Eve wind their way toward a new life, or of those ethereal notes of the "Pastoral Symphony" by which Handel defines in *The Messiah* the peace of the morning of birth — or of that even more ethereal moment in which Christ pronounces the single name "Mary" to her who has thought Him the gardener, a single word at once annunciation and benediction, at once defining both himself and her, at once defining both an old and a new and utterly ineffable relation between them and between Him and all mankind.

In such moments as these the market place is left absolutely behind. In such moments the spirit feeds in both height and depth. Such moments proclaim the enrichment of the life of the spirit as a supreme value. In such moments the eye of the spirit proclaims the identity of art and religion as ministers to the life of the spirit.

THE DICHOTOMY OF ART AND RELIGION

R. A. Christmas

It is easy to sympathize with Dr. Marden Clark's essay, "Art, Religion, and the Market Place" — too easy. We are all, I suppose, concerned about the relationship of religion and art, and on the surface Clark does have some valuable things to say about how that relationship can be improved, and the reasons why it should be — for example, his statement that "each [art and religion] can know more of itself, its own deepest nature, through the other." In making his points, however, I think Dr. Clark tends to misrepresent the history, and in a way, the nature of art; and all too often he lapses into glittering generalities and semantic handstands which may produce an approving nod of the head, but do not add up to a consistent or realistic philosophy of art.

In his first paragraph, Dr. Clark tells us that the "fundamental distrust" between art and religion is "hard . . . to understand," and he suspects that this distrust is based primarily on "jealousy." Hard to understand it may be, but it happens to be an historical fact with more basis than mere jealousy. Sir Philip Sidney probably sums up the reasons — past and present — as well as anyone in his *Defense of Poesy* (1595):

> Now then go we to the most important imputations laid to the poor poets; for aught I can yet learn, they are these:
>
> First, that there being many other more fruitful knowledges, a man might better spend his time in them than in this.
>
> Secondly, that it is the mother of lies.
>
> Thirdly, that it is the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires . . .
>
> And lastly and chiefly, they cry out with open mouth, as if they had overshot Robin Hood, that Plato banished them out of his commonwealth. Truly this is much, if there be much truth in it.

Sidney is talking about literature, but the "imputations" have all been applied to the other arts as well. In fairness, it should be said that these views are not the sole property of religion, nor were they held by all the religious men of Sidney's time; but they do represent the general attitude of religion toward art down to our own day; and they are still very popular opinions. Great artists, as we shall see, have not taken them lightly; and to sum them up as mere "jealousy" is an evasion. There may not be "much truth" in them, but there is some — enough to make Dr. Clark's appeal for a "merger," "re-merger," or "fraternity" of religion and art seem like semantic wish-fulfillment. Sidney, by the way, makes no such proposal in his *Defense of Poesy*.

None of this should come as any particular surprise, especially if we recall our own experiences with the arts. Clark himself states that "art has generally proclaimed as its province the whole of experience." Isn't this enough to create a constant division between art and religion, the assumption that art has the right to explore every aspect of human experience (even the innermost life of religion itself — and its leaders), and even to speculate, on its own, about divine experience? How, for example, is the novelist to live with St. Paul's injunction to the Ephesians that "it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret" (v. 12)? What is the satirist to do, face to face with the scripture, "Judge not, that ye be not judged" (Matthew 7:1)? Anyone who is or has been deeply involved in religious experience, particularly the organized variety, should see the problem: there are some things that one doesn't talk about or criticize, there are experiences that one avoids — many times, of course, for the better. Art, considered generally, has not so limited itself. Artists have reserved — and have had to fight for — the right to entertain without an eye constantly cocked on the salvation of the audience. In another direction, the symbols employed by the arts cannot be off-handedly compared with the symbolism of religion. Sidney writes, "But the poet, as I said before, never affirmeth; the poet never maketh any circles about your imagi-

nation to conjure you to believe for true what he writeth." Isn't this enough to indicate that the methods of art and religion are irreconcilable? The rhetoric of religion, it seems to me, is faith, and its aim is truth; the rhetoric of the artist is doubt, and his aim only probability — as Sidney puts it, "not laboring to tell you what is or is not, but what should or should not be." Henry James has written one of the most accurate, and most just, definitions of the work of the artist, through his character Dencombe, in "The Middle Years": "We work in the dark — we do what we can — we give what we have. Our doubt is our passion, and our passion is our task." This is not to say that art is somehow greater or braver than religion, but only to point out that art and religion are different, that they are likely to remain that way, and that their mutual mistrust and criticism — so "deplored" by Dr. Clark — may actually function for good.

ART AT THE RISK OF SALVATION

There is a serious distortion of art history in Clark's discussion of "the divorce between religion and art," which apparently began with the "romantic identification of nature or the inner self with God" and must end with a "re-merger" if we are to have art that enriches "the life of the spirit." This, again, has a superficial appeal. It is fashionable these days to blame the romantics for our esthetic quandaries. It is fashionable to praise the theocentric Middle Ages and the "unified sensibility" of the Renaissance. "Not in Dante, not in Milton, not even in Swift or Doctor Johnson," says Dr. Clark, do we find religion and art looking at each other with "a suspicious eye" — a popular but quite misleading opinion. True, Milton is never critical of religion *per se* — if this is what Dr. Clark means by "suspicious" — but it does not follow that religion and art were "merged" in Milton's time. Milton himself (and Sidney) knew just the opposite. *Paradise Lost,* for example, is not a reflection of unity; it is rather a huge — and only partly successful — attempt to overcome the dichotomy. Milton's epic form, latinate verse, much of his imagery, and his dramatic techniques are basically secular (the older word is pagan), and they constantly distract readers from his literal aim: to "justify the ways of God to men." To cite only one example, the Romantics considered Satan the real hero — a theory pooh-poohed in this century of faith, but one with a lot of textual and aesthetic support, as A. J. A. Waldock points out in his book, *Paradise Lost and Its Critics.* Dr. Clark is emphasizing one quality at the expense of too many others. He wishes to promote religious art, and Milton is a good general example, probably the best we have. But

even *Paradise Lost* is no proof that the methods of art and religion are compatible. It aspires to the status of scripture, but falls short to the extent that art differs from religion. It justifies nothing; it is simply great art.

What Clark is really ignoring here is that these artists — and one could find parallel figures in the other arts — stand at the beginning and end, more or less, of a movement within Christianity that fought against considerable odds for the right to deal with secular subjects and art forms, a movement commonly known as "Christian humanism." I have already mentioned the opinions that these humanists fought — and are still fighting — against.

Clark's implied "marriage" of religion and art was by no means a settled assumption of Western society up to the romantic period. There was a lot of religious art, to be sure; but art as we now understand it was resisted by religion in various ways all through these centuries. We need only turn to Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* or the *Gesta Romanorum* to see how careful artists had to be to justify the reading of something other than scripture and sermon. Boccaccio, for example, must defend the pagan myths partly on the grounds that they may allegorically shadow forth Christian truths and that the "gods" may be perhaps angels misunderstood by the pagans for lack of revelation. The conscience of the medieval or renaissance artist was by no means as quiet as Dr. Clark's thinking would imply. Chaucer, now revered as a great Christian artist by many, renounced all but his explicitly didactic works in his "retraccioun s." He repented his *Troilus and Criseyde, The Book of the Duchess,* and *The Parliament of Fowls,* works in which many readers today find what appear to be profound religious truths. We cannot afford to pass lightly over this paradox. If we wish to understand the relationship between the artist and his religion, we must recognize that in a sense Chaucer risked his salvation in order to create his marvelous art. We must recognize also that from our standpoint, and his, it was well worth the risk. Another point here is that artists like Milton, Swift, and Dr. Johnson, for all of their so-called religious subject matter and assumptions, would simply not have been possible if the work of justifying the arts had not gone on before. Many of the laborers, like Chaucer and Boccaccio, faltered, or had second thoughts we might say, because they recognize that art is not wholly compatible with the religious life. It is not compatible because it embraces the *Miller's Tale* as well as *Pilgrim's Progress;* art is both frivolous and devout, prophetic and irreverent — satirical, kind, bawdy — we could string adjectives along forever because all language, all sights and sounds are the province of art.

Sidney's sonnet "Leave me, O love which reachest but to dust . . . Eternal Love, maintain thy life in me" is certainly a "religious" work of art; but we need his *Astrophil and Stella* if we are to understand just what this "love which reachest but to dust" amounts to. Finally, it is doubtful that the artists Clark mentions, had they submitted plans for their work to a representative body of religion in their own times, would have received any encouragement. Eventually, as now, religion tended simply to leave the artist alone.

I hope I have said enough by now to indicate that the art of the pre-romantic period is not the result of a marriage or "merger" of religion and art as we now understand it but rather of just the opposite, a growing cleavage between them. At one point Clark states, rather offhandedly, that it is "hardly mere accident that the western world's two great ages of drama grew, independently, out of religious ritual." Indeed they did, but in the case of English drama, the only kind I feel qualified to discuss, the art left the Church and assumed autonomy. One of the reasons for this, obviously, is that the Church could never have permitted the broad and deep probings of character and situation of, say, Elizabethan or Jacobean drama. *Antony and Cleopatra* could hardly be performed in a sanctuary, although there are churches today that would stage it in their holy of holies just to prove some non-existent point about art and religion. Certainly nothing is impossible in churches which permit frugging in the aisles. But the play has almost certainly never been performed in the "cultural hall" of an L. D. S. Ward.

SEMANTIC LEGERDEMAIN

I am also troubled by the extreme generality and ambiguity of many of the key statements Clark makes. The semantic problem alone is formidable, and I will be able to indicate only a few examples. This relates to what I said at the beginning about phrases that produce an easy nod of assent, perhaps a nostalgic sigh, but little more. A phrase like "the enrichment of the life of the spirit" sounds very fine, but what, we may finally ask, does it mean? "No enrichment, no art," Dr. Clark tells us, and at another point he says that we must "broaden . . . the concept of the spirit to include truth and beauty, which the voice of Keats's urn assures us are already one." Now perhaps I am in the minority, but I am not so accustomed to taking my aesthetic "assurance" from Keats's urn — " 'Beauty is truth, truth beauty, — that is all/Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know' " — one of the most cryptic and disputed passages in all of literature and aesthetics. Clark's use of the passage as an *ad verecundiam* is

astonishing; from a rhetorical standpoint it is lazy, and in a sense misleading. "Spirit" has been broadened and confused out of all meaning, and "enrichment" from the very first sounds more like something in cake flour than an accurate indication of what happens to us in the world of art. Will it stand for works of art which may humiliate or drive us to despair? I state this tritely and rather hyperbolically only because we often use a term like "enrichment" as a defense against works of art that disturb, that threaten our values and behavior patterns, works of art that may tempt us — perhaps not explicitly but through our personal reactions to them — to explore or accept the forbidden. Dr. Clark, I am sure, would agree that art which results in or contributes to a nervous breakdown might ultimately turn out to be an "enrichment"; but it is unlikely that his readers will sense this possibility through the sugary rhetoric.

A similar sort of semantic legerdemain is used on what Clark calls "the market place" — the black beast of the essay. He does limit "market place" "to exclude the legitimate function of supplying and distributing human needs," but in the same breath he extends "the meaning to include materialism in all of its various manifestations." By now the article, in terms of its generality, is in orbit — all that is lacking is a few swipes at Karl Marx, Hollywood, Madison Avenue, TV, and Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, which we get. In a surprising passage Clark attempts to document the "running battle art has fought through history" with the market place; and although he does qualify this long summary of works that attack materialism in one way or another, by saying that "most of my examples involve more than that battle," one wonders what all of this is supposed to add up to. Art has fought battles with just about everything over the years, because of the very nature of art. Just because both Jesus and Ezra Pound attack moneychangers, it does not follow that religion and art should be a "fraternity," or that the *Cantos* are modern scripture. We could as easily draw up another list "proving" that artists and materialists should pool their talents simply because both attack religion. It is as if Pound's hatred of the "market place" somehow made him a significant artist, whereas actually it is his gift for language.

Clark's emphasis on the evils of the market place is thus a kind of evasion, whether intended or not, of the real reasons why we do not have more "religious" art today. Mere materialism, I would wager, does not have much to do with it. I am sure that there are historians or economists reading this page who could show that there is no absolute correlation between periods of great art and periods, if such exist, where — somehow — men were not obsessed

with material things. I would suggest that pluralism, a world infinitely larger than Johnson's London, a lack of stylistic training, and just plain lack of interest are some of the general reasons why we may notice a lack of religious art today, or a breach between religion and art. Actually, we have had a good deal of religious art in this century, in spite of this "split" Clark deplores. He mentions enough of it in his essay to slightly contradict the supposed need for a "re-merger."

We do not need a "marriage" of religion and art in order to get great religious art, art that enriches the spirit. As I have tried to point out, it is doubtful if such a marriage ever existed, and the dichotomy has tended to be a creative, rather than a deadening thing. If both the men of the arts and the men of religion are doing their best jobs, this gulf will be spanned naturally, by artists who are capable and worthy of both worlds, who claim the right to speak freely, even of religion, just as the men of religion assume the right to criticize the arts and the artists. Unlike Dr. Clark, I am not "uncomfortable with the dichotomy," nor am I as disturbed by the market place — but I leave this latter problem to better hands. I recognize that both the artist and the man of religion — and the businessman they so often satirize or rebuke — lose something by their concentrations. Judged in terms of the possible results of their labors, it is often something well worth losing. The religious man may lose his humanity, the artist his exaltation, and the businessman his mind, but these are the risks one takes. To assume that life can be lived without taking them, to hope that some sort of "merging" or marriage of disciplines will solve problems, is to believe in an illusion.

IN DEFENSE OF THE MARKET PLACE

Gary H. Driggs

Professor Clark's "Art, Religion, and the Market Place" takes us into a very interesting world in which Art and Religion (the good guys) are engaged in a deathly struggle with the Market Place (the bad guy). Unfortunately, art and religion have not seen, in Professor Clark's world, the need to unify and are currently losing their struggle against the awesome power of the market place. The first difficulty is to determine exactly what the market place is. Professor Clark describes it as excluding the legitimate function of supplying and distributing human needs but extends it to mean materialism and all its various manifestations — from the moneychangers in the

temples to a belief in the materialistic universe, or, as far as that goes, to nearly everything which is bad or evil.

To indicate that one accepts legitimate functions of distributing and supplying human needs leaves more questions unanswered than answered. Who is to determine what is a "legitimate" human need, and when does one leave the area of legitimate human needs and move into the arena of materialistic excesses? To say that one is against excesses is hardly controversial or significant. One could quickly agree that nearly everybody is against excesses and that could be the end of the discussion.

However, Professor Clark is not so much against excesses in the market place as he is against the basic objectives and functioning of an economic system which attempts to emphasize the production of goods and services and to stimulate human needs and desires for a higher and increasing standard of living. It has been the very materialistic drive of the market place — which Professor Clark so deplores — which has driven men on to innovations, inventions, improved methods, products, advertising and so on; all of which have been the great push behind economic growth. While Professor Clark favors supplying legitimate human needs, he fears and distrusts the market place. Material things, goods, money, contracts, factories, and the like are all basically defiled, and art and religion should join forces in "defeating" them. Man is pictured as trapped in a mechanistic universe where the workings of the economic system and its emphasis on increasing wealth make it impossible for him to enjoy either the beauties of art or the spirituality of religion.

Not only do I find difficulty in understanding Clark's meaning of the term "market place," but the words "art" and "religion" also seem vague. Art apparently includes literature, painting, sculpture, and music; but does it include architecture, design in commercial products, journalism, or site planning? Does religion include all religions, Christianity, Judaism, or simply "true religion"?

ENEMY OR FRIEND?

Professor Clark asserts that the most persistent enemy of art is the market place. This is proved by reference to Jason, who secures his position in the kingdom by marrying the king's daughter, and to Macbeth's ambition for power and position. However, do these involve the market place? Greed is not a characteristic unique to the market place or economic system unless one defines the market place to include all sin, and art and religion as being devoid of it. Professor Clark manages to ignore conveniently the fact that a large percentage of the great art and music in past ages was sponsored by

patrons who used market-place earnings to subsidize artists and musicians. A visit to the Old Masters' section of any large museum suggests that the market place and art were more of a partnership than opponents in a state of war. However, Professor Clark is finally able to make his point by falling back on *Walden,* which is "one long denial of the market place and one long hymn to the life of the spirit." It is true that Thoreau rejects the market place in *Walden,* or at least rejects it for a little while. However, Thoreau did manage to take a few provisions from a smoothly functioning economic system and was willing to return to it after he had found sufficient solitude.

While all of us enjoy the pleasure of criticizing the problems of a materialistic and complicated world, we at the same time like to enjoy the comforts of an advanced economic system. Few of us are willing to go back to a primitive society where nearly all of the goods which the family used were produced by its own hands. We all enjoy the fruits of a system which has increased productivity to the point where only a small portion of our total working time is involved in obtaining basic food and clothing for our families. Much of our time can now be spent in the pleasures of reading, visiting art museums, going to church, or in many other discretionary pursuits. All this is made possible by an economic system in which there are not winners or losers in each transaction, but in which both parties to a transaction benefit; a system in which increasing productivity has brought the time near when poverty can be largely eliminated. While the artist may see, as Clark suggests, the distorted market-place emphasis as the "enemy" to the life of the spirit, there are many of us who feel that the development of a highly advanced economic system has made it possible for the life of the spirit to be enjoyed by an ever-increasing segment of the population. Never before in history have the "Great Books" — the literary classics — been available to so many people at such a small cost, never before has education been so accessible, and never before has art ownership and enjoyment been so widespread. Today the opportunity to listen to "live" symphony orchestras is available to nearly everyone in this country. This is all made possible by the market place with its materialistic emphasis and the resultant increase in productivity.

It is certainly true that the market place contains excesses, including those humorously, though ironically, pointed out by Twain. Faulkner and Eliot paint some very depressing scenes of man's condition and one must deplore the excesses of Babbittry depicted by Sinclair Lewis. However, it is in modern society, with all of its materialistic manifestations, that one sees the overwhelming response

of Americans to serve in the Peace Corps, the billions of dollars expended by the country in foreign aid to help less fortunate countries, and the rapid growth of foundations established by people made wealthy by the market place — foundations which devote their time and energy to the betterment of art, music, and literature, and the elimination of disease. Many of the great museums in the country, such as the National Gallery in Washington and others, were largely made possible through donations by individuals, corporations, and foundations which attained materialistic success in the market place. While these foundations and other benefits of the market place do not absolve it of excesses or errors, they suggest that the materialistic developments of the market place have not universally led society to lower and lower levels.

Professor Clark views with alarm the possibility of a sell-out by art and religion to the market place. He abhors the undeclared hostility between various departments in our universities. In this I think he has a point, but it is taken in the wrong direction. Often one of the great hostilities within a university is held by the liberal arts departments towards the business school. A business major who is encouraged by his department chairman to spread out and broaden his experience by courses in art or literature is frequently met in the classroom by a sarcastic remark from the humanities professor about business majors and their insensitivity to the finer things in life. A question raised in class by such a student may often find the response, "That is the sort of question a business major might raise." In spite of this kind of hostility, it is interesting to note that nearly all schools of business include courses on literature or art in special programs which they plan for businessmen. In many cases, the school of business on the campus is offering the olive branch to the liberal arts departments, asking for help in finding a more meaningful way to develop the economic system. Schools of business are increasing their emphasis on human values in business and the need for objectives other than profit. However, many academic people in the liberal arts share Professor Clark's view that there is to be no accommodation with the market place. The moneychangers of the market place defile art, as they see it.

Perhaps we should resign ourselves to hostility between departments within a university. Within the typical business firm, there is almost continuous hostility between the marketing department, production department, and financial department. The efficiency of a business firm is often enhanced by the productive criticism and controversy which comes from the battle between the departments. Within the university context, we might also hope that controversy,

dialogue, and discussion between departments may lead to a deeper understanding by each of its strong points and weaknesses. In a business firm, the manager arbitrates between the departments and forces cooperation in order to produce the product at a profit. In the university, we are also attempting to produce meaningful products in our graduates, but I believe we sometimes fall short in the quality and balance of our graduates due to our failure to make our inter-departmental controversies productive and meaningful.

The notion seems to prevail generally among academic people in the liberal arts areas that somehow people who pursue art, literature, or music are a little more righteous and are contributing just a little more to human development than someone who follows a market-place occupation, such as selling bonds. Professor Clark seems to suggest that, while it would be without question that a composer of music, a painter of pictures, or a writer of prose should and could ask for God's blessings in his activities, it somehow seems sacrilegious for a vacuum cleaner salesman or a bond dealer to be able to send a supplication to God as he goes about his activities. However, one is prompted to think of Paul's admonitions in Corinthians, wherein he suggests that no part of the body can appropriately indicate that it has no need for another part. For a society to function with a well-rounded and balanced program, it requires vacuum cleaner salesmen, bond dealers, writers, musicians, janitors, and artists. I have yet to find statistical or other evidence suggesting that artists, writers, or musicians are inherently more righteous than storekeepers, vacuum cleaner salesmen, or even bankers.

While it is certainly not appropriate to translate religion into another market-place tool and function, it does not seem completely inappropriate to bring into religion terms that people can grasp and understand. Most people spend the majority of their time pursuing their source of livelihood. A person's job usually takes more of his waking hours than religion, recreation, or family. Thus, with some logic religious teachers have tried to translate religion into terms which are understandable and also into terms which could be applied during the time a person is working at his occupation. Religion must not only be meaningful as we are enjoying a spiritual experience at a testimony meeting or as we view a great work of art; but religion must also be a continuing, meaningful expression as one goes about his daily work and his usual contacts with other people.

It seems at times that one of the things Professor Clark is really objecting to is the increased institutionalization of our activities both in the market place and in religion. As a society becomes more urbanized and structured, much of an individual's efforts and activity

becomes confined to his specialized role in turning one of the cogs in the economic system or, so far as that is concerned, in a religious organization. This increased institutionalization requires emphasis on the monthly statistical report and the cold, impersonal decisions that often flow from large corporations or institutions. Nearly everyone would agree that increased urbanization and institutionalization of society causes problems in allowing people to attain their full expression, but it also brings opportunities and blessings, such as increased standards of living, closer contact with universities, museums, art galleries, cultural programs, and recreational facilities.

TREASURES OF THE MARKET PLACE

To Professor Clark it is irony that treasures of art have become treasures of the market place. This is not a purely modern phenomenon, that art through the ages has been supported by the wealthy, the corporations, the controllers of the economic system. Today, as in the past, much of the great art and beauty in the world is being created by the market place. The new towns being built near Los Angeles, Washington, and other cities are employing new concepts of urban planning, with increased emphasis on landscaping and high-quality architecture. Many of the buildings built by institutions and corporations are truly works of art in their design and layout. Many corporations install in their offices works of art which afford the general public unprecedented opportunities to enjoy the beauty which art can create. In nearly every major city there are at least one or two examples of great beauty and art expressed in business buildings and their accompanying art objects. In fact, I think it is probably appropriate to suggest that many of the products which we use (such as furnishings, appliances, and transportation vehicles) express in themselves a quality of art and design not available at any previous time.

I disagree with Professor Clark that the market place has purchased far too much of art and religion. I would argue, on the contrary, that we should seize every opportunity to make the market place and the economic system in which we live more beautiful through greater emphasis on art and religion. Professor Clark, I think, has an excellent point in his suggestion that art and religion should join forces in uplifting man to a higher level of achievement and spirituality. Religion, art, music, literature — beautiful things wherever they are found — can join together in helping man come to terms with himself. As President McKay has so often suggested, the greatest battles are fought within the depths of man's own soul.

It is in this area that art in all its manifestations can assist man in pursuing that which is beautiful and righteous.

While Professor Clark makes a great deal of sense in his proposal to foster greater cooperation between art and religion, it seems to me that he fails in his argument against the market place. To be sure, excesses are always to be deplored whether they occur in art, religion, or the market place. The Savior condemned the Pharisees for their excesses in religion and the moneychangers for their excesses in the market place. At the same time, we find the Savior willing to sit at meat with the publicans and the sinners; we find Joseph and Mary accepting the gifts of the Wise Men; and we find the Savior willing to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's. It is too easy for people in liberal arts to condemn the excesses of the businessman while forgetting the unrighteous conduct displayed by many artists, musicians, and writers. An artist's creation does not justify immorality for him any more than a businessman's success in the market place justifies immorality on his part. We are not likely to eliminate the market place by attempting to reject it. The peace of Walden is possible only if others are willing to work in the market place to provide the supporting goods and services.

I would gladly join hands with Professor Clark and attempt to convince businessmen that profits will not be eliminated if their products are made more beautiful, if their attitudes toward their employees are more benign and if their participation in society is more generous. Success in the market place does not insure a place in the kingdom — nor, on the other hand, does it necessarily deny the kingdom. Evil is not confined to the market place and to the materialism which is an integral part of modern society. By using the products and successes of the market place, it is possible to join with both art and religion in reducing evil wherever it occurs — whether in economic pursuits, in government, or in religion.

LIFE TO THE SPIRIT: A REJOINDER

Marden Clark

My first reaction to Mr. Christmas and Mr. Driggs was to hurry back to my essay to see if I had really said those things. I seemed to be hearing myself through a kind of haze that blurred my original emphasis and tone. My emphasis was that the life of the spirit is a supreme value, that art and religion can cooperate in the nourishing of that life, and that the forces and values I try to define by "market place" oppose art and religion in their task. Re-reading convinced me that my critics do quote my words but that they distort my original emphasis and tone.

But they also catch me in vulnerable spots and raise important issues that deserve an answer. First, however, a note on the genesis of my essay. Two long-time concerns prompted me to write. One was the number of troubled students who came to tell me of their religion teachers warning them that nothing worthwhile could come from their literature classes and that in taking such classes they were jeopardizing their testimonies. I wanted to say something to these students and — indirectly — to their teachers. The other was the growing sense that we Mormons are succumbing rapidly to the very forces of materialism that we so roundly condemn "out there." Hence my two-fold emphasis.

Now to the objections. Essentially, Mr. Christmas opposes my plea for a merger of the forces of art and religion, Mr. Driggs my attack on the market place. Both find the essay rather melodramatic: Mr. Christmas with his "black beast," Mr. Driggs with his "good guys" and "bad guys." More specifically, Mr. Christmas objects that the essay is superficial (the "on the surface" comment in his first paragraph, a nice damning with faint praise), that I distort the history of art, that I perform "semantic handstands," and that the methods of art and religion are irreconcilable.

Mr. Christmas is right to object to my "dismissing" the rivalry of art and religion as "mere jealousy," if that is what I do. The jealousy thing was partly a touch of whimsy that apparently didn't come off, partly a response to the local situations, where I fear it has more than whimsical application.

I can plead guilty to a bit of melodrama without seriously jeopardizing either my basic position or tone. Any discussion of complex problems has to over-simplify. And I can only leave it to our readers to judge the superficiality of the essay. Not very much really hangs on what Mr. Christmas calls my "serious distortion of art history," i.e., that the mutual distrust of religion and art is a comparatively modern thing. But simply that the movement which produced the "growing cleavage" between the two was known as *Christian* Humanism suggests that, whatever the state of their consciences, the artists of the movement generally worked well within the church. I hardly expected, however, to see Sidney used against me in this context. I could hardly ask for a more earnest spokesman than Sidney, who himself was trying to answer essentially the same objections to art that pushed me into writing. Here he summarizes in part his reasons for awarding the laurel to the poet:

> . . . since both Roman and Greek gave divine names unto [poetry], the one of "prophesying," the other of "making" . . . ; since neither [the poet's] description nor his end containeth any evil, the thing described cannot be evil; since his effects be so good as to teach goodness and to delight the learners; since therein (namely in moral doctrine, the chief of all knowledges) he doth not only far pass the historian, but, for instructing, is well-nigh comparable to the philosopher, and, for moving, leaves him far behind him; since the Holy Scripture (wherein there is no uncleanness) hath whole parts in a poetical, and that even our Saviour Christ vouchsafed to use the flowers of it. . . .

I agree that the semantic problem gets in the way. It always does in such discussions. But too much pausing for semantic analysis can sponge up a lot of rhetorical energy — as I risk doing here. Any word or metaphor picks up its complex of meaning from both its large context of general usage and

its immediate context of sentence, paragraph, and total work. I can hardly understand Mr. Christmas's difficulty with "enrichment" and "life of the spirit." In isolated passages, yes. "No enrichment, no art" obviously poses difficulties outside the context of the essay. I work largely with twentieth-century literature. I am only too aware that much of it, like its counterparts in painting, music, and sculpture, sounds on first hearing dissonant, cacophonous, ugly. But this is seldom our final impression on closer acquaintance — that is, if it is art. I would almost let the little aphorism stand as a definition of art. For I consider the artistic process a process of ordering, defining, giving meaning to — even enriching — experience. I certainly do not mean the word merely as a semantic purr.

Nor "life of the spirit." If one can really read through the broad context of allusion and example and still have real questions about what the phrase means to me in the final paragraphs, then I must confess failure — and frustration. A concept at once so vital and so delicate as "life of the spirit" hardly yields to denotative analysis.

With "market place" I am in deeper trouble. Alas! I fear I do expect too much of my little metaphor, trying to make it exclude the ligitimate functions of supplying and distributing human needs and yet include materialism in all its manifestations. Exploitation is the key. But my summary distinguishes three levels: the money changers, i.e., the exploiters of both art and religion; the emphasis on things and gadgets; and the broader philosophical materialism, i.e., logical positivism and its concomitant beliefs in economics, history, and Religion. The first is exploitation by definition; the other two are frighteningly capable of exploitation. To clarify I can here only point to the extremes. I would hope with Mr. Driggs that most business and industry is close to the legitimate end of the scale. I hardly think of Herman Crismon as exploiting me when he services my car at his Texaco station — though the past of the oil industry itself may not bear too close an inspection. Close to the other end of the scale, and in a context most Mormons will find almost too familiar to be very useful in argument, we all recognize the essential evil in the continued promotion of tobacco and liquor in the face of the already amassed evidence of the harm they do. Mormons know the men behind such promotion as "designing men in the latter days." Just such exploitation of human weakness in the name of luxury or salvation but for the sake of profit or power I try to catch in the elastic net of my market-place metaphor. It is only a step beyond this legal exploitation to the illegal traffic in dope or to the exploitation of whole peoples in the name of dialectical materialism. And I must assure Mr. Driggs that I will not feel better about it if The Association for the Promotion of Tobacco announces tomorrow a ten-million-dollar grant for the support of indigent writers — or Mormon missionaries.

One final word on the semantic problem. "Merger" was obviously the wrong word, except as it suggests pooling of resources to get the job done. "Fraternity" comes closer to the kind of cooperation I envision between art and religion. Perhaps I got trapped by my own borrowing from the literal market place.

With that market place I have little quarrel, except that it lends itself so easily to exploitation, to cheapening, and to precisely the reading of history which Mr. Driggs gives, a reading that tends to see social and, though indirectly, even artistic and religious salvation in economic terms. I distrust that

reading. Except as it makes possible my books, my recordings, my reproductions of great paintings, and as it keeps my body alive and comfortable during my quest (I agree with Mr. Driggs that it does all these and I am grateful to it), even this literal market place can have little to do with my salvation. Salvation is internal and personal, not external and social or economic — though again the external and social and economic can help.

And a final note about my essay being "in orbit" around the generalities. I could not take space to document references to Marxism or TV or Madison Avenue or even Dr. Peale. I felt that at least with these and other such forces I could trust simply to allusion and to common experience. But, for me, unfortunately these forces refuse to remain mere generalities. They are great and powerful — some of them even awesome — forces in our world. And they all, I insist, oppose the deepest life of the spirit, some by direct attack, some by subterfuge, some by simply offering the cheap substitute in the name of the genuine.

All this says, of course, that I do not believe the methods of art and religion so irreconcilable as does Mr. Christmas — though "methods" are not really what I want to reconcile. At the extremes some kinds of art obviously cannot be reconciled with at least formal religion. And, whatever, I want no dictation from religion — or anything else — to the artist. But both can and do minister to the life of the spirit.

In spite of my sometimes querulous tone, I appreciate the close attention Mr. Christmas and Mr. Driggs have given my essay. I have had to disregard many of their objections. But they have forced me to take another look at the essay and at the position it develops. That look has caused misgivings along the way. But it has increased my concern about the "market place" as enemy to the life of the spirit and reinforced my belief in the supreme importance of that life and in the art and religion as its supreme nourishers.

From the Pulpit

"FOR BY GRACE ARE YE SAVED"

Lowell Bennion

In this Winter issue we present a special Christmas sermon prepared by Lowell Bennion, who has shared his understanding and appreciation of Jesus Christ and His Atonement with thousands of young men and women through his teaching and his writing for the Church; he is presently Associate Dean of Students at the University of Utah and a member of the L. D. S. Church Co-ordinating Committee.

Years ago, when I was a Mormon missionary, I became anxious when a Protestant minister quoted these words of Paul: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works lest any man should boast" (Ephesians 2:8, 9). And I quickly countered with a familiar text from James, the book which Luther called an epistle of straw: "Faith without works is dead."

For a number of years I continued to teach as the Latter-day Saint way of salvation, individual merit and works in contrast to the emphasis on grace in Protestantism and sacramentalism in Catholicism, both of which rely upon the grace of Deity almost entirely. With co-religionists I prided myself on a faith which stressed individual agency and responsibility, struggle and conquest, works and achievement. The only act of grace usually emphasized in the Mormon church (in my experience) was the crucifixion of Christ, through which man would partake of the resurrection and receive forgiveness. But even here, grace was qualified because one's status in the resurrection had to be merited and forgiveness *fully* earned, I thought, through repentance.

The years have brought a change of heart. I am as committed as ever to man's responsibility for his own welfare and salvation and that of his fellowmen as viewed in the Restored Gospel. Man is not helpless nor depraved nor wholly at the mercy of an omnipotent Deity. The finest goals of life and eternal life will not and cannot be attained without maximum human effort. I am not retreating on any of the basic Mormon doctrines of man and their implications for life: man's eternal intelligence of which free agency is a part, man's inherent capacity for good and evil action — for eternal progression or regression. But what I am coming to see, as never before, is how much *grace* there is in the Restored Gospel.

And, on this eve before Christmas, it is my desire to bring to your attention some of the grace of Christ which is implied in that beautiful declaration of John:

> For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not His Son to condemn the world; but that the world through Him might be saved. (John 3:16, 17)

In the Mormon view of eternal life, grace precedes, accompanies, and completes individual effort and merit. And by grace we mean the unmerited gifts of Deity to man given freely out of Divine love.

According to Mormon doctrine, life as we know it is the creative work of God. In our pre-earth or pre-existent state, He took the eternal, uncreated, self-existent intelligence of man and gave it a spiritual birth, through which man in a very real sense became a child of God (a divinity in embryo) partaking of His spiritual nature, hungering and thirsting to realize the attributes received of his Maker. This pre-earth, spiritual creation — belief in which is unique (in Christian circles) to Latter-day Saints — is, as far as we know, the *gift* of God, born of His love and His desire to share with others His own spiritual life.

Our faith is that *mortal life* also comes by the grace of the Father and the Son. We Latter-day Saints have been taught that we were permitted to come to earth as a reward for keeping our first estate, and by implication we have sometimes felt that we earned mortality. There is some truth here, but too often that truth is shallow and distorted. It is more accurate to say that we were, at best, prepared to profit from an experience in mortality. How does one *earn* the precious gift of life? As surely as there is a Creator in the universe, creation is an act of grace. Who knows what suffering, what effort, powers of mind, what love went into the creation of man? How could man obligate His maker to acts of creation?

I sense a lack of gratitude for life among countless human beings in our culture. Saddened by war and catastrophe, crime and delinquency, old age and cancer, and restless in our quest for material goods and entertainment, all too seldom do we look inside ourselves to discover what wondrous things God has made: eyes with which to see, ears to hear, hands to touch, hearts to feel, an imagination with which to create and reshape life (in some measure) to our taste.

I am not with this emphasis overlooking the stark tragedy of life. With many men in our century, I am saddened by the whole reality of human life, but I can also rejoice in man's capacity to bear suffering, to share its burden, and in some measure to alleviate pain. In the beauty and wonder of nature and in the presence of fellow men and all that they are and have created, I feel to thank my Savior for the gift of life and I acknowledge it as His grace.

I had a brother who always thanked the Lord for the gifts and blessings of the Gospel. The full impact of that statement is just beginning to dawn on me. In good Mormon tradition, I had been taught that each gift of the Gospel had to be earned: the Holy Ghost through faith, repentance, and baptism; the priesthood by a worthy life and a willingness to serve; an answer to prayer by faith and worthiness; and revelation by diligent search, honest inquiry, and faith. This emphasis on my "rights" through good works had blurred my vision of God's grace that comes through the gifts of the Gospel.

Now I realize that what we do by our own effort is to *prepare ourselves* to receive the gifts of Deity. Christ is under no obligation to send the Comforter. This Divine influence is given freely to those who will be sufficiently humble and penitent to be capable of accepting it. And why should God delegate His priesthood — the very power of God to man? How does man *earn* the right to divine power? Surely one cannot speak of divine obligation here.

For years I have taught that revelation usually, if not always, comes to the mind of the prophet and through him to mankind when man is aware of his need, when he thinks, struggles, searches, and somehow turns to God for help. This I still believe. Revelation is a teaching process, and an unwilling, or deaf and blind student cannot be taught. But what I have neither taught nor heard sufficiently is that God's response to man — His revelation of Himself, His Spirit, His mind and will — is not really earned but is born of love, of grace. Why else should He be concerned with man, to hear his plea, to touch his heart, to illuminate his mind?

Gospel teaching itself, through the Spirit of Christ and particularly that by the Master Himself, is a manifestation of divine grace. When a man is paid for his teaching and goes about it in routine

fashion it may be called void of grace. But Christ taught voluntarily, and with artistry and extraordinary intellectual, ethical, and spiritual insights; surely His teaching is one of His greatest gifts to man. I am grateful to have been born after Him. How less rich life would be without His words.

There was a day when the resurrection was mainly a doctrine to me. But as the years pass and my days become numbered I can no longer relegate the subject to theological discussion. I love life and would gladly continue living beyond the grave. Without the Christ, I must confess I would probably be agnostic about personal immortality. Through Him I entertain a hope and a joyful strong trust in the reality of the resurrection. He is in very deed my present Savior from death. How mortal man can earn immortal life as a resurrected, tangible, spiritual being I know not. I accept it on faith as the greatest gift of God to man, and it comes through His Son.

No longer do I believe that a person must earn forgiveness. If he had to then only justice and reciprocity would prevail in relationships between man and man and man and God. But "give" is the main root of the word forgiveness. And there is grace operating whenever anyone is forgiven.

Man is asked to repent to receive forgiveness, I believe, not because the Lord is not forgiving whether we repent or not, but because He knows that man cannot accept forgiveness and renew his life without himself taking some steps to change it.

And Christ is not only forgiving but He is a source of strength to those who would change their lives so they can be forgiven, not least of all by themselves. I met a man years ago in another land, who was in great turmoil because of his shallow and evil life (as he described and judged it). He had tried for years to create a new mind within him — but in vain. I asked him to render a particular service to the Christ each Sunday morning. It was a simple and rather ordinary task in the eyes of most. He was to set the Lord's table with a cloth and trays of bread and water. Mark you, he was not privileged to offer prayers, just to set the Lord's table.

One Sunday morning I met him in the aisle of the church alone before service. He was going about his work. I extended my hand in brotherhood, as is customary in the Church, but he refused and put his hand to his back.

"Have I offended you, brother?" I asked.

"Oh no," he replied, "I have just washed my hands with soap and hot water so they would be clean enough to set the Lord's table; I cannot shake hands with you or with any man until my work is done."

He came to me one evening after church and said, "I'm a new man. I have found my integrity again." Service to Christ, thinking about Him, giving to Him and "to the least of His brethren" in a very simple way led to better things and to a change of mind to repentance and forgiveness.

I suppose the greatest gift we have received from the Christ is the gift of Himself. He lived among men. He revealed to us in word and deed the meaning of humility, meekness, mercy, love, and of moral courage. In our doctrine, God sent his Only Begotten Son into the world because that son had already offered to come — to live and die for men, to give life "and to give it more abundantly" in those dimensions of life most worthy of man.

Christmas is a time of giving in honor of the Christ-child. One of the most obvious evidences of grace in His Gospel is that He asked nothing for Himself:

> Peter, lovest thou me?
> Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee.
> Feed my sheep. (John 21:16)

What gift can we bring to him this Christmas season? What need does He have of us? He asks just one thing:

> Feed my sheep.

He is asking us also to believe in grace, to learn in our dealing with fellowmen to rid ourselves of prejudice, intolerance, covetousness, and hate, and even to rise above justice and to live life on the plane of grace.

In our homes, neighborhoods, communities, the nation and among nations, men need to learn to treat each other with profound respect and with mercy and this without regard to merit or reward. This, I believe, is the Spirit of Christ and the meaning of Chistmas.

Reviews

Edited by Richard L. Bushman

Mormons have appeared in the writing of Wallace Stegner for many years now. His experiences in Salt Lake City as a boy and his research into western history have provided materials for stories, novels and book-length studies. In a review essay on Stegner's work, James Clayton, an admirer of Stegner, assesses his work and his attitudes toward Mormonism.

FROM PIONEERS TO PROVINCIALS: MORMONISM AS SEEN BY WALLACE STEGNER

James L. Clayton

James Clayton, who is regularly Assistant Professor of History at the University of Utah, is teaching this year at Dartmouth. His special interest is in the economic and legal history of the United States.

Utah and her cultural environs of southern Idaho and northern Arizona have produced three significant literary historians: Bernard DeVoto, Vardis Fisher, and Wallace Stegner. DeVoto, perhaps best remembered as a crusader for public causes rather than as an historian, wrote so voluminously that simply to list his works requires eighty-nine printed pages.[1] Among these works are several fair novels and three outstanding works of history, one a Pulitzer Prize winner.[2] Vardis Fisher, known best for his historical novels, has written more than forty books and essays, the most famous being *Children of God,* a novel on the Genesis and Exodus periods of Mormonism, which won the Harper Prize for fiction in 1939.[3] Wallace Stegner, although known primarily for his short stories and a dozen or so novels, has written five works of history or historical fiction, two of which have won national prizes.[4]

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[1] See Wallace Stegner, *et al., Four Portraits and One Subject: Bernard DeVoto* (Boston, 1963), for an excellent analysis of DeVoto as a writer and as a person.

[2] DeVoto won the Pulitzer Prize for *The Year of Decision: 1846* (New York, 1943). His other two major historical works are *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947) and *Course of Empire* (Boston, 1951).

[3] For an analysis of Vardis Fisher's works see Joseph M. Flora, *Vardis Fisher* (New York, 1965).

[4] Some of Stegner's more important novels are: *The Big Rock Candy Mountain* (New York, 1943), *Second Growth* (Boston, 1947), and *A Shooting Star* (New York, 1961). His major works on history are: *Mormon Country* (New York, 1942), discussed below; *The Preacher and the Slave* (Boston, 1950), an historically incisive but fictionalized account of the IWW martyr Joe Hill; *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian* (Boston, 1954), a biography of Major John Wesley Powell and a competent account of some of the western surveys which received the Geographic Society of Chicago Publication Award in 1955; *Wolf Willow* (New

I claim DeVoto for Utah because he was born and reared there, although he never thought very highly of the culture of the Beehive State (at least in his early years) nor of its Mormon residents. Vardis Fisher, born in Hagerman, Idaho, has remained a resident of his home state. Despite the fact that Stegner has lived most of his adult life in California, he spent his teens and college years in Utah; he has said, "If I have a home town, a place where my heart is, it is Salt Lake City."[5]

Each of these eminent authors has written his best history, at least in part, on the exodus of the Mormon pioneers. DeVoto treated the Mormon migration extensively in his Pulitzer Prize winning *The Year of Decision: 1846.* Fisher's *Children of God* is widely considered to be his best work. Stegner's most recent book, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail,* is probably his best history, although some may feel that *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian* made a greater contribution to knowledge. All three of these men have contributed greatly to our understanding of the exodus period, but of the three Stegner is the most objective and the only one who attempts to answer the question, Exodus to what?

I

Wallace Earle Stegner was born in 1909 at Lake Mills, Iowa. Shortly thereafter he moved to North Dakota, then to Washington, and finally to the southwestern corner of Saskatchewan, Canada, where he spent his early boyhood years. His parents were midwestern farmers of Norwegian extraction. His father was an ambitious, footloose, and enormously self-willed man who was ever searching for some Eldorado, or as Stegner himself has put it — the Big Rock Candy Mountain. His mother was a gentle, long-suffering, and sensitive person, constantly wishing for a permanent home. Neither parent realized the object of his desires, but both imbued Stegner with a tremendous will to succeed where they had failed.[6]

York, 1962), "a history, a story, and a memory of the Last Plains Frontier"; and *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (New York, 1964), discussed below, which was given an award of merit in 1965 from the American Association for State and Local History.

[5] Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion,* p. 314.

[6] Much autobiographical material can be found for Stegner's early childhood years in *Wolf Willow. Big Rock Candy Mountain,* a semi-autobiographical novel of Stegner's youth, is also suggestive of ideas, but one must always keep in mind that it is essentially fiction.

Stegner spent his earliest and therefore most formative years on the harsh, wind-swept Canadian prairies, learning to love the rigorous outdoor life that was later to become central to much of his writing. After failing to make a homestead in a lonely corner of Saskatchewan where nature had determined no homesteads should be, the Stegners moved into town — a "dungheeled sagebrush town on the disappearing edge of nowhere." Here Stegner grew to young manhood — precocious, sensitive, physically undersized — and sank his deepest emotional tap root.

Growing up in such an environment and later being required to leave it for richer opportunities elsewhere has given Stegner a disturbingly ambivalent attitude about the West. On the one hand he loves the West, especially the land, with intense conviction. His whole moral system, he says, was formed by this "womb-village" of his childhood — the school of the stiff upper lip — with its emphasis on fortitude, resolution, and magnanimity. On the other hand he believes with equal fervor that the West has an inadequate artistic and intellectual tradition and that it stands for mores that are foreign to the dominant attitudes of our contemporary culture generally. Since any writer must write from what he knows, Stegner feels he is faced with a double dilemma. Because the Western intellectual tradition is inadequate, it is hard for him to discover something to say, and because un-Western attitudes of despair, hyper-sexuality, and disgust dominate the publishing media it is difficult to get a hearing once an idea is discovered. This ambivalence has made Stegner feel he was "born a square," and, as we shall see, affects the tone of what he writes about contemporary Mormonism.[7]

While Stegner was still a young boy, the family moved to Salt Lake City and remained there for the next several years, constantly moving from one location to another in the southeastern part of town. Stegner liked living in the city, especially playing tennis, hiking in the nearby Wasatch Mountains, and playing basketball in Mormon recreation halls.[8] He also liked school and eventually was graduated from the University of Utah with honors in English.

Following graduation, Stegner left the state to do graduate work at the State University of Iowa, possibly because of the emphasis on creative writing there. After receiving an M.A. from that institution in 1932, he studied briefly at the University of California, took a job as instructor at a small college in Illinois, and in 1934 was back at the University of Utah as an instructor of English. The following year Iowa awarded him the Ph.D.

In 1937 Stegner left the University of Utah, shortly after winning the Little-Brown prize for *Remembering Laughter*.[9] From Utah he went to the University of Wisconsin to teach creative writing and in 1939 accepted a similar position at Harvard. Although Stegner stayed at Cambridge for the

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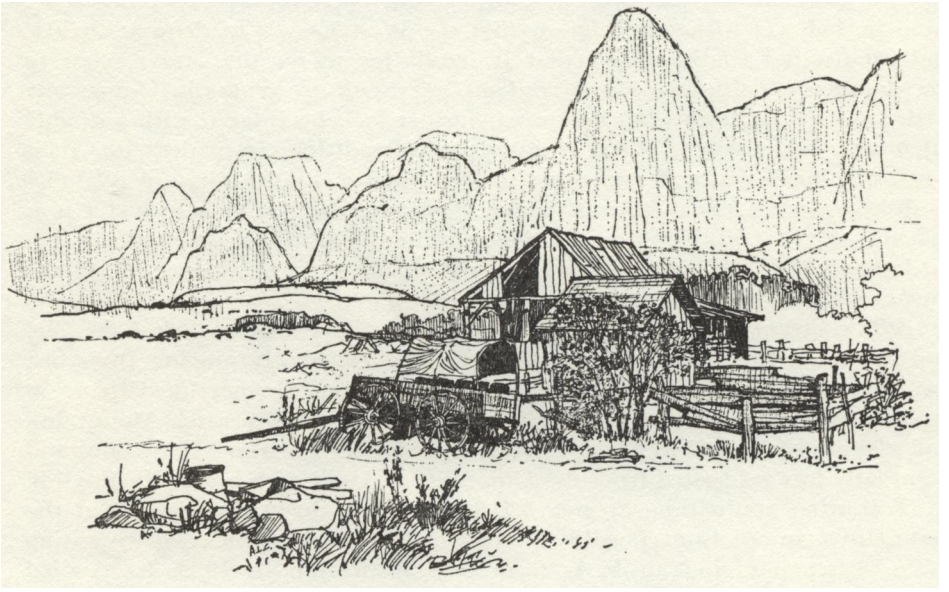
[7] Stegner explains this problem fully and brilliantly in "Born a Square — The Westerners' Dilemma," *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1964, p. 48.

[8] See Stegner's "Hometown Revisited" in William Mulder and A. R. Mortensen, *Among the Mormons* (New York, 1958), p. 474.

[9] Since *Remembering Laughter* Stegner has won a number of other literary prizes. In 1942 and again in 1948 he was awarded second prize in the O. Henry competition for the best short story of the year. In 1950 he received the first prize for "The Blue Winged Teal." He also shared an award with the editors of *Look* for *One Nation*, judged the best book on race relations in the field of creative literature in 1945.

next half-dozen years, he was not happy.[10] He was a Westerner in an Eastern house, a man without family where family means almost more than anything else in the world, an out-going person in the most reserved of sections. Consequently, he returned to the West in 1945 to accept a position as Professor of English at Stanford University. At last Stegner found root, for he has remained there ever since, teaching and writing and directing Stanford's Creative Writing Center.

Today Wallace Stegner is one of the most distinguished writers in western America. He has written eighteen books (five of which may be considered as basically historical works) and may be ranked with such notable authors as Willa Cather, Mari Sandoz, Bernard DeVoto, H. L. Davis, Vardis Fisher, A. B. Guthrie, Paul Horgan, and Walter van Tilburg Clark. What he has to say about Mormonism therefore might well be worth listening to.



II

Wallace Stegner's first major historical work and first work on the Mormons was *Mormon Country,* published in 1942.[11] "Mormon Country," i.e., Utah and its cultural extensions into southern Idaho, western Colorado, northern Arizona, and eastern Nevada, contains, of course, both Mormons and "Gentiles," but the predominant cultural influence of Mormonism has made the name appropriate.

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[10] See Stegner, "Hometown Revisited," p. 481.

[11] Some of Stegner's more important articles of particular interest to students of western and especially Mormon history are: "Ordeal by Handcart," *Colliers,* July 6, 1956, p. 78; "On the Writing of History," *The American West,* Fall, 1965, p. 6; "Born a Square . . . ," *loc. cit.;* "To A Young Writer," *Atlantic Monthly,* November, 1958, p. 88; and "The Personality [of Bernard DeVoto]," in *Four Portraits and One Subject . . . , op. cit.,* p. 79. Also interesting are "A Love Affair with Heber Valley USA," *Vogue,* February 1, 1958, p. 132; and "The West Coast: Region with a View," *Saturday Review,* May 2, 1959, p. 15.

Stegner has much to praise about the results of Mormonism. He finds more human kindness, neighborliness, and fellowship among the Mormons than elsewhere in the United States. They are, he feels, certainly more admirable than many former Gentile residents, such as the Mountain Men, railroad hands, and miners. The Mormons as a people have closely-knit families, are not reckless, and generally speaking are well behaved, healthy, and moral.

Stegner's strongest praise, however, is reserved for the pioneers. Brigham Young was a colonizer "without equal in the history of America."[12] Stegner's narration of the migration to Zion (especially of the handcart companies), the Utah War, and the territorial period as a whole is warm, understanding, and friendly. His account of the United Order is more favorable than most present-day Mormons would have written. Whenever Stegner touches on the attempted conquest of nature by the first settlers, whether successful or not, he is positively disposed toward the actors and eloquent about their courage and suffering.

Stegner's account of the handcart companies in *Mormon Country* is considerably improved in his brilliantly written and evocative "Ordeal by Handcart," which appeared in the July 6th, 1956, issue of *Colliers*. Here is Stegner at his best in treating a pioneer subject, not merely recounting events but branding images in the mind:

> In all its history, the American West never saw a more unlikely band of pioneers than the 499 who were camped on the banks of the Iowa river at Iowa City in late May, 1856. They were not colorful — only improbable. Looking for the bronzed and resolute and weather-seasoned among them, you would have seen instead starved cheeks, pale skins, bad teeth, thin chests, all the stigmata of unhealthy work and bad diet. Spindle-legged children loud with new-found freedom picked around the camp goggling at strangenesses. There were many grey heads and white heads, many women. They looked more like the population of the poor farm on a picnic than like pioneers about to cross the plains.
>
> . . . They had none of the skills that make frontiersmen. But they had some of the stuff that makes heroes.
>
> Mainly Welshmen and Englishmen from the depressed collieries and mill towns, mainly the unsuccessful and poor, they were life's discards. But their intention was so impudent it was almost sublime. Propertyless, ill equipped, untried and untrained, they were going to chance the Mormon Trail across 1,400 miles of Indian country to the Mormon Zion in Great Salt Lake City. And they were going to chance it on foot, hauling their belongings in handcarts.

After describing how the handcart companies finally reached the Valley, the last two companies, caught by snow in the mountains, having endured "one of the worst disasters in all the history of Western settlement," Stegner ends with this memorable passage:

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[12] Stegner, *Mormon Country*, p. 65.

[13] Stegner, "Ordeal by Handcart," p. 78.

> . . . Fremont lost 11 men, the Donner party about 40. The Willie and Martin handcart companies, never able to count their casualties with accuracy, lost well over 200 people. If the nerve and endurance and faith necessary to break the Western wilderness had a single climactic illustration, it was here.
>
> Perhaps their suffering seems less dramatic because the handcart pioneers bore it meekly, praising God, instead of fighting for life with the ferocity of animals and eating their dead to keep their own life beating, as both the Fremont and Donner parties did. . . . But if courage and endurance make a story, if human kindness and brotherly love in the midst of raw horror are worth recording, this half-forgotten episode of the Mormon migration is one of the great tales of the West and of America.[14]

When Stegner moves away from descriptions of the original pioneers and their hardships, as he soon does in *Mormon Country,* he becomes much more critical. Once settlement is established, Stegner views Mormondom as a drab, smug, and colorless society slumbering in its mountain fastness, unaware that it is the "last of the sticks."[15] Conservative to the core, Mormons are "indomitable only in the pack and adventurous only on orders." If there are compensations to living in Mormon Country they lie mainly in the excellent scenery and splendid view of the Wasatch Mountains, but Stegner suspects that, being unimaginative, Mormons seldom notice this splendor.[16]

Stegner's shift of emphasis is particularly evident when discussing the authoritarian aspects of Mormonism. He praises authoritarian characteristics in Brigham Young and the unquestioning obedience of the pioneers as necessary to the success of a pioneer enterprise. But once the wilderness has been conquered, what was once an asset becomes a liability:

> The Mormons were never, in their Church organization or in their social patterns, what we think of as democratic. . . . Within the Church the members have never had even the right of nomination, and even yet, at April or October Conference, it is possible to go into the tabernacle in Salt Lake when a [Church] election is in progress and get a shock from seeing the forest of hands, ten thousand in one motion, go up on every name. It takes courage for a Mormon to dissent. . . . Call it a benevolent despotism. It is not a democracy . . . , and its essentially fundamentalist hostility to free thought has driven a good many of its sons and daughters into something like exile.[17]

This complacent atmosphere, according to Stegner, is a product of Mormon doctrine. Mormonism has "created its share of bigots, parochial intolerants, and authoritarians." Its doctrine has "fostered rigidity of belief, kept women in their place as cooks, housekeepers, and breeding machines, and has subjugated the individual small-fry Mormon to the authority of the Priesthood."[18] Indeed, although throughout the book runs a very evident

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[15] Stegner, *Mormon Country,* pp. 344ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 90-99.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

strand of warm-hearted and often humorous understanding of Mormons (even to the point of misleading some readers into thinking this is all there is to the book), this understanding is never accompanied by a sustained chord of respect for the Mormon religion in the present age. I do not mean to imply that Stegner is anti-Mormon in any sense. What I mean is that to Stegner Mormonism is simply not very relevant to modern society. This fact is central to understanding whatever Stegner writes about the Mormons.

Once the pioneer era is past Stegner looks at the Mormons in essentially the same way he remembers the other persons of his early childhood and youth. They are a people who are basically anachronistic but who still evoke a certain pleasant nostalgia — an uncomfortable reminder of the unpleasant memories of life in the sticks, which one casts off if one wants to become worldly-wise. Mormonism is something sophisticated people read and perhaps write about, but not something sophisticated people practice. Stegner's Mormons are the Mormons he knew in his youth or came to know in his extensive travels throughout rural, Western America — unsophisticated, smug, unruffled. His contemporary Mormons are really only second generation Mormons without the fire and the drive of the pioneers and not yet honed fine by modern society. Essentially they are evocations of the Older Brethren, the clodhoppers of the outlying areas, those who have never heard of Allen Ginsberg and Saul Bellow.

If this analysis is true, Mormonism is only partially relevant to Stegner's first work. He could be describing *any* group of smug, provincial, and naive residents of any part of "the sticks." "Mormon Country" Mormons are indeed generally provincial by contemporary standards, but the environment as well as the doctrine has made this particular segment of the people act in this "peculiar" manner. For example, one finds essentially the same descriptions of smugness and provincialism in accounts of non-Mormons in Willa Cather's *My Antonia,* Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street,* and even more pungently in H. L. Mencken's obituary of William Jennings Bryan. If contemporary Mormons are "peculiar" at all it is certainly not because they are hicks.

Stegner is correct, of course, when he maintains that Mormon doctrine requires that the Church be authoritarian and that the doctrine as interpreted has made the Church hierarchic, conservative, and rigid toward change. He is also on firm ground when he raises the question whether a religion that was exceptionally successful in a simple frontier situation can be relevant to an exceedingly complex urban society. It is a question well worth pondering.

But it seems to me that it is Stegner's own peculiar point of view, his non-religious humanism, that makes it possible for him to accept the authoritarianism and respect the hierarchy of the early pioneers because it had beneficial, practical results in conquering a wilderness and at the same time to reject it out of hand when the frontier is gone, completely ignoring the continuing significance of the hierarchy to intelligent, believing Mormons as a deeply motivating source of divine revelation and authority.[19]

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[19] The methodological problem resulting from the difference in point of view between the believer in supernaturalism as a way to truth and the non-believer is an old one. For a thorough discussion of this problem see John Dewey, "What I Believe," *Forum,* March, 1930, pp. 176-182; Clifton Fadiman, *Living Philosophies, Revisited* (New York, 1938); Lewis

III

Wallace Stegner's most recent work, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail,* is better written but less provocative, better organized but less original and incisive, than *Mormon Country.* The *leitmotif* of the new work is that the Mormon migration from Nauvoo to Salt Lake Valley has been blown up by the descendants of the pioneers from merely a journey into a "rite of passage, the final, devoted, enduring act that brought one into the Kingdom."[20] In short, the memory of the pioneers, that is strong everywhere in the West, has been developed into a dehumanized legend, a myth, and a cult in Utah. Stegner's purpose is to breathe life back into these mythical, dehumanized pioneers. This he does with perceptiveness, and astringent lucidity.

As in *Mormon Country,* Stegner has a profound respect for the Mormon pioneers as people; it is the people, not the doctrine or the geography, that receive the major emphasis. "They were the most systematic, organized, disciplined, and successful pioneers in our history," he says.[21] But Stegner has little patience with anyone who attempts to envelop the first settlers in a nimbus. The pioneers *did not* break a new road west except for a few hundred miles across western Iowa; Jim Bridger *did not* scorn the Great Salt Lake Valley; the leaders *did not* know precisely where they were going before they left Nauvoo or even Winter Quarters; Brigham *probably did not* say "This is the place," although he should have; and the pioneers *were not* all righteous but included some thieves, trouble-makers, bogus-money passers, and some who were just plain hard to get along with. All of these myths have been debunked before by others, and in this Stegner is reinforcing a structure already made, not building a new one.

Where Stegner does the most original work is in his abundant use of individual cases to draw a new composite. Some, like Lorenzo Young, the brother of Brigham, were not particularly bright; others, like Hosea Stout, were understandably vindictive; still others, like William Clayton, less understandably waspish; and a few, like Ursulia Hascall, had total equanimity. What emerges is a group of all kinds of *people* — believable ones — and of all varieties of petty insignificance and lasting greatness.

Stegner paints the leadership of his hegira with the same brush. Wilford Woodruff was "pious, methodical, superstitious, and accident prone." Heber C. Kimball, on occasion, was capable of using vulgarity. Franklin D. Richards sometimes "prophesied" more for tactical than for spiritual reasons. Only Brigham Young escapes virtually unscathed. Stegner, like Vardis Fisher and Bernard DeVoto before him, has a tremendous admiration for Young because he was practical.

There are, however, some weaknesses in *The Gathering of Zion.* A very minor one is that by emphasizing individual cases based on diaries Stegner gives the impression that all Mormons fitted somehow into the categories he

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Mumford, *The Golden Day* (New York, 1926); and especially Mortimer J. Adler, "God and the Professors," in *Science, Philosophy and Religion: A Symposium* (New York, 1941), including a rebuttal to this article by Sidney Hook entitled "The New Medievalism," *New Republic,* October 28, 1940, p. 602.

[20] Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion,* p. 1.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 20.

gives. This method lends drama, color, and authenticity, but it is accurate only insofar as the diaries themselves are representative. One suspects that even among inveterate diarists like the Mormons, certain groups were probably better represented than others. Certainly the diaries of the John D. Lees and Hosea Stouts are more readily available than those of the First Presidencies. In addition, the colorful excerpts are the most often quoted. Still, diaries are the best single source for Stegner's purpose; he has used more of them than any other writer who has written an account of the Mormon migration;[22] and he has used them brilliantly.

Another minor weakness of Stegner's account is its lack of footnotes. This makes it almost impossible to trace his thinking and renders many of his arguments less forceful for the critical reader.

A more serious criticism is that Stegner relies too heavily on secondary accounts of earlier writers who share his basic assumptions about religion. This is only natural. But in the cases of Bernard DeVoto and Fawn M. Brodie, whom Stegner deems worthy of "complete trust,"[23] his major sources are, to say the least, controversial. For the Mormon reader this presents a problem, particularly in the case of Mrs. Brodie. This is less because the results are not scholarly than because these writers ask the reader to agree tacitly and without argument to their assumptions concerning philosophical problems of infinite complexity. Difficult metaphysical labyrinths concerning the workings of Providence, the nature of man, motivation, and historical causation are more often assumed solved from the non-believer's point of view than explained or proved. For example, Stegner writes as if polygamy was primarily a product of "eroticism" and "Caesarism."[24] He assumes that William Law, also a critic of polygamy, is correct in his claim that the faithful Saint had a right to "ten virgins."[25] A writer less sure of the evils of polygamy and more open to its possible origins other than lust might wish further evidence, particularly in light of the fact that Law was excommunicated from the faith. The same thing is true of charges that Joseph Smith asked women already married to become his plural, "spiritual" wives, and that these married women had sexual relations with the Prophet. A neutral observer would want incontrovertible evidence from several sources to support so serious a charge.

Stegner's lack of respect for Mormon doctrine sometimes causes him to misplace his emphasis. Again, polygamy is a good case in point. Too often he uses snickering phrases such as the "pleasures of the multiple marriage bed" when discussing the idea itself and "the full-blooded prophet" when discussing Joseph Smith. Such phrases are obviously replete with innuendo and imprecise; they smack of the lurid accounts of the late nineteenth century. Although there are several documented cases where both men and women entered into polygamy only with the greatest reluctance, I know of no documented case of a person practicing polygamy solely for pleasure. Certainly

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[22] Stegner undoubtedly would have used more diaries if he had been given access to the Church archives. In this respect it is the Church Historian and not Stegner who is responsible for any limitations of data.

[23] Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion*, p. 314.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

the doctrine did not justify such an attitude. Aside from works of doctrine, a close reading of either of Samuel Taylor's excellent fictionalized accounts of polygamy would have suggested a different emphasis.[26] It seems only natural that Stegner would be inclined as an outsider to view polygamy in much the same way it was viewed by the nation; but as an historian he had an obligation to understand beyond what is expected of the public.

Stegner's *Gathering of Zion* is an excellent example both of the best "literary" history we have on the Mormons and of the special pitfalls to which such history is especially susceptible. That it is clearly literary in style, novelistic in emphasis, and visceral in purpose is admitted.[27] That the author has seized every opportunity to dramatize his story is also admitted. And that Stegner has pulled all this off brilliantly is attested to by every reviewer of his book to date. But his strengths are also his weaknesses. Sometimes his drama becomes distortion; sometimes he creates rather than re-creates history. For instance, he goes well beyond the available historical evidence relating to the Danites. They are introduced obliquely and on several occasions as a sinister force to keep recalcitrants in line. They did, of course, exist, but did not have the power Stegner attributes to them nor were they ever in any way an official arm of the General Authorities so far as we know.[28] But these are minor shortcomings, and perhaps it is impossible for one long habituated to dramatizing not to overdramatize on occasion. In any case the faults of Stegner's imaginative mind are more venial than mortal and far easier to excuse than absolutely accurate but pedestrian drivel.

Any overall evaluation of Wallace Stegner's works relating to Mormonism will, of course, be influenced by each individual's personal assumptions about religion in general and Mormonism in particular. Most Mormon readers will undoubtedly have difficulty accepting Stegner's view that the doctrine is not very relevant to modern society. Most Mormons, however, will also find Stegner exceedingly profitable, particularly those who are seeking a balanced and sophisticated appreciation of their faith and those who are weary of 24th of July orations.

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[26] These are: *The Family Kingdom* (New York, 1951), a novel of Apostle John W. Taylor's family; and *I Have Six Wives* (New York, 1956), an extraordinarily incisive but fictionalized analysis of fundamentalistic polygamy today.

[27] See Stegner, "On the Writing of History," *loc cit.*, p. 9.

[28] For a blatantly apologetic but nevertheless interesting analysis of the tendency of writers to build a case against the Danites on skimpy evidence see Hugh Nibley, *Sounding Brass* (Salt Lake City, 1963). For a typical *expose* of alleged Danite activity see Achilles [*sic*], *The Destroying Angels of Mormonism* . . . (San Francisco, 1898).

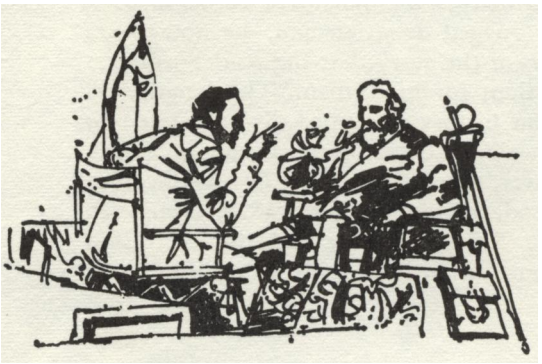
THE LEGEND OF PORTER ROCKWELL

Gustive O. Larson

Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder. By Harold Schindler. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966. Pp. 399. Gustive Larson is Associate Professor of Religion and History at Brigham Young University and the author of many books and articles on Utah and the Mormons. He is presently working on the anti-polygamy crusade.

The sketches in this review are taken from this exceptionally handsome volume. The artist is Dale Bryner.

The history of Mormonism and of early Utah as the two merge after 1847 has customarily featured ecclesiastical and political leaders, leaving others who played significant roles on the fighting front of westward expansion to lurk in historical shadows. Among many such neglected men were Stephen Markham, Ephraim Hanks, Howard Egan, and Orrin Porter Rockwell. Of the last much has been written but, like the vines which cover the sturdy tree, legend has entwined itself so intricately in Rockwell literature as to create a challenging enigma. This challenge has been accepted by Harold Schindler in his book, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder.* The result has been to bring the rugged gun-man more definitely into view but with much of the legendary still clinging to him.



An impressive bibliography reflects thorough research on the part of the author, and absence of discrimination between Mormon and Gentile sources indicates a conscientious effort to be objective. Yet the reader raises an intellectual eyebrow when confronted with an over-abundance of irresponsible "testimony" and sensationalism represented by such names as William Daniels, Bill Hickman, Joseph H. Jackson, Swartzell, Achilles, Beadle, and more recently, Kelly and Birney's *Holy Murder.* The foregoing title and others like "Brigham's Destroying Angel," "Crimes and Mysteries of Mormonism," and "Danite Chief" do not spell objectivity, but perhaps do have a place in reflecting the emotional atmosphere in which Rockwell moved. The author explains it this way: "Whenever possible, I have used primary sources; in some instances it was necessary to consult works considered anti-Mormon. Since an account of Rockwell's life must be the history of a myth, a folk legend, not less than the history of a man, the possible bias of an authority is in a sense immaterial for such a book as this." The reader needs to keep this in mind as he runs repeatedly into old charges and accusations to which he feels time has given appropriate burial. He must also keep in mind that the author's use of "resurrected" scandal does not necessarily indicate his acceptance or rejection of it. On occasion he specifically rejects its validity (pp. 198n., 298).

Nevertheless, after acknowledging the validity of indulging in the use of questionable source material, one is inclined to ask why the author would, for example, prefer a William Daniel's account of Joseph Smith's martyrdom

with its dramatic embellishments, to any of several other eye-witness accounts including those of John Taylor and Willard Richards. Anti-Mormon testimony is given free rein in relation to the shooting of Governor Boggs, especially in an effort to link Joseph Smith with it through the death "prophecies" which Rockwell tried to fulfill. Evidence of these predictions of Boggs's early and violent demise unravel into loose ends as the whole affair becomes unfinished business. After an accumulation of anti-Mormon charges convinces one of Rockwell's guilt, a contrary court decision such as that of Judge Pope (p. 88) throws the whole question back to where it has been for over a century — a state of uncertainty in which each reader decides the case for himself according to his personal prejudices.

The author has organized the materials of his extensive bibliography into a very readable book. However, as he weaves the narrative to serve as a vehicle through which to present the rugged frontiersman, he sometimes dwells to such length upon certain phases of the story that the reader wonders what became of Porter and grows impatient for his return. The lengthy rehearsal of the Missouri phase of Mormon history is supposedly calculated to account for the development of Rockwell's attitudes and frame of mind, which, in fact, it does accomplish. However, there seems to be less justification for relating the entire Walker War episode of late summer, 1853, even with side issues like the Brigham Young-Jim Bridger rivalry and the Gunnison Massacre, before Rockwell finally becomes identified with it in the peace negotiations the following spring.

There is also a tendency to bring the frontier scout into the picture with questionable justification by speculating where "he might have been." A case in point is where the author gives Porter priority by inference when the Mormons first entered Salt Lake Valley: "It is likely . . . in his capacity as scout [Rockwell] was the first member of the pioneer group to penetrate the New Zion" (p. 171). It is recorded that he did serve as messenger between Brigham Young and the advance company, but if he preceded Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow into the valley, the records are strangely silent about it. Again, referring to a Mormon opportunity afforded by the failure of McGraw and Hockaday to satisfy their government mail contract, Mr. Schindler states, without reference, that Brigham Young "called in Rockwell to discuss it, for few Mormons knew the plains better" (p. 28). This sounds like the author is finding a place for his subject in a major venture which began with the

unsuccessful Great Salt Lake Carrying Company in 1849 and continued through the abortive efforts to launch the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company in 1856. If Rockwell contributed substantially to its launching (and well he might have) the fact deserves a source reference.

Where the author gives accurate references, he sometimes takes the liberty of adapting the materials to his own narrative. After giving the George W. Bean autobiography as his source, he proceeds to embellish Bean's account of his visit together with Rockwell to the warlike Utes. Where Bean reports leaving his horse in the care of Rockwell and approaching the Indian camp on foot, the Schindler version has him riding in on horseback until the warriors "pulled the young Mormon from the saddle" (pp. 187-189). It also adds considerably to the trials suffered by the young man as he stood in the center of the threatening warriors. Dealing with the causes of the Walker War, and referring to the Ivie incident in Springville, the author says "this innocent barter on July 17, 1853, ultimately cost the lives of thirty whites and as many Indians" (p. 203). This comment leaves the mistaken impression that the incident stirred Chief Walker's anger, with war resulting, while in reality it was only a spark which ignited an already explosive situation.

The foregoing observations are not intended to obscure the positive qualities of Mr. Schindler's work. *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* is an enjoyable and informative book. As the subject emerges from the legendary towards reality in the hands of the author the reader is introduced to a facet of history usually skirted in objective writing. The author

neither indicts nor clears Rockwell of the dark deeds laid to his charge by the enemies of the Church who insisted that he belonged, or perhaps even headed, an avenging Danite group. That such a group existed in Utah, as it did in reality in Missouri, is in no sense established. But some light is shed on the bitter Mormon-Gentile fringe of Utah history in which the press seemed most willing to participate.

Making a final comment on Rockwell, the author has chosen to be charitable towards his subject and not emphasize the growing rift between him and Brigham Young. The President's defender, scout, and personal friend became alienated from his chief as liquor claimed him increasingly in his closing years. The book ends typically with divergent press evaluations of the life of the man who defended, in his own way, what he regarded as the Kingdom of God on earth.

THE CHURCH TODAY

Leonard J. Arrington

The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today. By Robert Mullen. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966. xvi + 316 pp. $5.95.

The Mormon Establishment. By Wallace Turner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966. 343 pp. $6.00.

Leonard Arrington, who is regularly professor of economics at Utah State University, is on leave this year serving as Visiting Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of *Great Basin Kingdom.*

The emergence of Michigan's Governor George Romney as a strong contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1968, the popular Mormon exhibit at the New York World's Fair, and the spread of Mormon buildings and missionary work into many parts of the world have aroused widespread interest in the beliefs and practices of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In recent months long articles on the Church have appeared in leading national newspapers and magazines. *The Latter-day Saints* and *The Mormon Establishment* are two important books which have been written to capitalize on this interest. Both are by leading non-Mormon writers; both are reasonably accurate portrayals of contemporary Mormonism; and both are written in a style that assures wide sale and distribution. However, the two books differ considerably in their approach and thus, in a sense, tend to complement each other.

A native of New Mexico and former editor of *Life,* Robert Mullen directs the world-wide public relations firm which was employed to publicize the 1955 European tour of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. He presents an undeviatingly favorable image of twentieth-century Mormonism. The principal theme is the "outward-thrust" of church membership due to stepped-up missionary activity. Indeed, *The Latter-day Saints* is the first book by a non-Mormon which focuses on international Mormonism. There are separate chapters on the Church in England, Wales, Scandinavia, Latin America, and Oceania and Japan. As much space is devoted to some of these as to "Salt Lake City in the Jet Age."

In recognition of the fact that Mormonism cannot be understood except in terms of its history, author Mullen has eleven short chapters on "The Joseph Smith Period," and another nine on "The Times of Brigham Young." But the twelve chapters on "The Twentieth Century" represent the principal contribution of the work, with as much space devoted to "David O. McKay and the Great Acceleration" as to the life and times of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. The "modern" section is based essentially on Mullen's personal observations and conversations, in many parts of the world, and on material furnished him by the Church Information Service. Thus, these chapters are the product of "primary" research.

On the other hand, the principal sources for the Joseph Smith and Brigham Young periods appear to be such texts and secondary works as Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials of Church History*; Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons*; and Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom.* Though he devotes considerable attention to Mormon immigration, his bibliography does not mention the works of William Mulder, P. A. M. Taylor, and Gustive O. Larson. Nor does he seem to know Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints.* He follows the custom, not unknown among L. D. S. writers, of incorrectly citing Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* as *Documentary History of the Church.*

Mullen uses history, not as an avenue for discovery of truth as to origins, but as a backdrop which lends drama and color to current programs. Thus, his discussión of the Joseph Smith period begins with a description of the Palmyra Pageant. Some of his history is not very sophisticated, as when he interprets the Mormon Battalion as resulting from an unfair ultimatum from an hostile government forced upon the hapless Saints in a moment of trial and desperation (p. 97). Several other myths which sometimes find their way into Sunday School and seminary classes also find expression in *The Latter-day Saints.*

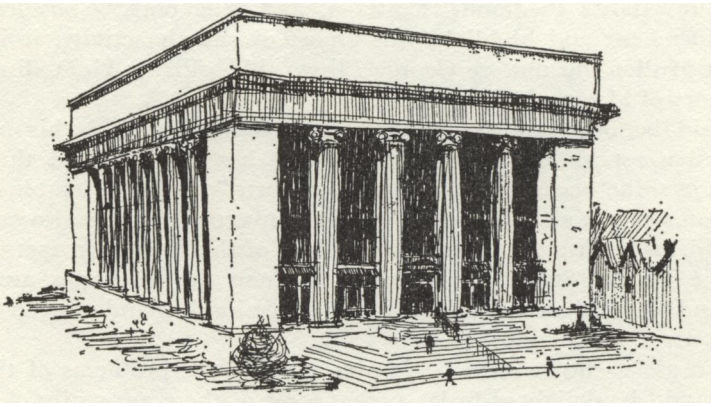
One of Mullen's favorite words is "thrust" — a Space Age word which he uses several times in describing important current missionary efforts and other programs. He correctly points out that internationalism came into the Church very early, with missionary assignments to Britain in 1830's, and the assignment of missionaries soon afterward to such widely dispersed centers as Stockholm, Italy's Piedmont, Santiago, and Singapore. Considering his desire to document and highlight this aspect of church activity, it is unfortunate that Mullen did not see George Ellsworth's brilliant Ph.D. dissertation on "A History of Mormon Missions. . . ."

It should be observed that, although missionary work is his principal theme, Mullen reports only the successes. He has not analyzed the degree of effectiveness, the occurrence of "paper converts," the considerable number of lapsed conversions, and the quality of the converts. There is also very little on the problems confronted by young members of the Church in metropolitan areas of the United States and elsewhere, where the Mormons are a tiny minority, and where the opportunities for companionship and marriage within the Church are seriously limited.

Those readers who tend to be impressed with the problems of the modern Church will be delighted to learn that most of these are really of no consequence. "Mormons," Mullen observes, "have never had the slightest reason to fear education" (p. 230); "theological dissents are virtually nonexistent" (p. 3); church leaders "will answer responsively questions about business affairs" (p. 283); and "the Church does not participate very much in politics" (p. 279). Readers will also be surprised to learn that a temple has recently been completed at Innsbruck, Austria (p. 199)! With respect to the oft-discussed "Negro problem" Mullen (quite correctly) responds: "Those who sometimes suggest that black people are not welcomed in the Mormon community should visit one of the churches in the Fijis. There they will find Mormons of darkest possible hue passing the sacramental bread and water" (pp. 270-271).

Of a far different order is *The Mormon Establishment* by Wallace Turner. Authored by an Alabama-born *New York Times* correspondent in San Francisco, *The Mormon Establishment* is far more critical — though not always adversely critical. Having won a Pulitzer Prize for journalism and served as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, and having covered race riots in Alabama and the student riots at Berkeley, Turner was asked to prepare a series of articles for *The Times* on the Mormons. These appeared in December, 1965. The present book is based on interviews conducted in Salt Lake City and elsewhere in 1965 in connection with the preparation of those articles.

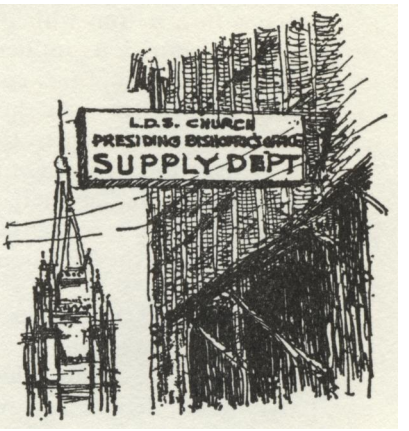
Unlike the Mullen book, which reports on the Mormon presence in such faraway places as Hong Kong, Wales, and New Zealand, the Turner volume focuses primarily on Salt Lake City. And whereas *The Latter-day Saints,* as befits a work by a public relations expert, views church affairs in terms of sweetness and light, *The Mormon Establishment,* in the journalistic tradition, find more news value in clash and conflict than in quiet progress and consensus. Turner's book comes closer to being a pathological report on the cancers and viruses of Mormonism. The focus is on "divisive forces," on disagreements, stresses, and strains. At least two-thirds of the book deals with "Polygamy Today," "The Anti-Negro Doctrine," and "The Rightists and the LDS Church." There is a fine appreciation of George Romney, whom Turner obviously admires, and of the political liability to that devout member of the Church's timid stand on Civil Rights.



For journalistic effect, Turner sometimes uses expressions that will alienate his L.D.S. readers. For example, he refers to the pioneers as "the group of religious fanatics who followed a man named Brigham Young . . ." (p. 2). On the other hand, he also uses words like "dynamic, forceful, successful, and selfless," describing the Saints (pp. 32, 59); and "strong, vigorous" in describing the religion (p. 45). The book is not always well-digested. Various passages and facts are repeated, creating the impression that each chapter was written in the form of a separate news story.

Such misstatements and misconceptions as occur seem to be principally the result of the failure to "check out" statements which cropped up in conversations. For instance, it will surprise Sam Weller to know that he dare not exhibit a copy of Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* in his book-

store: He must keep it under the counter and put it in a bag as one might do a bottle of "hootch" (p. 10). Turner also uncritically repeats tales of the "Avenging Angels" (p. 18), and declares that a faithful Latter-day Saint "must give 10 percent of his *gross* income to the bishop" (p. 40). Turner declares: "Every important action taken in Salt Lake City is shaped by the realization that the Mormons own the town" (p. 3). This will be news to the tens of thousands of Saints who have had to endure the cross of J. Bracken Lee — eight years as governor and going-on eight years as mayor. If not anti-Mormon, Lee has never been accused of being pro-Mormon!* Turner also accepts the far-fetched estimate that "as many as 30,000 men, women and children are living in polygamous marriages in the 1960's" (pp. 168, 214). Finally, Bryant Jacobs, who is something of a landmark on the Brigham Young University campus, will be shocked to read that it was really University of Utah faculty members who wrote the English literature lessons for the Relief Society.



Such lapses can be forgiven in the face of Turner's accuracy on other topics over which other reporters have stumbled. Turner has good perspective on the church's relation to the political and economic life of the region, and his data on Church finance seem sound. Disposing of many myths about church wealth, Turner points out that "the 'great financial empire' of the LDS Church would begin to fall on its face within thirty days if the tithing income were cut off" (p. 132).

Turner finds the chief defect in Mormonism today to be the tendency of the Church to use its "dynamism to solve little problems when it could try to solve the big ones" (p. 60). In this connection Turner quotes with obvious approval Ed Moe, a University of Utah sociologist and community planner:

> In the early days, the church devoted its fundamental strength to solving the practical problems of living, such as land settlement, irrigation, and building. These things had a sacred nature to them, and the things that were ordered done were ordered done in the name of the Lord. All of this gave a strength and vitality to the day-to-day life. Today . . . the community suffers because of the emphasis on such things as genealogical research when the time could be better spent trying to work out a means of keeping pollution out of the Great Salt Lake. . . . People seem to spend eighty per cent of their available time on church projects and have no time for the real problems (pp. 84-85).

In the long run, writes Turner, the greatest problem facing the Mormon Church is "the need for an accommodation for the growing numbers of intellectuals" (p. 311). For the immediate future, however, "far and away the

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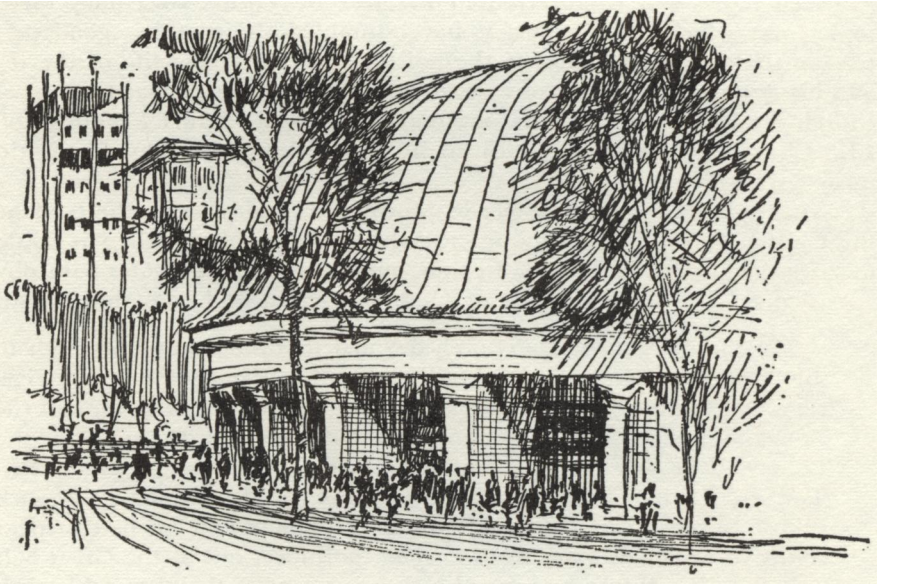
* Many readers of this journal will surely agree with Turner that Lee "stood up against almost every liberal thought since the abolition of slavery. (The record does not show if he was questioned about abolition of slavery)" (pp. 277-278).

major problem" is "the Negro question" (p. 311). On this matter Turner is far from clinically analytical. In an emotion-tainted outburst he writes:

> The LDS church practices racial discrimination. It clings to that practice in a nation which is going through terrible struggles to overcome the pernicious influence of other organizations with anti-Negro bias. The philosophy is completely unAmerican. It resists the American view that no man should be penalized for his race. So long as the LDS church clings to this racist practice, it is a political and social cancer. . . . the overwhelming Mormon response to the current drive by Negroes to better their condition in American life has been indifference, inattention, irritation and smug self-satisfaction that few Negroes live in the Mormon centers (pp. 228, 229).

Basically, however, Turner finds the Mormons to be "fine people." "Their contribution to American life," he concludes, "has been considerable. With a few exceptions, . . . I find their doctrine to be humane, productive of progress, patriotic, wholesome and praiseworthy" (p. 331).



THE HISTORICAL JOSEPH

Hyrum L. Andrus

Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet. By John J. Stewart. Salt Lake City: Mercury Publishing Company, 1966. 256 pp. $4.00. Hyrum Andrus, Professor of Modern Scripture at Brigham Young University, has written two books on Joseph Smith and is preparing a four-volume work on the life and thought of the Prophet.

Professor Stewart has given us a well-written biography of Joseph Smith. The book is divided into sixteen chapters, many of which draw their titles from key statements in Mormon literature that concern the events treated in the chapter. Judged by its nature and content, Professor Stewart's book is designed to introduce Joseph Smith as a man who claimed to be a prophet of God to the general reading public. As an introductory work, it serves an appropriate purpose and is essentially accurate. The reader's attention is kept alive by the steady flow of events and by the interesting way in which Stewart presents the history of the Mormon Prophet.

Professor Stewart corrects some misconceptions about Joseph Smith thoughtlessly perpetuated by many writers. One of these is the myth that the Mormon Prophet was essentially a visionary man with no real ability in practical affairs. Brigham Young, according to this version, was a down-to-earth realist with few if any significant spiritual qualities. The truth is that both men had great spiritual powers, and both relied implicitly upon the manifestations of the Holy Spirit in their lives. In his ability to commune with with the Infinite, however, Joseph Smith was far superior to Brigham Young. Both men were also natural leaders. But here again, Joseph Smith possessed abilities far above those of Brigham Young. Brigham Young did exceed the Prophet in the ability to accumulate wealth according to ninteenth century practices. But in the ability to organize men and project plans and schemes designed to benefit people, Joseph Smith was far in advance of his successor. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find one practical operation initiated by Brigham Young in the West that was not patterned after something Joseph Smith did.

There are some limitations in Professor Stewart's work that should be noted. It is not a comprehensive nor a profound analysis of the Prophet. The writer frequently relies upon a single source of information, the Prophet's *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* when other sources that would enhance the accuracy of the story are readily available. Having read this book, the serious student of early Mormon history is left to ponder the merits and demerits of another general, and at places superficial, treatment of the life of Joseph Smith.

Though well written, the volume lacks depth and at times is in error, not so much in the general picture it reflects as in the details. Samuel Smith was a younger, not an older, brother of the Prophet (p. 9). Alvin, the eldest brother, died in 1823, not in 1824 (p. 22).[1] Martin Harris did not visit noted

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[1] One task of an historian is to re-check accepted facts against original evidence. The date generally accepted for Alvin's death is November 19, 1824. But this is obviously an error. For example, on September 25, 1824, the *Wayne Sentinel,* a weekly periodical published at Palmyra, New York, carried an article written by Joseph Smith, Sr., repudiating rumors that Alvin's body had been exhumed and dissected. To counter these rumors, the elder

linquists in the East merely to satisfy his own curiosity concerning the record Joseph Smith claimed to possess. When the angel Moroni revealed the ancient record in 1823, he stated that "the scripture must be fulfilled before it is translated, which says that the words of a book, which are sealed, were presented to the learned; for thus has God determined to leave men without excuse, and show the meek that his arm is not shortened that it cannot save."[2] After Joseph Smith obtained the plates, his mother therefore explained: "The first step that he was instructed [by the Lord] to take in regard to this work was to make a *facsimile* of some of the characters, which were called reformed Egyptian, and to send them to some of the most learned men of this generation and ask them for the translation thereof."[3] It was to fulfill this requirement that Martin Harris was sent by the Prophet to the East.

Another erroneous view which Professor Stewart accepts and passes on to his readers concerns the history of the translation of the Book of Mormon. After Martin Harris lost the manuscript book of Lehi, the Prophet did not "start over" again by translating the Small Plates of Nephi to take the place of the lost manuscript (pp. 26-27). Instead, a thorough study of the problem indicates that he continued translating from the Plates of Mormon until he had finished this part of the Book of Mormon.[4] Only then did he translate the Small Plates of Nephi. Professor Stewart also perpetuates the popular, but erroneous, view that Joseph Smith received instructions to translate the Small Plates of Nephi shortly after the loss of the Book of Lehi. The revelation containing these instructions (now section 10 of the Doctrine and Covenants) is currently dated as having been received in the summer of 1828. The original date assigned to this revelation (and that which was given in every printed edition of the revelations until many years after the Prophet's death) was May, 1829. Despite what historians read into the meaning of Joseph Smith's introduction to this revelation, historical evidence conclusively supports the original date. Not until May, 1829, after Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had been translating for some time, did they receive instructions to translate the Small Plates of Nephi and fill the historical gap caused by the lost manuscript.

It is on points such as these that Professor Stewart reveals his shortcomings as an historian. To cite another example, the only reason Oliver Cowdery desired to translate was because he was not content with being a mere scribe (p. 28). Stewart fails to mention that before that time Cowdery had received the keys of translation jointly with the Prophet, giving him the right to translate.[5] Again, Professor Stewart mentions that Joseph Smith once ordained David Whitmer to be his successor and that this fact is evidence that Joseph was very impressed with David in the early years of their association (p. 30). But a thorough analysis of the matter affords a different conclusion. David

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Smith and others had visited the grave and uncovered the body and found it to be undisturbed. This evidence indicates that Alvin could not have died in November of that year. The headstone at his grave bears the date of November 19, 1823.

[2] *Messenger and Advocate*, I (February, 1835), 80.

[3] Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City, 1954), p. 114.

[4] Due to the limitations of time and space, the facts that bear out the above conclusions cannot be given here. This writer expects to present them in the first volume of a contemplated four-volume work on the Prophet.

[5] Doctrine and Covenants, 6:25-28.

Whitmer was chosen to preside over the High Council in Zion. This council was a presiding body in the Church, on the General Authority level of church administration.[6] Until the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was organized in 1835, the High Council in Zion stood next to the First Presidency in the government of the Church. In the proper order of succession in the Priesthood, David Whitmer, who had been ordained an apostle, stood next to the Prophet in the event of Joseph's death or apostasy.[7] The fact is that Joseph Smith was very reluctant to call Whitmer to that high position; and it was only after he had expressed serious doubts about David's dedication and loyalty to the cause of Zion that he reluctantly proceeded with the appointment.

Professor Stewart points to Joseph Smith's lack of ability as a grammarian as the only reason the manuscript of the Book of Mormon went to the printer "woefully lacking in punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, and other mechanical and grammatical details" (p. 34). Had Joseph Smith been properly schooled in the rules of grammar it seems proper to conclude he would have attended to these matters. But the fact should also be stated that the Prophet claimed that the Book of Mormon was a translation of an ancient document, and in ancient times punctuation marks were not used. Some forms of punctuation originated in Alexandria, then the center of ancient learning, several centuries after Lehi left Jerusalem. But even then it was not until the 9th century after Christ that division of sentences by period, colon, and semicolon began. Professor Stewart fails to mention this side of the story and accredits the whole matter to the Prophet's lack of education, whereas the evidence indicates that Joseph Smith was not interested in tampering with the manuscript by inserting the needed grammatical details. It is better to have an accurate translation that is ungrammatical than an inaccurate one that is grammatically polished. Punctuation marks can make a difference in the meaning conveyed by a document. Having been a school teacher, Oliver Cowdery had a fair knowledge of the rules of grammar and could have taken care of these matters, had the Prophet so desired. But it was only when the printers raised the issue and put pressure on him that Joseph Smith reluctantly permitted the manuscript to be punctuated.

In summary, Professor Stewart has made a conscientious effort to give the reader an unbiased biography of Joseph Smith. He has used as a primary source the Prophet's own history — a body of information as complete and accurate as any historical collection known to man. Here Stewart's work stands in vivid contrast to most, if not all, treatments of Joseph Smith by non-Mormon writers. Though this book is inaccurate in some points of detail, it is well written and worthy of the general reader's attention.

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[6] *Ibid.*, 107:37. After the Saints left Missouri, this body was disorganized since it was designed to sit at the center place of Zion.

[7] *Ibid.*, 18:9. See also *Journal of Discourses*, VI, p. 320, where Brigham Young states that David was an apostle. As the "second Elder" in the Church, Oliver Cowdery should have been considered as the Prophet's successor, but at this time he was out of favor due to serious indiscretions on his part.

A CITIZEN IN POLITICS

Paul Y. Hammond

Michigan State House

George Romney and Michigan. By Richard C. Fuller, New York: Vantage Press, 1966. 119 pp. $2.75.

Paul Hammond, who is now with the Rand Corporation, has taught political science at Yale and Columbia. He is the author of *Organizing for Defense: The American Military Establishment in the Twentieth Century.*

This little book is about George Romney's introduction into public life and politics in Michigan. The partisanship of the author, an aide in the 1962 gubernatorial campaign, is meticulously restrained, but never out of sight. A modest, unpretentious effort, the book is a simple and rather narrow journalistic summary of Romney's involvement and victory in the 1962 race. It lacks stature either as biography or as political analysis, but is a serviceable reference to a subject of growing contemporary interest.

As a campaign aide, the author could observe Romney first hand, yet he treats us to only a few glimpses of Romney close up. He interprets Romney mostly through the writings of other journalists. Fuller states that his book is an attempt to answer questions asked him "in interviewing hundreds of people during the Romney Campaign," questions such as "Why does a good clean guy like Romney want to get into a dirty racket like politics?" (He does not answer the question.) A first-rate piece of journalism could tell us more about Romney and his motivations on the basis of a two-hours' interview than Fuller has. The misfortune for Mr. Fuller's readers is that he might have given us so much more — an illuminating impression of Romney based on more exposure to him than any other journalist is likely to get for a long time.

Fuller reports his belief that "his religion is the key" to Romney (p. 23). Let us be clear about it: we have here one Mormon writing about another. The statement that religion is the key to the man simply falls flat in Fuller's explanation of Romney's politics. Romney's "belief in the fundamental worth of the individual as God's greatest creation," Fuller writes, "which belief supplied the theoretical basis of Citizens for Michigan and much of his political platform, can be traced to his Mormon religion. Phrases and ideas involving these tenets will invariably crop up in a political discussion with George Romney" (p. 23). The trouble is that Romney and the Mormons are not the only ones in the United States who believe in the "fundamental worth of the individual as God's greatest creation." One has not said very much, therefore, to say that this belief "supplied the theoretical basis of Citizens for Michigan." Moreover, the CFM has not been the distinctive amateur political group which Fuller's statement would imply. "Non-partisan" politics has a long and rich history in the United States. It helps to mark the limits of partisanship (which are essential to mark, as moderate Republicans learned if they had forgotten it, at the Republican National Convention in 1964). Romney's CFM may have some claim to distinction because it was not organized to conduct electoral campaigns but to effect program and policy changes. But so was the League of Women's Voters, organized just after World War I.

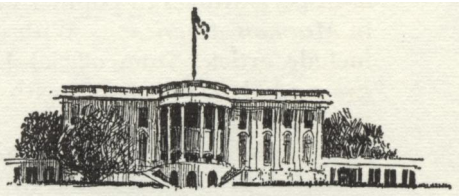
Although, as I have said, partisanship is restrained, the book adopts all the major postulates of Romney's position. Fuller says that Romney repre-

sents a new Republican force. Yet Fuller abandons to their critics, as Romney did in 1962, the old guard Republicans who controlled the legislature. According to Fuller, Romney was an underdog, fighting an entrenched Democratic machine. He played down his partisan Republican label, faced a supposedly solid front of labor support for the Democrats, and won with less than a 3% margin. There is no discussion of the fact that he did little for his party. This partisan failing, which Romney has attempted to redress with great efforts in his 1966 campaign, is referred to only in the comment that no other Republican won a statewide executive office in 1962, so that Romney's "cabinet" members were all Democrats.

The picture Fuller draws of the incumbent Governor Swainson's campaign organization is of an extraordinarily weak and ineffectual operation, based entirely on labor unions, which in the end Romney substantially breaches. Fuller's description is at variance with his claim that Romney was the underdog. Rather, it leaves one to wonder why Romney did not win much more decisively. He seemed to be running against a house of cards. Perhaps Fuller has missed this incongruity because he characterizes Romney as the Governor did himself in the campaign (a characterization mostly related to his own strategic position in Michigan politics) that is, as the amateur, non-partisan citizen running against a powerful party machine around which are clustered selfish "interests."

Doubtless Romney looked good from a non-partisan viewpoint in the 1962 campaign. The amateur up against professionals always does — at least to middle-class voters who are alienated from the professionals. But it is difficult to believe that his campaign was run completely without dealing with the interests as interests. Maybe that is the truth. Maybe he really is the honest man on the white horse. Fuller suggests as much, though not insistently, in his introduction. But he has not provided us with the evidence to sustain the point in his book. In presenting his case for Romney versus the interests, he has failed to tell us much about how Romney came to grips with Michigan politics. He has given us a warm and colorful hero, but one who is mounted on cardboard.

Romney would be foolish not to play what is left, after his 1966 electoral victory, of his amateur standing for what it is now worth in Michigan and national politics. But he is now, unavoidably, a professional, competing with other "pros" in a process requiring highly cultivated skills. The large question which his career now poses is whether he can assemble and exploit the quite different resources he will need to operate successfully in national politics — for example, a personal staff competent in foreign policy and non-Michigan state politics. A book which addressed the 1962 campaign as the early phase of the professionalization of Romney, rather than in the false dichotomy of the amateur vs. the professionals, would have distinct limitations for anyone now interested in Romney's presidential aspirations. But it could illuminate Romney's initial adaptation to political life at the state level, and possibly something about his capacity to develop into the wholly professional politician which Presidential politics demands.



The White House

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

The perversion of the mind is only possible when those who should be heard in its defense are silent.

Archibald MacLeish

Robert A. Rees, Assistant Professor of English at the University of California at Los Angeles, has written the following survey of articles and essays in Mormon studies appearing in various periodicals over the past year. Mr. Rees's special interest is American Literature and he is publishing widely in this field; he has had extreme experience with periodical searching and indexing in connection with his books (i.e., A Checklist of Emerson Criticism: 1951-1961) *and we are fortunate to have his services.*

A decade ago one might have been hard pressed to compile a sizable bibliography of scholarly articles on Mormonism within a given year. Although there are many aspects of Mormon history and culture yet to receive proper critical attention, the number of first rate articles appearing in the past year is encouraging evidence of a concern for Mormon studies by Mormon and non-Mormon scholars alike.

The purpose of this bibliographic essay is to bring scholarly articles dealing primarily with Mormon history, culture, and theology to the attention of *Dialogue* readers. The major source is the listings in *Mormon Americana,* although a number of articles came from journals and magazines not included in the bibliography (*BYU Studies, Utah Historical Quarterly,* etc.). For the most part, articles in popular magazines were omitted, although they are listed in *Mormon Americana.* With one or two exceptions, no attempt was made to include articles from official L.D.S. publications (such as the *Improvement Era* and the *Instructor*) with which it was felt the majority of *Dialogue*'s readers would be familiar.

The largest number of articles by category, as one might expect, are on various aspects of Mormon history. Four of these articles deal with pre-Utah history. John and Audrey Cumming, "The Saints Come to Michigan,"

Michigan History, XLIX (March 1965), 12-27, discuss early attempts to convert the family and neighbors of Stephen Mack (Lucy Mack Smith's brother) in Oakland County, Michigan. Missionary efforts resulted in a number of converts, some of whom made the westward trek and some of whom found their way into the fold of James J. Strang. Monte B. McLaws, "The Attempted Assassination of Missouri's Ex-Governor, Lilburn W. Boggs," *Missouri Historical Review*, LX (October 1965), 50-62, thoroughly examines the evidence concerning the abortive assassination of Boggs, a crime long laid on the Mormons (Joseph Smith and Orin Porter Rockwell in particular), and finds insufficient evidence to attach the blame to anyone. Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the *Nauvoo Expositor*," *University of Utah Law Review*, IX (Winter 1965), 862-903, sheds light on the legal implications of the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. For a review of this article see *Dialogue*, I (Summer, 1966), 123-128. A. R. Mortensen, "Mormons, Nebraska and the Way West," *Nebraska History*, XLVI (December 1965), 259-271, discusses the importance of Omaha, Florence, Winter Quarters, and Summer Quarters in both Mormon and Nebraska history.

Other historians have examined various aspects of Mormon life in the Great Basin. Three of these deal with specific historical locations: Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Windsor Castle: Mormon Frontier Fort at Pipe Spring," *Utah Historical Quarterly*,[1] XXXIV (Summer 1966), 218-226; Wilhelmina J. Gunn, "The Elsinore House: A Drummer's Home Away from Home," *UHQ*, XXXIV (Winter 1966), 30-37; and L. A. Fleming and A. R. Standing, "The Road to 'Fortune': The Salt Lake Cutoff," *UHQ*, XXXIII (Summer 1965), 248-271.

Leonard J. Arrington has contributed several articles on economic aspects of Mormon history: "Utah's Pioneer Beet Sugar Plant: The Lehi Factory of the Utah Sugar Company," *UHQ*, XXXIV (Spring 1966), 95-120; "Cooperative Community in the North: Brigham City, Utah," *UHQ*, XXXIII (Summer 1965), 199-217; and "Launching Idaho's Sugar Beet Industry," *Idaho Yesterdays*, IX (Fall 1965), 16-27. Each of these well-documented articles provides insight into the relation between the Church and the community in early economic experiments.

Arrington joins Thomas G. Alexander in two articles on Utah military history: "The U. S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley: Fort Douglas, 1862-1965," *UHQ*, XXXIII (Fall 1965), 326-350; and "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858-1861," *UHQ*, XXXIV (Winter 1966), 3-21. These articles, part of a series, discuss the social, political, and economic impact of these two military installations on early Mormon life in Utah.[2]

Kenneth J. Davies, "Utah Labor Before Statehood," *UHQ*, XXXIV (Summer 1966), 202-217, presents the history of labor unions in Utah from the "Printers Union" in 1852 to statehood in 1896. Davies discusses the relation

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[1] Hereafter cited as *UHQ*. Articles on Utah or Western history which were only tangentially related to the Mormons or which were not of particular importance were not included in this review.

[2] An article on the impact of more recent military installations is "Brief Histories of Three Federal Military Installations in Utah: Kearns Army Air Base, Hurricane Mesa, and Green River Test Complex," *UHQ*, XXXIV (Spring 1966), 121-137 by Thomas G. Alexander. See also James L. Clayton, "An Unhallowed Gathering: The Impact of Defense Spending on Utah's Population Growth, 1940-1964," *UHQ*, XXXIV (Summer 1966), 227-242.

between the unions and the Church before and after the great influx of non-Mormon labor with the railroad and mining industries.

James B. Allen, "Ecclesiastical Influence on Local Government in the Territory of Utah," *Arizona and the West,* VIII (Spring 1966), 35-48, gives excellent documentation of the inter-relationship of ecclesiastical and secular governments in early Utah history. Allen points out that under the conditions which existed this inter-relationship was only natural. This article should perhaps be read in conjunction with J. D. Williams, "The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," *Dialogue,* I (Summer 1966), 30-54.

Two recent articles on polygamy attest to the continuing popularity of this subject. M. Cable, "She Who Shall be Nameless," *American Heritage,* XVI (February 1965), 50-55, gives an historical biography of Augusta Adams Cobb Young, one of Brigham Young's wives. Her conversion to Mormonism and her polygamous marriage were considered such grave sins that the mention of her name was forbidden among the members of her family. Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases," *University of Utah Law Review,* IX (Winter 1964), 308-370; (Summer 1965), 543-591, presents a thorough history of the anti-polygamy legislation and challenges the legality of much of that legislation and its enforcement. Miss Linford conjectures that the injustices of the anti-polygamy laws prolonged rather than hastened the end of polygamy. This article was reviewed in *Dialogue,* I (Summer 1966), 123-128.

Rue C. Johnson, "Theatre in Zion: The Brigham City Dramatic Association," *UHQ,* XXXIII (Summer 1965), 187-197, gives an excellent picture of cultural interest in early Mormon communities by focusing on the history of the Brigham City theater.

In addition to the Arrington article on Idaho's sugar industry, several articles deal with Mormon history in states outside Utah: Evelyn Brack Measeles, "Lyman Dam [Arizona]: Monument to Mormon Pioneer Courage and Industry," *Arizona Highways,* XLI (September 1965), 43-47; Juanita Brooks, "The Mormons in Carson County, Utah Territory," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,*[8] VIII (Spring 1965), 1-23; Elbert B. Edwards, "Early Mormon Settlements in Southern Nevada," *NHSQ,* VIII (Spring 1965), 25-43; and Victor O. Goodwin, "Development of the Emigrant Routes of Northern Nevada," *NHSQ,* VIII (Fall-Winter 1965), 35-41.

Two studies are concerned with Mormon life outside the United States. K. West, "Cardston: The Temple City of Canada," *Canadian Geographical Journal,* LXXI (November 1965), 162-169, discusses the roles of Charles Ora Card and Edward J. Wood in the settlement of Cardston. B. Carmon Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment' as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912," *Pacific Historical Review,* XXXIV (November 1965), 439-454, challenges traditional views concerning the cause of the Mormons' abandonment of their colonies in Mexico. Hardy's thesis is that while the Mexicans were jealous of the Mormons' commercial success, this was not the major cause for the conflicts between the two groups. Of greater significance was the fact that the Mormons isolated themselves and remained strongly nationalistic in the face of the impending revolution.

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[8] Hereafter cited as *NHSQ.*

Three recent articles appearing in scholarly journals introduce original documents written by non-Mormons who lived among the Mormons. David B. Gracy, II, and Helen J. H. Rugeley, "From the Mississippi to the Pacific: An Englishman in the Mormon Battalion," *Arizona and the West,* VII (Summer 1965), 127-160, discuss Robert W. Whitworth's account of the march from Ft. Leavenworth to Los Angeles. Whitworth's account is particularly valuable because he was a non-Mormon and because he kept a daily record. Russell E. Bidlack and Everett L. Cooley, "The Kintner Letters: An Astronomer's Account of the Wheeler Survey in Utah and Idaho," *UHQ,* XXXIV (Winter 1966), 62-80, and (Spring 1966), 169-182, present the letters of Charles Jacob Kintner to the *Ann Arbor Register.* Kintner's impressions of the Mormons were generally favorable. A less favorable view is found in "Lt. Sylvester Mowry's Report on His March in 1855 from Salt Lake City to Fort Tejon," *Arizona and the West,* VII (Winter 1965), 329-346, edited by Lynn R. Bailey.[4] Dale L. Morgan, "Western Diary: A Review Essay," *The American West,* II (Spring 1965), 46-47, 93 discusses the contents of another primary document, the Hosea Stout diaries (*On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout,* ed. Juanita Brooks), and its importance to Mormon history.

Of particular interest to psychologists and anthropologists is Ray R. Canning, "Mormon Return-from-the-Dead Stories, Fact or Folklore?" *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters,* XLII, Part 1 (1965), 29-37. Canning's article, based on "reports from seven apparently normal and reliable Mormons who 'died and lived to tell about it,'" is part of a larger comparative study of return-from-the-dead stories from six different cultures or sub-cultures. Canning makes no attempt to interpret or explain the various accounts: "This is essentially an anthropological study of cultural data — whether fact or folklore."

One of the more valuable articles to appear recently is D. W. Meinig, "Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* LV (June 1965), 191-220. Meinig not only gives a detailed geographical history of Mormon settlement of the West, but he discusses the importance of cultural patterns which have emerged in this century.

The only article of significance on other Mormon groups to come to our attention is "Lorenzo Dow Hickey: Last of the Twelve," *Michigan History,* L (March 1966), 50-75, by John Cumming. Cumming traces the history of Hickey from his conversion to Mormonism in 1842 to his association with and rise to authority in the Strangite church, his attempts to bring the Strangites and the Reorganites together, his membership in and excommunication from the Reorganized Church, and his missionary efforts among the Utah Mormons. More than just a biography of Hickey, this article gives a great deal of insight into the origins and organizations of both the Strangite and Reorganized Churches.

Two articles of interest on the Book of Mormon are Hyde M. Merrill, "Christopher Columbus and the *Book of Mormon,*" *Improvement Era,* LXIX (February 1966), 97-98, 135-136, and Robert A. Rees, "Melville's Alma and

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[4] For an account of Mowry's more racy experiences in Utah, see his letters in *Among the Mormons,* ed. William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen (New York, 1958), 272-278.

the *Book of Mormon*," *Emerson Society Quarterly*, No. 43 (II Quarter 1966), 41-46. The first compares Book of Mormon prophecies concerning the discovery of the "Promised land" (I Nephi 13:12) with letters written by Christopher Columbus which tell of his religious convictions and a vision he had concerning his voyage; the second attempts to show that Melville was acquainted with the Book of Mormon by pointing up parallels between the character Alma in Melville's novel, *Mardi*, and the Book of Mormon figures named Alma.

A larger and more significant study of the Book of Mormon is Hugh Nibley's "Since Cumorah: New Voices from the Dust," which began in the October, 1964, issue of the *Improvement Era* and which is still continuing in each issue. This work is important not only because it is the first to examine the Book of Mormon in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, apocryphal writings, and Near-Eastern cultural history, but because it is a text-centered study of the Book of Mormon.

Another Nibley article which draws on the same materials to show that the Council in Heaven motif is found throughout the ancient world is "The Expanding Gospel," *BYU Studies*, VII (Autumn 1965), 3-27. In this article Nibley attempts to demonstrate that "what the outside texts prove is the antiquity and universality of the Gospel and its central position in the whole history of civilization."

Sterling McMurrin's criticism of this kind of scholarship as "the strangest aberration that has yet appeared in the implausible history of Mormonism, a kind of philologizing of religion," *Dialogue*, I (Summer 1966), 140, ignores Nibley's thesis that the records he is examining are those spoken of in I Nephi 13:39. Rather than being a "studied irrationalism and a sophistical effort to square the doctrines with ancient and esoteric lore . . . rather than with the facts of life," these studies are an attempt to do exactly what Nephi said the "last records" would do – make known "the plain and precious things which have been taken away from" the Bible. And since, as Nephi says, the ultimate purpose of these records is to convince the world of the divinity of Christ, an examination of these records is concerned with what for Mormons is the central fact of life and the primary mission of the Church.

Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

THE DISCIPLES OF MORMONISM

Elder B. H. Roberts, a member of the First Council of Seventy of the Church, in writing the 1906 course of study for the seventies, proposed a new understanding of the manner in which Joseph Smith may have used divine instruments in translating the Book of Mormon. He received many letters challenging or agreeing with his theory and a lively exchange with his critics was printed in the IMPROVEMENT ERA *during the first part of 1906 (Vol. IX); the following excerpts appear near the end of one of his responses (pp. 712-713).*

These latter reflections bring to mind some observations I remember to have read some time ago in the philosophical works of John Fiske respecting two classes of disciples or partisans in the world of religious and philosophical opinion, which I think with profit may be reproduced here. By the way, I see the passage occurs in the introduction of *Fiske's Work,* written by Josiah Royce, and is as follows:

> Disciples and partisans, in the world of religious and of philosophical opinion, are of two sorts. There are, first, the disciples pure and simple — people who fall under the spell of a person or of a doctrine, and whose whole intellectual life thenceforth consists in their partisanship. They expound, and defend, and ward off foes, and live and die faithful to the one formula. Such disciples may be indispensible at first in helping a new teaching to get a popular hearing, but in the long run they rather hinder than help the wholesome growth of the very ideas that they defend: for great ideas live by growing, and a doctrine that has merely to be preached, over and over, in the same terms, cannot possibly be the whole truth. No man ought to be merely a faithful disciple of any other man. Yes, no man ought to be a mere disciple even of himself. We live spiritually by outliving our

formulas, and by thus enriching our sense of their deeper meaning. Now the disciples of the first sort do not live in this larger and more spiritual sense. They repeat. And true life is never mere repetition.

On the other hand, there are disciples of a second sort. They are men who have been attracted to a new doctrine by the fact that it gave expression, in a novel way, to some large and deep interest which had already grown up in themselves, and which had already come, more or less independently, to their own consciousness. They thus bring to the new teaching, from the first, their own personal contribution. The truth that they gain is changed as it enters their soul. The seed that the sower strews upon their fields springs up in their soil, and bears fruit — thirty, sixty, an hundredfold. They return to their master his own with usury. Such men are the disciples that it is worth while for a master to have. Disciples of the first sort often become, as Schopenhauer said, mere magnifying mirrors wherein one sees enlarged all the defects of a doctrine. Disciples of the second sort cooperate in the works of the Spirit; and even if they always remain rather disciples than originators, they help to lead the thought that they accept to a truer expression. They force it beyond its earlier and cruder stages of development.

I believe "Mormonism" affords opportunity for disciples of the second sort; nay, that its crying need is for such disciples. It calls for thoughtful disciples who will not be content with merely repeating some of its truths, but will develop its truths; and enlarge it by that development. Not half — not one-hundredth part — not a thousandth part of that which Joseph Smith revealed to the Church has yet been unfolded, either to the Church or to the world. The work of the expounder has scarcely begun. The Prophet planted by teaching the germ-truths of the great dispensation of the fullness of times. The watering and the weeding is going on, and God is giving the increase, and will give it more abundantly in the future as more intelligent discipleship shall obtain. The disciples of "Mormonism," growing discontented with the necessarily primitive methods which have hitherto prevailed in sustaining the docrine, will yet take profounder and broader views of the great doctrines committed to the Church; and, departing from mere repetition, will cast them in new formulas; cooperating in the works of the Spirit, until they help to give to the truths received a more forceful expression, and carry it beyond the earlier and cruder stages of its development.

FROM THE MISSION FIELD — BRAZIL

Eldger G. Benson Whittle, a missionary for the L.D.S. Church presently serving as District Leader of the Porto Alegre First District in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, has sent this account of his mission. We hope that essays such as this one, which report and analyze the social conditions and state of mind of people in places around the world where missionaries are attempting to preach, as well as describing the effects new beliefs have on these people, can become a regular feature of DIALOGUE. *We encourage the writing of such essays, by present or former missionaries or members of the Church in various countries, or suggestions as to who might do so.*

From rather scanty beginnings in Sao Paulo and in the german town of Joinville, Santa Catarina, the Church in Brazil has grown to respectable proportions. After almost four decades, which saw, among other setbacks, the withdrawal of the elders during World War II, the Church and its 26,000 Brazilian members witnessed in May of this year the long-awaited organization of Sao Paulo Stake — the first Stake of Zion in South America. During the past couple of years, the Church has reached such a point that it may be safely predicted that within a few more years bearers of the good news of the Restoration will literally fill Brazil.

I look upon the organization of Sao Paulo Stake as a new beginning for the Church in Brazil. It is the natural tendency of the average Brazilian to brand Mormonism as the "American religion." He often looks upon the Church as being just one more of the myriad of American-controlled social, political, and economic institutions by which his country has been beleaguered for the past half-century or so. Stakehood, however, means autonomy and relative independence. Stakehood means that there are local brethren who can handle just about any task the Church has to offer. With the organization of stakes in this country, then, we look into the future and see the burden of the work shifting onto Brazilian shoulders. As this occurs, many of our non-Mormon brethren will begin to catch the vision of the kingdom which is destined to "consume" all other kingdoms, and which "shall never be destroyed," but which had to have its origin someplace — the place being North America.

But most citizens of this country have not yet heard the word "Mormon," let alone Mormonism's message. Brazil's eighty-two wards and branches of the Church of Jesus Christ are admirably active, but not nearly influential enough to reach Brazil's eighty-two million citizens. There is much to be done before the people in Brazil can be served by missionaries of their own ethnic background, which will dissipate the fears of nationalistic Brazilians, but I repeat, the new stake is an encouraging start. . . .

One of the principal problems is of a quasi-political nature and is encapsulated in the simple fact (mentioned above) that many unknowing Brazilians equate Mormonism with "Americanism" — with U.S. politics. To many of these, the missionaries are some sort of representatives of the U.S. government (spies, Peace Corps workers, etc.), who are exempted from military service by virtue of their trip to Brazil, and who act in direct benefit of the fatherland, receiving for this a modest salary to defray expenses. To some, our active missionary spirit is the outgrowth of a national superiority complex, which has led us to believe that we must give spiritual orientation to the rest of the world. One anti-Mormon pamphlet of Protestant origin reads, "Let us try to understand the Mormons: They, as members of the strongest people in the world, certainly feel that they have the responsibility of protecting the world spiritually and of saving it from eternal perdition. For this purpose they send their messengers to all nations" (P. Alcides Jucksch, *A Seita dos Mormons A Luz do Evangelho,* Editora Sinodal, Sao Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul, 1965, p. 55; translation mine). Both of these misconceptions are damaging to the work.

Others acknowledge the legitimacy of our objectives and motives but allow their inborn distrust of all that descends upon their country from the north to preclude an unbiased examination of Mormon doctrine. These are generally not communists (though some are undoubtedly one-time communists or unregistered communists who were silenced by the present government after Joao Goulart was deposed), but are often advocates of a new "human economy" championed by French liberals, whose works are being widely read in Brazil — principally by students and professors of economics, political science, and sociology. They claim the proposed "human economy" to be a system in which the evils of neither capitalism nor communism will be present, and they view U.S. economic interests in Brazil as a more serious immediate threat to their country's sovereignty than the much talked of evil

aims of Red China or the Soviet Union. The following statement was prepared for us by a group of students from the College of Philosophy, Science, and Letters of Ijui, who are in some degree or other exponents of this ideology, and I believe it to be representative of the thought of a strong majority of Brazilian students and professors:

> We think that the North American people are well meaning. We cannot, however, think the same way with respect to all North Americans, principally the captains of industry and those who direct U.S. politics in relation to Latin America. The attitudes of some and of others are proof that there are clandestine desires of utilization, of domination of Latin America, as a rich source of cheap raw materials and as a North American dike to deter the advance of communism. Our opinion is that if U.S. leaders desire to continue as friends to the Latin Americans, they should change their politics and their attitudes of exploitation of our people. Imperialism has many means at its disposal. The Pentagon is powerful and the State Department is directed by intelligent men, but the Latin American people are invincible. Our yearning, for which we shall struggle until the end, is total liberation from all economic and political domination, in order that we be a people that directs itself, and that plans its development according to its own interests and necessities. (translation mine)

It should be added that, though many do have a nebulous or even apprehensive view of the Church because of the Mormonism-Americanism misconception mentioned above, the majority of the Brazilian people do not share the opinions of the students and professors. In fact, a significant segment of the population is interested in our message and in us only *because* we are Americans.

A more serious problem, in my opinion, is the missionaries' chronic failure to understand and adapt adequately to Brazil's predominantly Latin culture. We extol North American scientific achievements and attribute Brazil's technical underdevelopment to laziness. We condemn the moral laxity of the Roman Church, failing to realize that we are obligated by our own interpretations of Catholic history to impute any blame for such to priests of long ago and to coercive missionary techniques employed anciently (namely, political conquest), rather than to Catholics of today. We are also slow to acknowledge that there are many Catholic men who observe an absolute moral standard (most women do). We fail to give credit to Brazil for her art, music, and literature, which in some areas are far superior to our own.

Indeed, some elders seem to interpret their station as a calling to proclaim the virtues of the eclectic culture in which they were raised, rather than the eternal Gospel of Jesus Christ. Among these, there is little understanding of or respect for the contributions of the Latin culture to the progress and happiness of humanity. They suffer from a superiority complex, and it is detected at times by the people of Brazil.

Other errors which widen the gap between missionaries and Brazilians, but which stem more from carelessness and indiscretion than from lack of understanding are also important in this regard. The most notable of these is the general levity demonstrated by some elders, which, truly enough, may stem more from their age than anything else, but which is looked upon with disapprobation by the populace, nonetheless. Another is the perpetual tourism to which some elders are addicted, despite requests of the Mission Presidency for moderation in sight-seeing and picture-taking. (A recent student demonstration or *passeata* in Passo Fundo, treating divers matters, featured a couple of freshmen dressed as Mormon elders, complete with cameras, sunglasses, briefcases, etc., bearing a sign which said, *"Missionarios Bossa Nova."*) In the minds of Latin observers, these foibles are motives for doubt with respect to the seriousness of our intentions as well as to the very meaning of our religion. "If the mission and the message of the Mormons are so important," said a journalist friend of mine, "the missionaries should demonstrate it through more serious behavior."

The factors mentioned above are all significant, I think. But there is another factor which I believe to be more important than any of them. It is the difference in temperament between North Americans and Latin Americans. By their nature, Latin Americans are more sensitive, more emotional, more "romantic" than their neighbors to the north. They are very expressive in this respect, and their nature demands reciprocation. We elders, new at "true religion," and even newer at the art of being Latin, have had difficulty in comprehending these facts. We have not reciprocated thoroughly, because we haven't known how. The sisters know how and haven't had the struggle we have had, but we have maintained a separation between ourselves and the genuine goodness of many sincere people. In our zealous efforts to convert, we have at times caught ourselves being more interested in the ordinance than in the catechumen. On our way to the font with one individual, we have walked on the feelings of others.

It is significant and gratifying to me that Church leaders in South America seem to be aware of the problems mentioned in the paragraphs above. Late in 1965, Elder Kimball, who presides over the South American missions, advised mission presidents under his jurisdiction that all missionaries were to begin living with families in private homes as soon as conditions would permit. If I interpret it correctly, this move was to have two effects — that of reducing levity by splitting large groups of elders into groups of two (only two elders may live with each family), and that of forcing the missionaries to know and understand at close range the feelings and customs of the Brazilian peoples. Early in 1966, President C. Elmo Turner of the Brazilian South Mission included as one of three immediate goals for all missionaries his admonition to "learn to love the people of Brazil." Mission publications have carried information on Brazilian history and customs.

Before this topic is abandoned, the Language Training Mission must be

highly commended. Here again, the Brethren have shown wisdom and familiarity with the exigencies of the work in foreign lands. In Brazil, few foreigners speak Portuguese better than the Mormon missionaries. Generally speaking, not even American pastors and missionaries of other Christian churches who have been in Brazil for several years can rival the fluency of those missionaries who have studied diligently in Provo at the Language Training Mission.

The poverty in South America of which so much has been said is a reality. It is confined, in southern Brazil, at least, to Lamanites, Negroes, and Mulattos, but it is still an extremely serious problem, because these groups account for a large portion of the population. The minimum wage for the state of Rio Grande do Sul (which is one of the better-developed states in the country) is 76,000 cruzeiros per month, or roughly, thirty-five dollars. It is true that food prices, bus fares, etc., are lower than those which North Americans are accustomed to paying, but not as much lower as the difference in salary would seem to demand. The Brazilian housewife pays forty cents for a pound of butter, fifty cents for a pound of passable beef, and thirty-five cents for a dozen eggs. Automobiles, telephones, washing machines, water heaters, furnaces (it does get cold here in the south), etc., are far beyond the reach of the average family, because, paradoxically, prices on these articles are once and again as high as on similar articles in the United States, due to tariff barriers erected to protect nascent native industry. But the gravity of the situation is not fully comprehended until it is realized that in Brazil the people who earn the minimum wage are the semi-skilled and at times even skilled laborers. These are not housewives trying to help out by taking a job as saleslady in a department store; these are husbands and fathers upon whom a wife and four or five children depend entirely for their sustenance. And after subtracting fifteen dollars from the monthly check to pay for rent, electricity, and firewood, the husband has little to take home to his wife. If the man is a drinker (and many, many are), he takes home next to nothing.

Economically speaking, there is a class just under the one mentioned above. It consists of the millions of homeless transients who roam barefoot through city and country — begging, drinking, borrowing, stealing, starving — from the day they are born until the day they die. They are seen alone, or in groups of two or three, or often even as a family (a woman and several children) without a father, for there is an almost complete sexual promiscuity among these people. Where there is a marriage, it is what we might call a common-law marriage, and no man among them is bound to any one woman. This is not merely an underprivileged class; this is a decadent, indolent, impotent, drunken, and completely ignorant people.

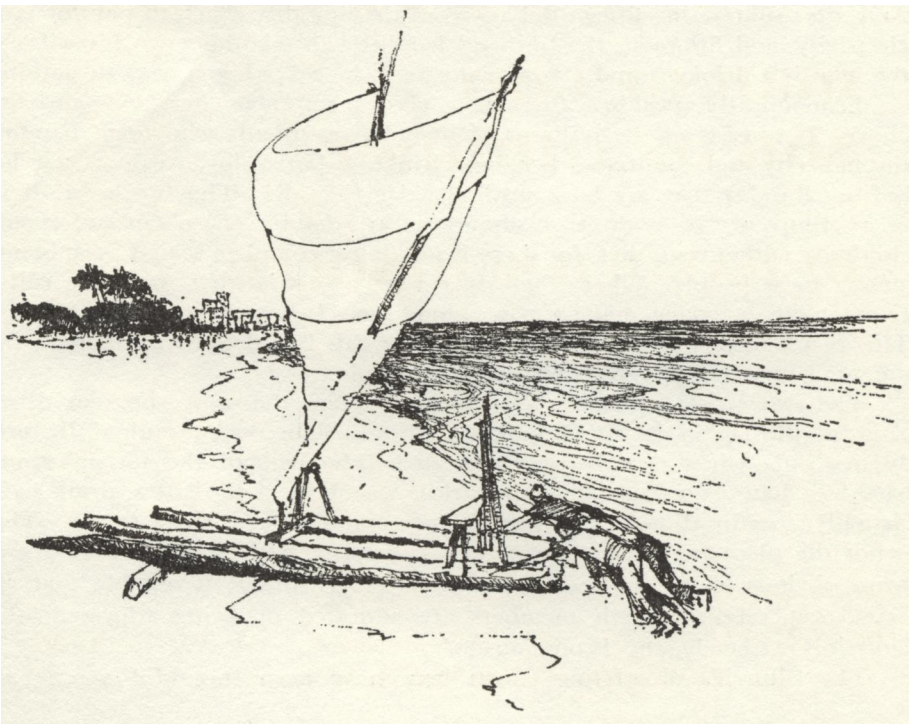
The two classes of people just mentioned are the most apparent direct cause of the lag in Brazil's economy. They will become meaningfully productive only when they become educated. Members of the former group have less than a primary education, while members of the latter group have virtually no education. Education is not compulsory, needless to say. This is not the place for suggestions as to solutions of national problems, but it seems obvious to me that education is the key. And it is notable that all second generation Church members are educated or being educated; the Church is extremely school conscious.

The Church's proselyting efforts here have been successful among all

social and economic divisions except the vagrant element referred to above. The larger congregations have their doctors and professors, who have assumed responsibility, and who move with ease among the more numerous members from the middle and poorer classes. Other branches are still struggling for want of capable leadership since most of their members, coming from the less affluent economic sectors, lack initiative and refinement. . . .

It is not only the Mormon Church that has felt a lack of able leadership in its congregations. In fact, the Church is in better condition than anyone else in one respect, for it does not depend upon vocational options for its ministers. An increasingly lower percentage of Catholic parents are sending their sons to the seminary; an increasingly higher percentage of young men are dropping out of the seminaries before ordination. Other churches have even worse problems in this area. Virtually all of them have many American or German pastors watching over the many flocks which aren't fortunate enough to have a native minister. Also, many congregations can't afford to have a pastor, for the scarcity has rendered the vocation of a professional minister quite lucrative, and money is scarce. An interdenominational magazine announced in January of this year that "the greatest necessity of the evangelical churches of Brazil in the next five years" is the need for a "national clergy" (*Mundo Cristao,* Janeiro-Fevereiro, 1966, page 13). Foreign ministers are available, but expensive.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints seems to be the most promising institution now functioning in or out of Brazil. It is the only "vital religion" in the country, and it has just begun to make its harvest in a land in which the field is indeed ready. Joseph said that "the whole of America is Zion" (*Teachings,* page 362). Working here in Brazil, I have good reason to believe that he spoke the truth.



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Kenneth Godfrey on the challenges presented by the life and thought of the modern Christian martyr, Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

Dean Mann on Mormon attitudes toward the political roles of Church leaders, using a test case from the 1960 presidential campaign.

Dr. Jess Groesbeck on the dangers of growing female dominance and male submissiveness due to "psychosexual role confusion" in contemporary society – with a number of responses.

Truman Madsen reviewing a reprinting of B. H. Roberts's *Joseph Smith, the Prophet-Teacher.*

Vernon Jensen with a critical review essay on Philip Foner's *The Case of Joe Hill* and the legend that grew up around that "martyr" to the labor struggle in Utah.

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9. (Not applicable).

10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, Postal manual. *(Sections 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, United States Code)*

	Avg. No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Mos.
A. Total No. Copies Printed:	
1st Issue	4,000
2nd Issue	5,500
3rd Issue	7,000
B. Paid Circulation:	
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,900
2. Mail subscriptions	3,500
C. Total paid circulation	5,400
D. Free distribution *(including samples)* by mail, carrier or other means	100
E. Total distribution *(Sum of C and D)*	5,500
F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	virtually none

Single issue nearest to filing date: Fall, 1966 (3rd Issue) Coming out 28 Sept. 1966.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

/s/ J. H. Jeppson, *Trustee*

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The Editors

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